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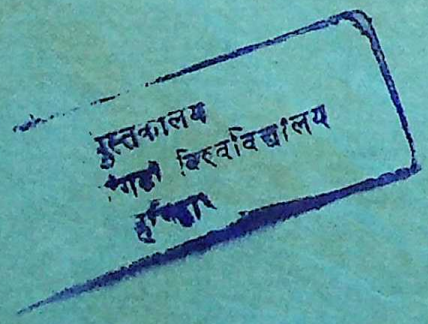

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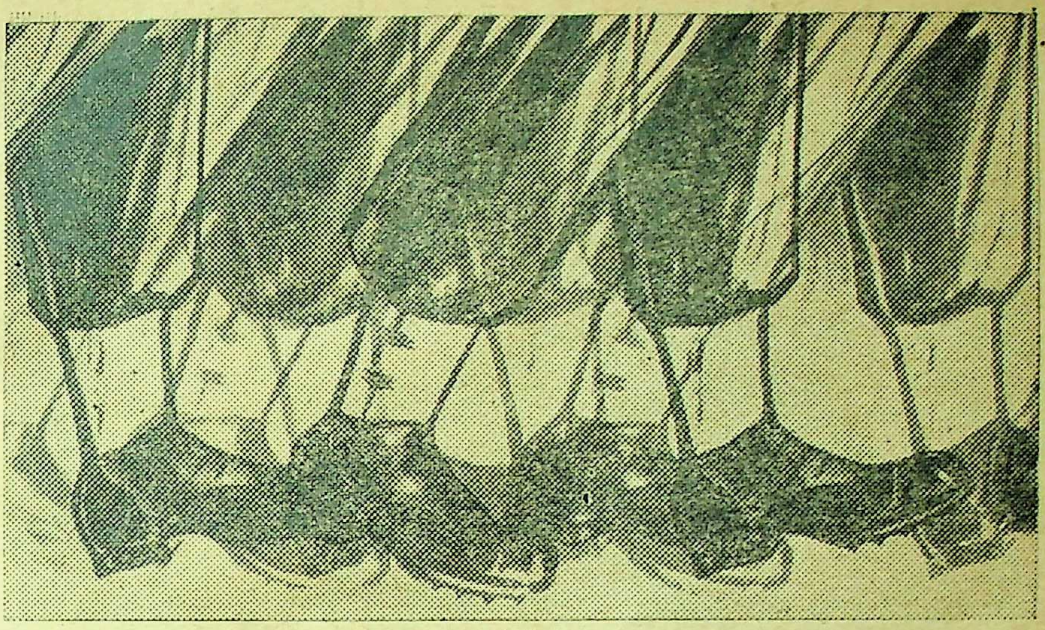

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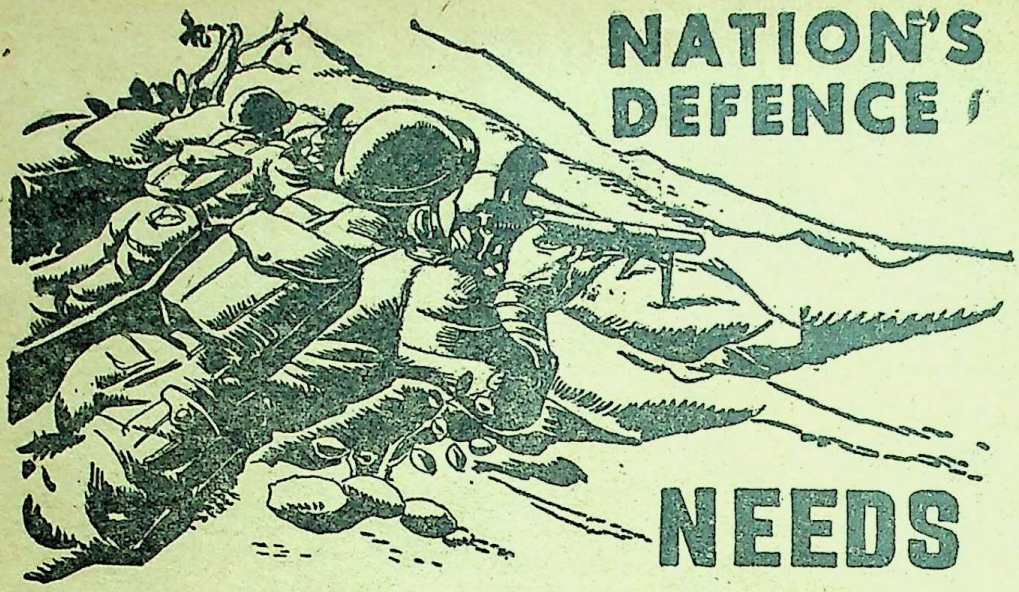

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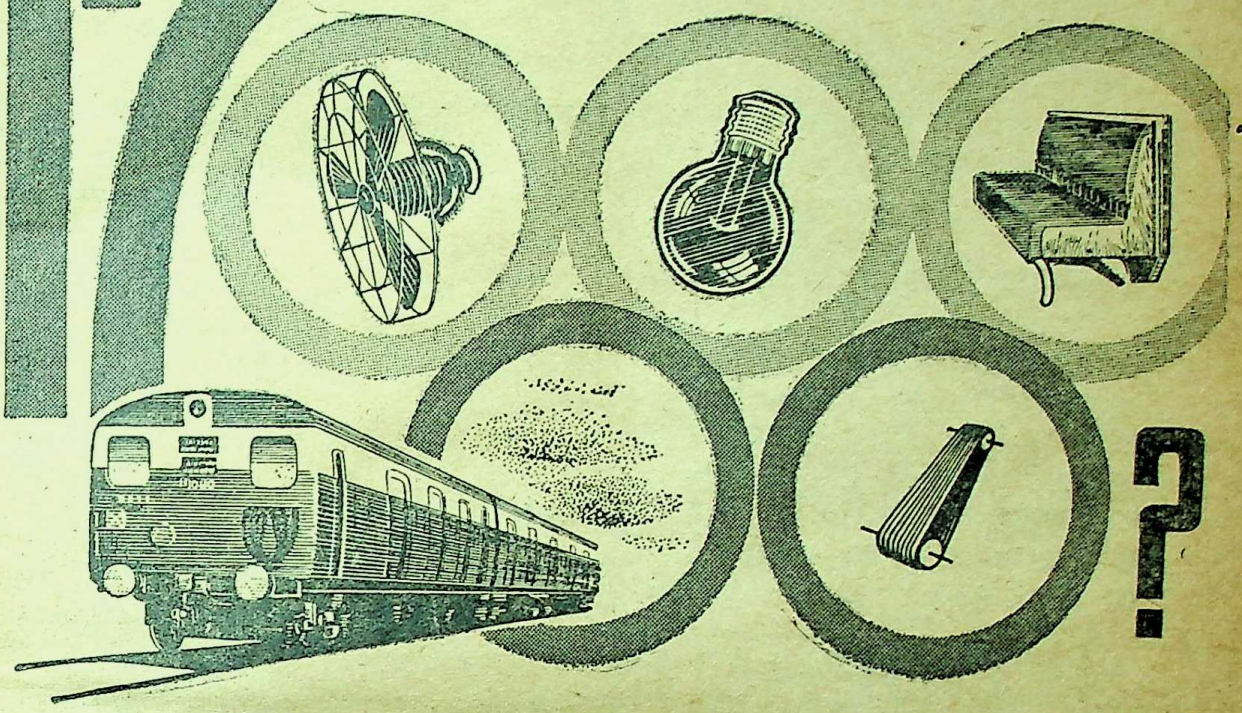

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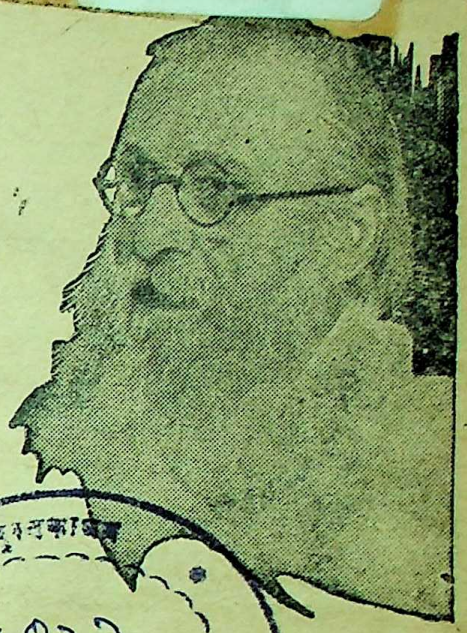

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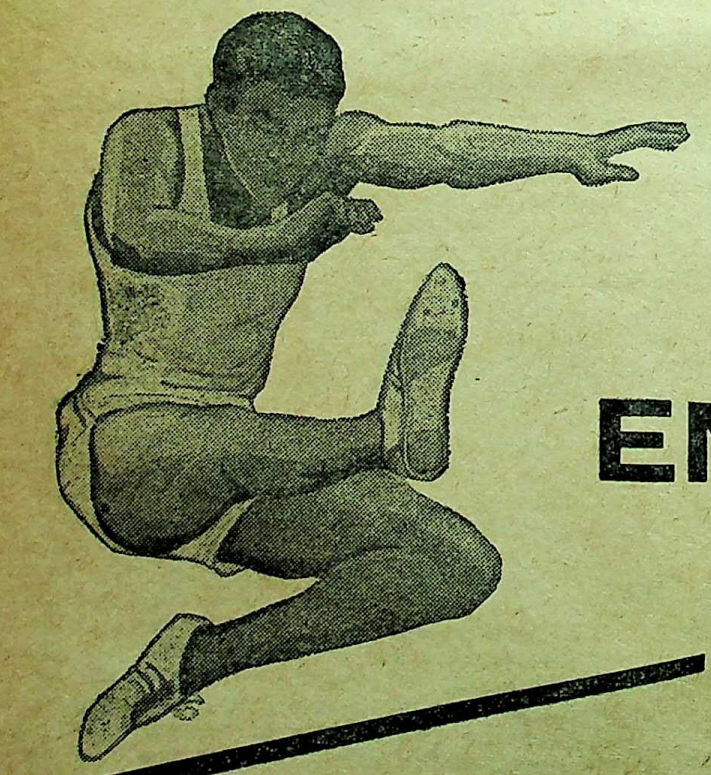

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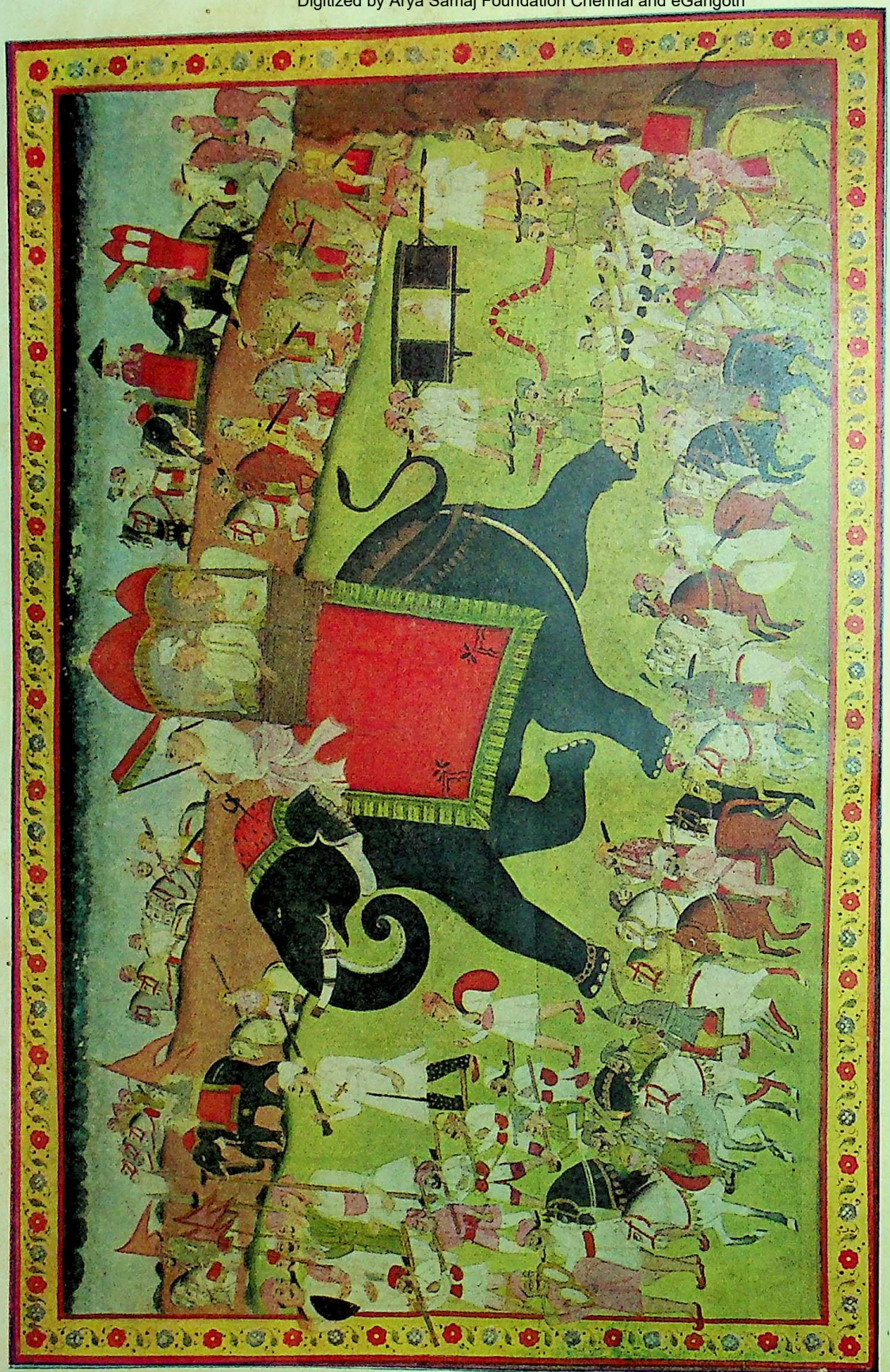

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY 1963

VOL. CXIII, No. 1 WHOLE No. 673

NOTES

The New Year

The old year with its storms and stresses that more than once threatened to engulf the world, has drawn to a close and a tension-weary world is looking hopefully for promises of better days in the New Year. Messages of Peace and Goodwill on earth were broadcast at Christmas and similar messages have been sent and received at New Year's eve, but the question remains, what are the prospects ?

For the world at large, save and except for India and China, racked as they have been for the past few years by the terrific tensions of the cold war, the prospects are of a comparative calm—temporary though it might be—thanks to the dawn of reason at a time when the vessels of wrath were at the point of boiling over, and thanks to the consequent rift, after a decision had been taken by the Western group of the Communist world under the leadership of M. Khrushchev to take the path of peaceful co-existence, between megalomaniac Red China with its satellites, North Korea and Albania and the rest of the Communist countries.

For ourselves, and our neighbours, China and Pakistan, the prospects are as yet anything but peaceful, as the uneasy calm seems to be just a phase in the storm that still threatens to break with unabated and added fury at any moment, particularly after Pakistan has chosen after prolonged deliberation, to join with Red China, in the latter's malignant and rapacious designs on our territories, just at the moment when our emissaries had gone to open negotiations for a peaceful settlement of differences that stood in the way of cordial relations being established between ourselves and our closest neighbours.

It is difficult to comment on this move of Pakistan with restraint, although restraint is called for as being of the essence so that our nation and our friends may assess the resultants of this Sino-Pakistan pact, finely timed in its announcement, to wreck all chances of a peaceful settlement between India and Pakistan.

Our friends, particularly the British and the Americans, have been "played for fools"—as the American slang puts it—nicely and thoroughly by their ally Pakistan. There can be no doubt that the details of this precious Sino-Pak pact, which seems to contain the elements of an offensive and defensive alliance, were being finalised while the unsuspecting Mr. Harriman and Mr. Duncan Sandys were going to and fro between Rawalpindi and New Delhi to arrange for a peaceful settlement of all outstanding differences between us.

The details of this pact is not yet known to the world outside of the two participating countries. But what has been released through the simultaneous announcements at Rawalpindi and Peking makes it difficult for us to believe that any useful purpose will be served by the continuance of the talks at Rawalpindi that opened on 27th December. In any case, a

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recall of the mission for further briefing after the implications of this pact have been fully assessed by us, seems to be indicated at this juncture.

For ourselves, this pact only means that we must be prepared for a prolonged and grim struggle against powers that are ranged against us to take away all our birthrights. Our President in his speeches at Bombay and Ahmedabad has been exhorting us repeatedly to that effect, and quite rightly so. This pact, at any rate, should open the eyes of those who have been dreaming of peace. The peace that is likely to be offered to us by both the parties to the above pact will leave us little worthwhile to live for. So let us remember the old tenet of the Kshattriyas **veerabhogya vasundhara** and prepare accordingly. There is no cause for faint-hearted hesitation.

The World

In the World of Power Politics, it seems inevitable that divisions and subdivisions should continuously develop and, thus, by causing inbalances in the power alignments, bring about changes in weltpolitik assessments and balances. Herein lies the only hope of the world, where weak and underdeveloped nations are concerned, particularly if they prefer to stay out of power blocs in order that the progress of their countries and nationals towards self-sufficiency and higher standards of living and cultural developments be not retarded through excessive stress being laid upon the matter of martial efficiency, sufficiency and preparedness, to the extent of maintaining forces at the ready in numbers, out of proportion to the economic and numerical strength of the nation.

If that were not the case, then weaker or less developed nations would have no chance of maintaining a separate and completely autonomous and independent existence in a world where predatory and expansionist nations, possessed with a lust for territorial gains, had the requisite armament and striking power to launch an aggressive offensive in sufficient strength to overwhelm the victim of the expansionist move before the powers in the opposite alignment could muster sufficient unanimity to intervene in force. The usual procedure in the old days for initiating such expansionist moves was to watch the opposing powers for any major clash of interests that would hamper unanimous action against such an adventure by the predatory power. If the clash of interests were sufficient to deter the opposing powers for any length of time, or if the rival group were not individually prepared for a major trial of strength with the group to which the aggressive power belonged, then a major campaign of outright conquest and subjugation could be launched against a weaker country as was done by Hitler against Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Mussolini against Ethiopia and Japan against China, in defiance of all accepted principles of international behaviour. The advantage they had was that all three were in possession of very large warlike forces fully equipped with the latest weapons and were fairly closely knit together in their conjoint determination for world domination and conquest, whereas the old Triple Entente between Britain, France and Russia was split wide open through British and French clash of interests in the Balkans and the Near East and the complete alienation of Russia from its Western allies after the Soviets had come into existence. The other allies of the Entente were no longer with Britain and France, Italy and Japan having joined with Germany to form the Rome-Berlin-Tokio Axis and the U.S.A. having gone back into isolationism through disgust at the pdedatory moves of her erstwhile allies of World War I.

After World War II the power alignment is more sharp and there are also a far larger number of non-aligned States—most of them newly independent—who have been given the status of equality with the far more advanced countries and nations in the United Nations Organisation, excepting in the Security Council. The two power blocs aligned against each other are broadly divided into the Communist Powers and the Western Powers who have with them three Asiatic powers, Turkey, Pakistan and Thailand.

The system followed in aggressional moves undertaken by powers belonging to either group has been to launch minor or major

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offensives against innocent and unprepared nations masked under the guise of aiding political groups within the victimised country to attain self-determination or to help forces of independence to free themselves from the domination of imperialistic or autocratic rulers—Korea, Vietnam, Laos, all were examples of that method. The exceptions were the assaults mounted by Britain, France and Israel on Egypt during the Suez disputes, and the latest campaign of naked aggression launched by China against us.

In both of these the calculations were that the campaign would not generate a chain reaction ending in a world conflagration because of the major powers, being more or less balanced in the strength of the forces that were disengaged, in the actual shooting war that was going on and the victimised country being one that was not aligned with the rival group. In the Suez affair those calculations were upset in the upsurge of World-opinion against the aggressors whose action was not deemed to be justified by the causes they had put forward as being the **casus belli**, even by the U.S.A.

The calculations made by the Chinese in the present campaign cannot as yet be determined within any degree of certainty. But an approximation can be made, on the basis of facts that have come to light, since the start of the Chinese offensive, regarding certain factors that must have been considered extremely favourable by the Chinese for the success of their massive two-pronged assault on India.

The Chinese were not only in the know regarding the Cuba adventure of the Soviets, they actually participated in it, as is indicated by the shooting down of a U2 plane by Chinese rocket technicians while it was reconnoitring over Cuba. Chinese military technicians are still in Cuba as a matter of fact. So they were well aware of the terrific tension that the Cuban venture would cause in the West and when that was added on to the Berlin crisis the sum total would be enough to prevent the Western Allies from any diversion of their armed forces or armaments to aid India. We do not know whether China expected a major conflagration involving the Soviet Bloc and the Western Allies in a nuclear World War, Western commentators seem to think that Chinese megalomania has enveloped their way of thinking that they, that is the Chinese Supreme Command, are ready to face even a nuclear World War in the belief that China with her 700 millions of peoples and vast territories would survive in sufficient strength to dominate a devastated world.

We do not know whether the Chinese expected that the U.S.A. would call for a show-down so quickly and with such determination as happened in actuality. But from the exhibitions of convulsive rage and chagrin that seems to be consuming the War-lords of China, it is more than evident that they did not expect that Khrushchev would choose the path of peaceful co-existence and spare the world from the tortures of infernal hell that would be let loose by nuclear warfare. The bald-headed rage that actuated Peking to virtually dennounce the Soviet Chief and his associates outright in such terms as has caused an wide-open rift in the Communist world, cannot be explained otherwise.

Secondly, there can be no doubt—not a vestige of it—that China came to an understanding with Pakistan before she ventured on this major campaign of aggression. It would be useless and fruitless to attempt any conjectures as to what were the terms of that understanding and how far they extended regarding the division of spoils. It is more than evident from the reports of President Ayub's contemptuous utterances regarding the chances of India being able to drive out the Chinese from Indian soil, that he and the Chinese were both fully aware of the extent of unpreparedness that had sapped the strength of the Indians and of the huge striking forces that China had amassed on the Himalayan frontiers. It is also evident that Pakistan was to act as an effective barrier against foreign arms-aid being rushed to India in time. And from the way the dictatorial fetters were removed from the Pakistani press to enable it to whip up war hysteria in the Pakistani people, it seems more than probable that the threat posed before the Indian people by the Chinese ambassador

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at New Delhi about four years back, that India would be faced with a two-front war —i.e., with Pakistan as well as China—in case we did not truckle-down before the insolent terms of his country, seems to have been based on a concrete factual base rather than on mere assumptions.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the reports of the wholesale hoisting of Pakistani flags on the Governmental offices and buildings at Tezpur, after the panicky evacuation by the local officials, as reported widely in the press, have not been contradicted. If true, that would also be an indicator as to the extent Pakistani hopes led to.

Thirdly, of course, there was the firm-conviction that the Chinese party Chiefs held that a general upheaval of Communist partisans would take place almost all over India and that the resentment of the people would mount with it and overthrow the Congress Government, once the Chinese crossed the Indian frontiers in sufficient force to overwhelm the poorly armed and meagrely manned Indian defences. The Chinese had spent money liberally and their spies and fifth columnists had infiltrated everywhere that was considered to be places of vantage. And the information they passed on to the Chinese Supreme Command, led the latter body to believe in the certainty of a flare-up of large-scale disturbances all over India and the chaos that would envelop the country, once the Chinese marched in.

It is useless to carry our conjectures any further as the events that are occuring now are neither in a set pattern, nor are they in any way predictable. As such, a factual narrative of major events would be of more use at this juncture. It might be useful to present two extracts from the **New York Times** international edition, of November 25 and December 9 respectively, for the purpose of delineating the position of the conflict as seen by an uninvolved but interested neutral. In the November 25 issue, the editorial comments on the cease-fire unilaterally announced and effected by the Chinese began as follows :—

"What goes on behind the Bamboo Curtain is far more mysterious than what goes on behind the Iron Curtain. China's leadership veils its every action in the deepest secrecy ; foreign newsmen are rigidly controlled and have no access to the sources of news ; the domestic press gives hints of policy decisions chiefly by the violence of its invective.

"Thus the rest of the world has only the slenderest guidelines on which to make judgments of major Chinese moves. Last week there was such a move. The Chinese troops that had been driving hard against the Indians in the Himalaya mountains suddenly broke off the engagement and announced a cease-fire. The guns fell silent.

"Thus the Chinese kept presenting the world with new mysteries to ponder. There was the mystery of why they had chosen to attack the leader of the world's neutrals, the nation most assiduously wooed by China's Soviet ally. There was the mystery of why they had suddenly called a halt. There was the broader mystery of just what role the Chinese envisaged for themselves among the nations of the world.

"These questions obscure the outlook in three major areas of competition in which the Chinese are engaged—the competition with India for influence all through Asia ; the competition with Russia for ideological dominance among the world's Marxists ; the competition with the West, particularly the U. S., which in Chinese eyes is a hostile, encircling force.

"More immediate, however, is the mystery of what the Chinese will do now and how they will try to exploit their recent gains."

Then in the December 9 issue Robert Trumbull tries to explain Peking's moves against the leader of the world's neutrals in the following manner in his special despatch from Hong Kong :

"In relations with nonaligned countries, Communist China has shifted lately from the doctrine of African and Asian "brotherhood" that followed the Bandung Conference in 1955 to a sterner policy of impressing weaker countries through strength.

"Thus Peking attacked India's northern borders, apparently confident that there was much to gain and little to lose in this

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show of force against the biggest nonaligned country of all—and one that had been Communist China's best friend and chief advocate in international affairs.

"Peking's purpose in India probably has several facets. One is the obvious military advantage in moving across the Himalayan barrier onto the edge of the vulnerable Indian plains. Another is to demonstrate Chinese power at the expense of India, which was forging ahead in the economic rivalry between the two countries, both attacking similar problems along different paths—China through Communism, India the Democratic way.

"Communist China's humiliation of India was a challenge to the Soviet Union, which had been building a strong political position in New Delhi. At the same time it was an exhibition to the unaligned nations of Peking's strength. These nations had been accustomed to look to India for leadership.

"In the aftermath, only President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic among neutralist leaders of Asia and Africa has shown any disposition to side with New Delhi against Peking in the border dispute. Others have seemed to favor the Chinese case or have confined themselves to vague peace-making expressions.

"Peking's fulminations against Moscow over Mr. Khrushchev's conduct in the Cuban affair were an obvious bid for ideological leadership among leftist parties in Latin America. Added to adherents in Asia and those Peking may eventually gain in Africa this acquisition would complete Chinese ideological dominance in the Marxist movement throughout the underdeveloped world."

The rift in the Sino-Soviet relations seem to have widened over the conflict in ideas and further by the strong arm moves of the Chinese. The latest reports about Outer Mongolia seem to indicate that Peking is not going to let grass grow under her feet where this jousting for predominance in the Communist world is concerned. The reports about Outer Mongolia are based on a Radio Peking broadcast on December 23 giving the text of a letter sent on December 6 by Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, to Mr. Tsedanbal, the Premier of Outer Mongolia, to come to Peking in December for signing a treaty on the demarcation of borders between China and Outer Mongolia.

The letters exchanged between the Premiers of China and Mongolia were extremely brief but polite and friendly.

Mr. Chou's message said: "We believe that the signing of the China-Mogolian boundary treaty will be a favourable contribution to the further consolidation and development to profound fraternal friendship between our two peoples."

Mr. Tsedenbal replied on December 18: ". . . I express my warm thanks to you and the Chinese Government for this invitation.

"I am as fully convinced as you that the signing of this treaty on the basis of the delineation of the Mongolian-Chinese boundary line through friendly consultations will be an important contribution to the further consolidation and development of the profound fraternal friendship between the two peoples."

Outer Mongolia is one of the world's oldest countries which once was under Chinese suzerainty. It is bounded on the North by the Siberian provinces of the U.S.S.R., on the East by Manchuria and the Tarbagatai mountains, on the South by the Sinkiang province and the Great Wall of China—which wall was built to keep out the Mongols—and on the West by the Turkestan province of the U.S.S.R. Its capital is at Ulan Bator (Red Hero) which is the renamed and rebuilt city of Urga. The area of this country is estimated to be 626,000 sq. miles and the population, also estimated, about 1,000,000. The North-Western part of Outer Mongolia is an elevated plateau well-watered by rivers and lakes; the South and South-eastern parts include the Gobi desert with the Ordos desert in the extreme South-east. The population is mainly nomadic but modernization is proceeding rapidly under the guidance of the Soviets. Travel and communication systems and building methods are being brought up-to-date accordingly.

The principal resources consist in the main of livestock raising, including cattle, sheep, camels and oxen. But under a

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planned economy, which has been strongly re-inforced by Soviet aid to the extent of almost 1,000 million dollars, has established wool cleaning and spinning factories, building material plants, tanneries and shoe factories, etc. It possesses some mineral wealth, in the shape of coal, marble, tungsten, petroleum, gold and a little uranium.

Outer Mongolia first declared its independence and severance of fealty to China on 13th March, 1921, but the monarchy of Bogdo Gegen Khan remained in limited form till his death in 1924, when the government proclaimed the country as the Mongolian Peoples' Republic. China claimed a measure of suzerainty over it until that was terminated by a plebiscite, that was enforced by the Soviets in October, 1945, which brought about a complete severance of ties with China ; Nationalist China entered into a treaty with Outer Mongolia in 1946.

Outer Mongolia became a member of the U.N.O. in October, 1961, under the sponsorship of the U.S.S.R., thus establishing and winning world recognition of its status as a sovereign and independent country.

It will be seen from the above account that Outer Mongolia has gained greatly from its political and economic pacts with the U.S.S.R. Indeed, but for those ties and the understanding on which they were based, this country would have been overwhelmed and swallowed up by Red China's imperialist ambitions and lust for power and territory in the same way as in the case of Tibet.

It is evident now from the reports mentioned at the beginning of this editorial that Red China wants to re-open the question of political affinities of this country and its peoples as a furtherance of the feud with the U.S.S.R., which has now come out in the open. It is likely to be confined to political and economic manoeuvring for the present but considering the utter disregard for humane and moral considerations that the leaders of Red China have displayed everywhere and their reckless expansionism linked with treachery, Outer Mongolia will need all the guidance and protection it can get from the U.S.S.R., to keep itself from being submerged in the morass of Chinese imperialism.

Now to get back to the factual narrative. The cease-fire has been maintained in December, though the much publicized withdrawal of the Chinese armed forces to the nebulous "line of actual control as on November 7, 1959," is as yet very far from being an accomplished fact. In NEFA, the withdrawal did not start on December 1, as was announced by the Chinese authorities but started about a week later. It has been very slow but fairly steady in NEFA uptil now, but there has not been any withdrawal whatsoever in Ladakh.

On December 9, on the eve of the Colombo Conference called by the Premier of Ceylon and accepted by five other non-aligned countries, a spokesman of the Chinese Government released a 5,000-word statement which was described by our official circles as being a sort of ultimatum to the Colombo Conference and an open threat to the effect that peaceful negotiations can only reopen on the basis of terms dictated by China.

The Chinese statement began with a long tirade against India, charging it with being "aggressive, arrogant and expansionist" and declaring that "in history there have been few cases of rabid exponents of big-nation chauvinism and expansionism of a type so lacking in proper self-estimation as that of the Indian ruling group." The main point of the tirade was that China was no longer willing to tolerate the dilatory tactics of India with regard to the acceptance of its three-point condition-precedent for the beginning of peaceful negotiations, and virtually demanded an answer in the shape of either "Yes" or "No" to the terms laid down by China.

Pandit Nehru gave a clear and firm reply to this demand in opening a debate in the Lok Sabha on December 10. In that statement he offered to refer the boundary dispute with China to the International Court of Justice, provided that China agrees, first, to the restoration by both sides of the positions held on September 8 of this year. He gave clear replies to the three questions put forward by China in the latest memo-

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randum. **The Statesman** recounts the answers as follows:

"Mr. Nehru confirmed that in her latest Note China had rejected India's demand for restoring the positions of September 8. Therefore, he said, "at present there is no meeting ground between us."

But he gave clear and firm answers to the three questions China has posed in the memorandum delivered to the Indian Charge d'Affaires in Peking yesterday.

To the first question whether India agreed to a cease-fire or not, Mr. Nehru replied that the Chinese cease-fire was a unilateral announcement but India had accepted it and had done nothing to impede its implementation.

The second question was whether, for the sake of disengagement of the forces, India would agree to a mutual withdrawal of 20 kilometres by both sides from the line of actual control of November 7, 1959.

Mr. Nehru said India favoured disengagement on the basis of a commonly agreed arrangement, but that arrangement could only be that China must vacate her recent aggression and return to the positions of September 8. The Chinese version of the 1959 line of actual control was not acceptable because it was not in accordance with the facts. On the other hand, the September 8 line was definitely a factual position and it could be verified with reference to the correspondence between the two countries during the past few years. It was also based on the principle that aggression must be ended before negotiations could begin.

In reply to the third question, whether India agreed to a meeting between officials of the two countries, Mr. Nehru replied that before they could meet the officials must have clear instructions regarding a cease-fire and withdrawal arrangements. Therefore, these arrangements between India and China must be agreed to first. Between the present positions taken by the two countries on the question of withdrawal "there is the great difference of 2,500 sq. miles of Indian territory" and the Chinese conception of the actual line of control was the result of three months of "blatant aggression and imperialist expansionism."

The Prime Minister warmly welcomed the initiative taken by the non-aligned countries now in conference at Colombo. "We appreciate their feelings," he said, but he added, "we hope they will appreciate that the gains of aggression must be given up."

The position has remained very much the same since then excepting for the attempts made by the negotiators, led by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the Premier of Ceylon, appointed by the Colombo Conference. Mrs. Bandaranaike is either in Peking or on her way to it at the time of writing these and it is not likely that any substantial move will be put in motion until much more preliminary talks have taken place in Peking and New Delhi.

Another set of talks have begun at Rawalpindi, on the question of a settlement of differences between Pakistan and India. Indo-Pakistani accord is an extremely desirable but even more difficult of attainment state of affairs. The British and U.S. missions that came to India to ascertain the extent and categories of arms needed by the Indian forces to enable them to match the fire-power and offensive strength of the Chinese, pressed for the opening of talks between India and Pakistan to explore the possibilities of an accord by direct negotiation. Pakistan insisted that these talks must take place immediately despite all the troubles that India faces now. Bakshi Ghulam Mahommed of Kashmir quite rightly said that this insistence on immediate negotiations under duress by Pakistan was tantamount to blackmail. The reason behind the pressure laid on India by Britain and the U.S.A. was the officially inspired agitation in the Pakistani press for the severance of ties between Pakistan and the West and for the acceptance of the offensive and defensive pact between China and India.

The talks have opened in Rawalpindi. The Indian Government has sent a fully accredited Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, to open the discussions. The U.S.A. has clearly stated that the arms aid from U.S.A. is not conditional on accord being reached at these discussions but that the U.S. Government would be happy if Pakistan obtains "access to Kashmir"—whatever

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the term "access" might signify or the privilege might connote!

Incidentally this conflict has opened our eyes to realities where world reaction to such an act of agggression is concerned. New Delhi has been publicizing messages of sympathy received from the four corners of the earth. But in the ultimate analysis most of these seem to be lip sympathy where the non-aligned nations are concerned, with the exception of the U.A.R. and Yugoslavia whose Vice-President is on an official and friendly visit to us. The friendliest response and the warmest expression in concrete terms of succour has come from the West and the Indian people would remember it.

Apart from arms-aid, which is continuously pouring in from the U.S. and Britain and in lesser quantities from elsewhere, many countries have sent in gifts of essentials the largest single consignment being from West Germany. Complete winter equipment sufficient to equip 10,000 Jawans was sent by West Germany at a time when there was extreme paucity in that department—thanks to the lapses of the Defence Ministry.

We had the President of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) on a State visit to India from November 26 to December 5 last. Despite the austerities imposed by the war on our frontiers, he was given an welcome and he and his party responded warmly. The name of Dr. Heinrich Leubke, the visiting President, was known to us as a distinguished worker in scientific land development and agriculture and more recently as a Minister for Food, Agriculture and Forests in the West German Cabinet of Dr. Adenauer, prior to becoming the President of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1959.

There is nothing very much to report in the way of major events worthy of note, in the world outside India, for the month of December.

A new independent nation was born in Africa when Tanganyika became a free republic in the second week of December. Tanganyika with an area of 362,688 sq., miles and a population estimated at over 9 millions has about 200,000 Asians and 23,000 Europeans settled there. Constitutional changes were made by the British giving it internal autonomy in September, 1960. It is a more or less viable State—dependant on able administration—having ample agricultural and mineral resources of its own. The leader of the new republic is an educated and steady 40-year-old politician, Julius Nyerere who has been exhorting his people to celebrate the newly won freedom with hard work.

In Yemen, on the Arabian Sea coast, there is an uneasy lull in the actual war between the deposed Imam Mohamed el Badr and leader of the rebellion Abdullah al Sallal who now calls himself President of Yemen. The Imam is being helped by Saudi Arabia and Jordan with troops—mostly irregulars—and arms while Sallal's principal support comes from Egyptian troops sent by President Nasser. Skirmishes between the Imam's irregulars and Sallal's forces are frequent. President Kennedy offered the good offices of the U.S. in December to bring about stability in that area,—so far without success.

There was a minor flare-up, in the form of a **coup** engineered against the British recognized Sultan, Sai Omar Ali Saifuddin, in the North Borneo British Protectorate of Brunei in the middle of December. The attempt was to seize the small but oil-rich State and to weld Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo into a single independent nation. The rebel was engineered by the People's Party under the leadership of one A. M. Azahari, who wanted to prevent the plans of the British Government for the alignment of Brunei with Malaya, Singapore and the British possessions of Sarawak and and Noth Borneo. The British sent Gurkhas and British troops by plane into the State and the short-lived rebellion was almost snuffed out by the end of the month.

In Algeria, there is peace, but there seems to be an attempt to establish an one-party rule in place of democracy, by Premier Ahmed Ben Bella. There are news about the hunting out of the partisans of the Party of Socialist Revolution, which is opposed to the form of dictatorship proposed by Ben Bella. The Communist Party of Algeria has also been banned in

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enforcement of the order prohibiting the existence of any other party besides Ben Bella's F. L. N.

THE EDITOR

The War Fever

Who says we are not enthusiastic about the war with China and about our sacred duty to see the last Chinese soldier out of Indian territory? We definitely are. Not only we, the normal and ordinary people of India known as the common and garden variety of men and women, but also all our high-level "patriots" (professionals as well as ameateurs), speeech makers, leaders, singers (Kirtan, Bhajan and Kawaliwallahs) artistes, artists, publicity men, composers, scientists, economic planners, experts in Fundamentals —in fact, who not ? From morning till the late hours of the evening, we can hear what so and so has said about this or that, what so and so has composed, concocted and sung, what he or she has thought of as a sure cure for national weakness, and so on and so forth. Broadcasts create such a medley of high-level thinking, not counting the Chinese jamming, that no one can help dying a hero's death as soon as one switches on the radio. The songs sung may not have any value for melody or for thoughts which rouse patriotic emotions ; but they have a similarity with the Chinese songs broadcast by Peking and one can readily see that they mean to cure poisoning by administering other posions or, may be, these songs, poems, pictures and other aesthetic approaches to a national struggle are merely a forewarning of what will happen if the Chinese imposed their "Marxist" culture upon us, the Indians. All this singing, lecturing, announcing, pronouncing, etc., are however, a good training for Indians to live the hard way; for no one who can survive the kind of war propaganda that we are referring to, can ever fall a victim to Chinese aggression. As a method of toughening up our morale and strengthening our determination to win the war and to defend the motherland to the last ditch, nothing can be more effective than to be bombarded at all hours by inane talks from high-level, music and songless music and songs, by meaningless lectures on the fundamental conditions of victory by experts wallowing in the bathetic morass in order to understand the work of building up a navy and by approaches, contacts and "touches" by all those who covet our naye paise, wedding rings or dress studs for balancing the national budget or for filling the GAP in the foreign exchange earnings of the nation. In fact, we have not been able to determine yet the relative priorities in the field of preparing for victory. Is it pep talk or is it rousing songs ? Is it donations to the State Coffers in Indian currency or is it bullion which the C. and G. variety of men and women do not possess? Our leaders should have thought out easier and more readily understandable methods of rousing partiotic fervour in us. They have no doubt taken a very wise step in making victory primarily a matter to be tackled by the Ministry of Finance and the External Affairs Ministry. But, we do hope the Defence Ministry will also take a part in the preparations. A. C.

Can Money Win The War ?

The answer is Yes and No. Yes, if the money is placed in the right hands. No, if it is given to people who will waste it, fritter it away in schemes born of whims and fancies which may have a very remote connection with the matter of military strength and, generally speaking, if the money is spent from a common fund in which every governmental department can have a "dip" besides the department which will incur, sanction and deal with military expenditure. Thinking in a long period manner and in terms of abstruse interconnections, fundamentals, ultimates and extreme eventuals, one may call everything militarily necessary and effective. Manufacture of feeding bottles and baby food for instance, should receive a first priority in military expenditure, as being essentially wound up with the making of good soldiers. Happy women produce healthy babies who make the best soildiers. To make women happy one should arrange for the production of beautiful clothing and toilet goods. Soldiers like and need citrus fruits and mangoes while in the field. A few orchards, therefore, should not be redundant in planning for national defence. One can go on in this manner for some time to illustrate the absurdity of mixing the remote with the immediate. We have been told there is a grave national emergency, *viz.*, a foreign invasion of our territory and that we must take immediate action to throw the invaders out. If in such circumstances people come along and try to fritter away what little money we can

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collect in Indian currency and gold, in expenditure which have *no direct and immediate bearing* on the problem of removing the enemy from Indian soil, we may then surely feel despondent about the wisdom, efficiency and usefulness of such persons in times of a grave national emergency. In fact, all funds should now be spent *exclusively* on the recruitment and training of soldiers, on arms purchase which includes transport vehicles, planes and other craft and supplies required by the army, navy and airforce ; and on road building, provisions of housing, hospitals, fortifications and constructions for civil defence. Digging of canals, electrification of towns and villages, setting up of industries other than those directly and immediately connected with the supply of war material *must stop*, however fundamentally these may be linked up with the question of national progress. We believe that if the people of India realised and understood clearly and finally that all funds contributed by them would be spent exclusively for direct and immediate military expenditure they would soon give the Government of India many times more than a mere 25 crores of rupees and 70,000 tolas of gold. If the government want to raise funds for their fundamental schemes they should raise it separately and not mix it up with our national war effort.

A. C.

Begin Things in a Small Way

In the long list of virtues and sacrifices one should pick the smaller and not too difficult ones ; practise those fully and thoroughly before going on to non-violence, non-resistance to evil and total self-sacrifice, *i.e.*, giving one's life for a good cause or a great ideal. It is because we do not begin in a small way and prepare ourselves for greater things by steady practice that we always fail to achieve the higher ideals and objectives. In India cleaning the soul, self-immolation, communion with God and winning victories of the spirit by avoiding meat, alcohol, anger and hatred are everyday matters for all those who have no claims to any virtue whatsoever. Our leaders also play the same game of self-deception and pretension. We like to think that a few lathi blows on recalcitrant students or half-a-score rifle bullets fired at random into a crowd of excited factory workers cannot really affect our deep veneration for and undying attachment to the principles preached by Gautama the Buddha. We may offer our lives to save the motherland on paper, over the radio or before mass meetings time and again and yet forget to cough up the rupee or the naye paise which may really pay the expenses for maintaining a soldier on the battle field who will give his life to defend the country without indulging in tall talk, bluff or bluster. This has become the rule everywhere since we have learned to talk big and act meanly in all fields of life. We cannot teach our ordinary men to forego their little illicit profits, bribes or give up bad habits and evil practices in personal life or in the matter of watering milk, adulterating food, cheating in weights or quality and so on ; but we do not hesitate to shout about socialism, *Sarvodaya* or a world free from war and sin with an air of saintliness which we lack entirely. A practical person who really meant to be utterly truthful, honest and good would go about it differently. He would eschew the little lies and dishonesties to begin with and insist on his followers to do the same ; before beginning a campaign on a large-scale against the greater evils and sins of human existence. A man who tolerates evil, injustice and ungodliness in a thousand little things everyday of his life and around him, cannot ever be really fit for establishing a Utopian Society based on pure and true human relations in which there will be no place for greed, arrogance, hatred, lust and unbridled passions. A little humility and quiet self-examination will soon prove to all men, big or small, how far they are truly qualified to preach ideals which they never prepare to practise.

A. C.

Rehabilitating the Congress

Every effort is now being made by the leaders of the Congress Party to bring that political party back into public esteem after the NEFA incidents. The public were very critical of Congress ideology, Congress methods and Congress interference with the management of the nation's affairs in every field of its life. Had the Congress not made a fetish of their Plans, which were not successful either in many cases, they could have kept the Indan Army better provided with modern weapons and fully manned too for emergencies. But the Congress would never see reason nor face facts where their Plans miscarried and they continued in a dogged and fanat

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cal manner to complete their Plans which were quite useless in certain cases, uneconomical in others and expensively non-productive of the promised results generally. That was the public opinion and the Congress could never prove it wrong fully and well. Added to this were the numerous petty quarells and jealousies which divided India up into many factions. The States were slowly becoming over conscious of their "Rights" and territory grabbing continued as in British days. Jobbery, corruption and "wangling" for prize posts, contracts and licences went on unabated. India was being cut up into many separate pieces by the Congress people, thought the public and there were no arguments nor curative measures put up or povided by the Congress or the Congress managed governmental organisations to disabuse the public mind of its low opinion of Congress ethics in the field of internal politics and governance. It was thought everywhere that the administiration, civil as well as military, was being reduced to a very low standard by favouritism, undeserved promotions and unjustified supersessions, all caused by the inner workings of an evil system of "push up" and "pull down," this group or that person, which the Congress leaders introduced and which they did nothing to keep within bounds. The public associated the reverses in NEFA with this evil system and subsequent Government action in the field of appointments and removals proved that the public were right to a great extent in their suspicions. In the International field too the Congress overdid its propaganda for brotherly love and peace at any cost. The public had not realised that preaching peace was not only an ideal but also an essential weapon for national defence. In fact, by attaching overmuch importance to international amity and fellowship and by neglecting military intelligence and procurement of modern armaments to the point of folly, the Congress leaders reduced India to the position of a helpless and decrepit old woman who could scream for help in times of danger but do nothing herself for her own defence. This was not a position, thought the public, which any self-respecting nation should occupy and feel proud of it. Even after the NEFA incidents the Congress camp still carries on the same propaganda for international *bhai bhai* which brought India such misery, at least to some extent. It must, however, be said in their favour that men like Sri Chavan do not believe in mixing issues nor in equivocation garbed in metaphysical clothes. He believes in a fierce hatred for the enemy, who should be attacked, chased and annihilated. And one must be prepared to die in carrying out this plan of liquidation of the enemy. There are others in the Congress camp who like to dupe themselves and others by toning down their hatred of the enemy. "Hate the sin, but not the sinners" they say. But how can there be any disembodied sin separated from the sinners ? And with what weapons can you kill sin without touching the people who sin ? But then, all that is high-level thinking and we poor mortals cannot expect to rise so high.

In the circumstances the Congress leaders have now come to ralise that their party needs rehabilitation in public esteem in order to continue as a political party which will rule the country. Though some of their leaders, important ones too, are still thinking of loving the enemy or their ancestors or descendants, the common and garden variety of Congressmen are thinking in a plain and simple manner. They now know that one cannot love a poisonous snake and the only way to escape being bitten to death is to crush the snake under one's heavy boots. Bare footed men cannot carry out this scheme without ending things up in a *fatal fiasco*. So heavy boots must be procured even at the cost of selling one's radiogram, long playing records of love songs and cinema implements for showing pictures of snake charmers playing with snakes. The Congress has got to come back to occupy a place of honour again in the public mind, think all Congressmen who have any common sense and a sense of realities. Others may dote over the stuffed bodies of their dead ideals, but those who realise that there is not much time in which to prepare to meet the next onslaught by the Chinese, do not believe in beating about the bush. They want to turn the Congress into a fighting unit. For they know that the Congress cannot continue to rule India unless they learnt to avoid all ideological quibbles and to face the enemy squarely, fight them and chase them over and across the Himalayas.

A. C.

Are the Chinese Our Enemies ?

We are often told by our highly intellectual political leaders that we have no enmity with the

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Chinese people. Strictly logically *all* Chinese men, women and children have not entered our territory, shot down our unwary soldiers and looted our homesteads in Ladakh and NEFA and, therefore, *all* inhabitants of China are not our enemies. But in that case no people or nation on earth has ever been the enemy of any other people or nation at anytime in the history of the world. When we speak about nations or peoples at war we merely refer to the powers that rule over such nations or peoples. That is, the ruling people of one country direct its armies to attack the armies of another country, and, then, we say, the two nations or peoples are enemies of one another and are at war. The Chinese Government have ordered their soldiers to invade India and they have done so. They have ravaged one part of our fair country and have killed many Indians. In the circumstances, the Chinese people have become our enemies, though all Chinese men, women and children may not have taken part in this wanton invasion. Mao Tse-tung has acted inimically towards Jawaharlal Nehru ; though the two have not actually exchanged blows with one another. There is a common sense logic in the usage of languages which does away with all imaginary or metaphysical ambiguities and paradoxes that crop up in the brains of persons who cannot call a spade a spade by reason of a twist in their intellectual outlook. We nevertheless know who are our enemies and who are not. For we argue with ourselves, "If the Chinese people are not our enemies, who are the people who invaded our territory, killed our Jawans and looted our townships ?" Can there be abstract enemies with no nationality or race ? Ghost legions ?

A. C.

Dr. Rajanikanta Das

On the 17th August, 1962, expired at the General Hospital, Washington DC (U.S.A.), Prof. Dr. Rajanikanta Das, Economist and author, well-known to the readers of "The Modern Review", in which English monthly and in Bengali "Prabasi" has been published many thought-provoking articles by and on Dr. Das and his talented wife Dr. Sonya Ruth Das, who wrote a thesis on Indian women in French for a Doctor's degree of the University of Paris. She and her learned husband, Dr. Das, carefully nursed Sri Ramananda Chatterjee in Geneva where he fell ill after attending the League of Nations' meeting in 1926 as an independent 'observer' from Indian journalism. Dr. Das was a known well-wisher of the Brahmo educational colony at Bansbaria village (W. Bengal) and brought his rich experience in rural education when he was appointed Director to the Rural Welfare Department of Dr. Tagore's Viswa-Bharati which should remember Dr. Das and his useful activities. He was the principal Economist for years at the International Labour Offices, Geneva, where I watched him

Rajanikanta Das

handling its rich library and records, which he often quoted in his well-documented articles in "The Modern Review" and "Welfare" edited by Sri Asoke Chatterjee his co-worker at Sriniketan at the Surul Centre as early as 1921-22. Dr. Das wrote a book on Indian Labour on the Pacific coast which is so useful. In August, 1946 he was appointed Economic Adviser to the U. S. Military Government on the National Economy Board of South Korea, which office he held for 1½ years.

Kalidas Nag.

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Duty of Politicians

Political Party members all over India have a special duty and responsibility to perform and carry out during the national emergency. In a manner of speaking and rally and truly, the emergency has been brought about our political party men, who have followed the policies of their leaders implicitly and without "reasoning why". That is why we have been landed in this mess and we look now at our politicians to pull us out of the mess. But our politicians are spending their time in delivering sermons and expounding the theories of patriotic action for the benefit of their less thoughtful countrymen. As far as we know, very few of our party members, M.L.A.s, M.L.C.s, M.Ps. and Rajya Sabhaites are learning to fight, taking parting fire-fighting, ambulance or A.R.P. practice or doing any productive work at village, town or city level. The same is true of our Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Whips and the superior service holders. Everybody is lecturing in a non-stop manner without doing any actual work for the civil or military defence of the country. It will be in the fitness of things if all Ministers and other incumbents of Government had to do some real work or take training in some sphere of the so-called war effort. All M.L.A.s, etc., should also be made to work and learn things for winning the "war". For we are quite fed up with the speeches, announcements and advice that they give up in their usual non-stop fashion. Mahatma Gandhi made every Congressman spin. They should now take their choice of rolling bandages or growing cabbages. But they must not be allowed to drag the country into trouble without suffering any themselves. Make all of them work and take training.

A. C.

Poor Man's War

So far as we can judge this war has been so far and will probably remain, if it developed, a poor man's war. For poor men, mainly, die, suffer and pay for this war. Our soldiers and workers in war industries will be the poor and all the heavy taxation and large donations by companies will eventually devolve upon the poor. In olden days wars were fought between kings and the people who died, suffered or benefitted by wars were the king's associates, the Lords, the Knights, the Emirs, the Umrahs, and so forth. Foreign invaders looted big treasures and the hoarded wealth of the rich and the poor people seldom suffered any losses due to wars or changes of rulers. Big jobs only went to the followers of new rulers and the ordinary men hardly experienced any losses. But the war with the Chinese will be different. They are a prolific race with vast numbers of unemployed and starving people among them. If the Chinese occupied any areas in India their people will grab the land of our poor people. Their people will also grab all small jobs, small trades, shops, ateliers in fact, everything that gives the poor man his bread. The starving Chinese will act like hungry wolves and by the time they fulfil their comprehensive hunger, India's poor men and women will have nothing left for their own maintenance. So the poor people of India should wake up and take notice of things. Their "liberation" by the Chinese will soon liberate also their souls from their bodies.

A. C.

Patriotism

What is patriotism ? Is it just pure love of one's country and one's people to the exclusion of all attachments to rulers, ruling cliques, *raj* and such like things which are found within the country as functionally conspicuous parts of the body of the nation ; or is it loyalty to this man, monarch or political group or religious community ? The answer is clear and free from all ambiguity. Love of the country and the nation is the magnetic pole of patriotism to which all patriotic hearts swing automatically and unerringly ; and no other consideration of personalities, cults or party obligations can come in the way of that supreme emotion which enthuses entire nations to fight for the motherland and risk their lives and all that they possess for its freedom and honour. Great patriots like Cromwell and Washington have fought their kings to establish the rights of the nation and names of many other patriots come to our mind when we discuss the nature of patriotism. There have been patriots who have fought for true liberty and freedom of their own people. Among them we find men like Mazzini, Garibaldi, Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Lenin, Trotskey, Stalin, Kemal Ataturk and a host of other people. There have been too those patriots who had a twisted sense of progress and advancement for their nations. Such were Hitler and Mussolini. They thought too much of their own ideas and their patriotism really meant a projection of their own whims and fancies. Slowly they came to associate their own personalities with the spirit of their

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nations until they began to think that Hitler was Germany and Italy meant nothing more than Benito Mussolini. And that is why their patriotism became a human crime. All patriots begin their emotional life by feeling a passionate attachment to their nation and motherland. The Nation's honour and happiness become like a magnification of their own honour and happiness. But if the patriots achieve their objectives and their nations begin to move forward to greater fulfilments, then the patriots sometimes lose their sense of realities by drinking deep of the ready wine of success. In such cases they may occasionally go off the rails like Mussolini and Hitler and begin to think, feel and act in an egoistic frenzy; thinking that their thoughts and emotions were exactly what the Nation should think and feel. Some of them would even go so far as to try and deprive the nation of its liberty and freedom in order to prove the superiority of their own whims to the wishes and desires of their fellow nationals. In such cases patriotism decays and breeds tyranny in its place and the patriots of yesterday assume the garb of tyrants. True patriots should never allow a professional outlook to cloud their emotional vision. For, those who live and prosper by making use of their patriotic urges, soon begin to overstep the limits of pure love of country and to try to build a citadel of success for themselves over the broken remains of the freedom and liberty which they had fought for and won in the past. Such, moral tragedies have taken place in the history of nations again and again. Man's ego is the greatest enemy of human freedom and a destroyer of the rights of the peoples of the world. There is nothing genuinely good in the ego of men who wants to impose their will upon millions of fellow men. Such men should be resisted and rendered harmless.

A. C.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

Chinese Aggression and India's Defence Effort

Speaking to the Lok Sabha in April, 1959, Prime Minister Nehru stated that three factors governed India's policy towards Peoples' China, *viz.*, (i) the preservation of the security and integrity of India, (ii) our desire to maintain friendly relations with China, and (iii) our deep sympathy for the people of Tibet. "That policy," he said, "we shall continue to follow because we think it is a correct policy, not only for the present but even more for the future. It would be a tragedy" he emphasized, "if the two great countries of Asia—India and China—which have been peaceful neighbours for centuries past, should develop policies of hostility against each other." Yet, ever since India accorded official recognition to Communist China in December, 1949, the latter's policies have been frankly hostile to both India and Tibet. Only a short while after the Peoples' Reupblic of China acceded to power, in January, 1950, it proclaimed that one of the basic tasks of the 'People's Liberation Army' would be to "*liberate* Tibet and stand guard at the Chinese frontiers."

Tracing back the history of Chinese communists, they first came into contact with the Tibetans in 1934 when the Communist armies of the 'long march' escaped into Sinkiang Province with a view to evading battle with Chiang Kai Shek's army. This army was under Chu Teh, and another army of the 'long march' under Mao Tse Tung and Chou-en-Lai crossed into Tibet and looted the monastaries and generally spread murder and devastation to whomsoever came into contact with them. Later, speaking to Edgar Snow, the well known American writer and journalist, Mao Tse Tung was reported to have said "this is our only foreign debt and some day we must pay the Mantzurs and Tibetans for the provisions we were obliged to take from them." It was obviously a *slip* on Mao's part to have used the word *foreign* in this context, for in all later pronouncements the Chinese categorically and consistently claimed that "Tibet, historically, has always been a part of China." Tibet realised even in those early days the menace of China and desparately turned all ways to develop her military potentials with a view to strengthening her defences for maintaining her national integrity. Unfortunately the British to whom they had first turned, were not able to provide any substantial assistance in this regard because of their preoccuptions with World War II. Later, Independent India was obviously yet too weak to be relied upon, and seeking a way of evading

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possible further Chinese aggression upon her territories, Tibet sent a mission to Nanking in the hope of reaching an acceptable solution of her borders with China and obtaining recognition of her independent status. The Tibetan delegates were asked to attend the next session of the National Assembly to whom their requests were said to have been forwarded for consideration. They retruned to attend and were seated among Chinese delegates and photographed. Next day this photograph was published in illustrated Chinese papers with the legend that they attended as *elected* delegates from the *Tibetan areas of China.* India took formal note of the event and asked for explanations, whereupon she was told that any problem between Tibet and China would be solved by peaceful negotiations. How they were solved by peaceful negotiations were to be proved soon after when, in 1950, the Chinese overran Tatsienlu, the buffer area between Tibet and China and progressively suborned and overran other local governments one after the other. It was reported that more than 10,000 labourers were engaged on building and improving roads between the two countries and large contingents of special troops were being given training for long periods at a time at high altitudes with a view to acclimatizing them in these high and difficult terrains.

These early essays in the occupation and subjugation of Tibet was followed in October of the same year by overrunning Tibet with a 50,000 strong army, reinforced and supported by the months-long elaborate plans and organizations they had been feverishly building up in the meanwhile. India, in a note to China protested against the harmful effects of resorting to military action which, it was pointed out, would prejudically affect the latter's candidature for entry into the U.N. In their reply, the Chinese Government criticized the Government of India as "having been affected by foreign influences hostile to China and Tibet." India expressed surprise at the Chinese reply and emphasized that she only wished for peaceful settlement of the problem "adjusting the legitimate Tibetan claim to *autonomy* within the *framework of suzereinty*."

Speaking on the Lok Sabha Debate in September, 1959, with a reference to which the present discussion has been opened, the Prime Minister said, "We realized—we knew that amount of history—that a strong China is *naturally* an *expansionist China.* Throughout history that has been the case. And we felt that the great push towards industrialization of that country plus the amazing pace of its population increase, would together create a most dangerous situation. Taken also with the fact of China's somewhat inherent tendency to be expansive when she is strong, we realized the danger to India....If any person imagines that we have followed our China policy without realizing the consequences, he is mistaken. If he thinks that we followed it because of fear of China, he is doubly mistaken."

The logic of the Prime Minister would seem, on the face of it, to be somewhat muddled and this muddle-headedness would seem to have been correspondingly reflected upon his China policy and all the action or ommission to act on the part of his Government relative thereto. But the initial trouble, so far as India is concerned, would seem to have stemmed from the initiative taken by the Indian Government in regard to two distinctive matters ; first, in going out of its way, in 1950, to accord India's official recognition to China's claims of suzereinty over Tibet by stating that it desired a "settlement of Sino-Tibetan problems by peaceful means within the framework of suzereinty," and, later, in initiating an agreement with China on the basis of India's formal declaration of her recognition of China's rights of suzereinty over Tibet. Thereby the Prime Minister and his Government not merely exposed the fear complex that had been vitiating the thinking of the Indian Government, to the extent of gratuitiously according rights to China in respect of a third-party nation over whom she had no rights whatever herself, in spite of his stoutest denials to the contrary, but also that the India Government was ready to adopt any means that would be likely to divert Chinese 'expansiveness' away from the doors of its own country. Mr. Nehru had recently, in a press interview, been reported to have accused the Western Powers to have been acting as parties to Pakistani blackmail upon India in respect of Kashmere. Would not his Government's dealings with the Chinese *vis-a-vis* Tibet during all the years since 1950 until 1959 deserve to be rated more or less on an identical footing ?

Chinese intentions on India's northern borders had begun to unfold itself fairly unambiguously even as early as November, 1950, when a map was publicized by China showing the whole of the

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Himalayan submountain tracts and even large parts of the Brahmaputra Valley in Assam as Chinese territory. Portests from the Indian Government had elicited the reply from the Chinese that these were old maps, but strangely enough, when the Sino-Indian Treaty of 1954 was ratified, this matter was not considered or referred to. The only excuse that the Prime Minister could prefer as to why this obviously important issue was not raised on that occasion was "it was our belief that since our frontier was clear, there was no question of our raising this issue."

In the meanwhile the Chinese had already started gradually infiltrating into Indian territory both on the North-west and North-east and, by 1959, had already annexed large tracts of Indian territory under Chinese military occupation. She has also been building up a large strike-force in these areas, laying down strategic roads, moving up equipments and stores, and doing all that is normally done to develop an aggressive military potential, in these sectors. These incursions into Indian territory, which had started in a steady stream from as early as 1955, had already assumed quite threatening proportions about which the Government of India were not either fully aware or of which they were reluctant to dole out information until the Prime Minister was compelled to inform the Lok Sabha in reply to a series of very pointed questions which could no longer be evaded. But even then, he attempted to justify the Government's and, especially the Defence Ministry's callous and criminal negligence and indifference in the matter by endeavouring to make out that these facts were of no especial significance or importance as, to quote the Prime Minister again, "not a blade of grass grew" in these terrains. As events since October last year now conclusively prove, the Indian Defence Intelligence must have been supremely indifferent to what was going on ; to the massive preparations for the acclimatization, training, equipment and supplies to a huge strike-force that had been, in gradual stages, built up in these two sectors of India's northern boundaries and how these were able to easily outflank the numerically weak, militarily ill-equipped (completely unequipped would, perhaps, be a more appropriate description), suddenly rushed Indian armed forces, and penetrated deep into Indian territory. These are also incontrovertible facts of recent history which no amount of Governmental causuistry would help ever to properly explain away.

The reason why the Chinese, in the face of their very substantial and continuing gains on Indian territory, suddenly decided to take a unilateral decision to cease-fire followed, subsequently, by withdrawal or their forces, is a matter which may have had a variety of factors to have influenced it, not the least of which may have been their obvious miscalculation as to the manner and extent of Western arms aid that would be so quickly rushed to India's aid. That India's nation-wide determination to throw out the enemy, whatever the cost and come what may, may have had something to do with such a Chinese decision, may also be partly true. But that the Chinese menace has not been, by any means, liquidated for all times to come, is also equally obvious. What our Government have been doing to actually mobilize and, what is far more important, to channelize unmistakable Indian enthusiasm and determination to meet this unresolved menace on our frontiers, is the question that has to be seriously faced now. Evidence so far available does not indicate that beyond long, futile, and often self-contradictory speeches and statements by the powers that rule our roost for the time being, anything practical is being done to place the country on a *real* war footing or to direct and channelize massive Indian determination and enthusiasm towards effective means of resistance of a powerful enemy.

It is almost inevitable that a certain measure of inflation would be an unavoidable concommittant of any major shooting war for, even with the utmost mobilization of all possible resources, increasing gaps between revenue and the minimal needs of defence expenditure would be an unavoidable eventuality. Britain had to fight a long and arduous war for her very self-preservation and the funds called for, for the purpose, had to be correspondingly astronomical in measure. The supply of money in the U.K. during the War, therefore, increased between the years 1938 and 1947 by as much 160 per cent against an increase in the national income by 8 per cent. It is understandable that a measure of inflation for fighting the Chinese War would also be inevitable in India even after all possible measures for mobilizing resources had been pressed to service. Unfortunately, it is the endeavour for this mobilization that, in spite of heavy public pressure, seems still to be totally absent. In the result, inflation would be bound to come much sooner and in much heavier measures than need be and which would have the devastating effect of freezing resources that could have been usefully mobilized earlier. There is no indication that Government have been prepared to take necessary and expeditious action,—and expedition is of the most vital moment in this context,—along these legitimate and fruitful lines.

K. N.

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ROLE OF LANGUAGE FOR EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION AND HINDI

By SUDHANSU TUNGA

It is an established fact that language plays a vital part to nourish closer ties between a man and another. People speaking the same language think themselves more or less of the same stock and, therefore, are nearer to one another. Moreover, as exchange of ideas can be launched uninterruptedly, a better understanding is fostered among them and the character, traits, likes and dislikes of the man speaking are clearly reflected to the man spoken to. This cannot be made possible if their media of expression are different ; for example, a man speaking Bengali may understand Hindi and another speaking Hindi originally may somehow understand Bengali, but when they meet together they will never understand themselves because of the simple fact that the complex of language is as strong in the human mind as that of religion. One loves one's own religion most, and no less one's own language. And if in a country is spoken only one language, everybody will love it and from love of his language he will love his country.

But still it can never be presumably upheld that language is the sole factor to create friendly terms between people. Bengali is the only language in Bengal for centuries; people of every walk and position of life, of every caste and creed, have been speaking it from 12th century A.D. But the tie of one language could not bind them together—1947, Bengal was divided into two for mere political reasons, as a result of communal feelings rising through the preachings of the Muslim League. The same case can be found in China and America in the past. English was used in England as well as in American Colonies. They were lived in by people coming of the same stock as well. Still America rose against England and declared war as a result of which the Colonial Government was formed independently in America when they won the war against the Mother Country, *i.e.*, England. English could not bind them together. From time immemorial the Chinese language was spoken and written in China, the highest populated country. But during regal periods many a rebellious movement arose and uproar began every now and then, as a result. The history of China is, therefore, the history of internal conflicts and civil wars. Dynasty after dynasty was thrown down and the people changed everytime their outlook, which caused great upheavals in the internal situation of the country as a whole.

It cannot, therefore, be very wise to assert the view that language is the sole element to create friendship between people.

India is a vast country. Here are many communities, many races. There is the Hindu, there is the Muslim, and many others. Is it possible to trample down all such barricades so that men may come close to one another and a watertight nation is built thereupon ? The answer to this question is very simple. No; a simple no and nothing else.

In ancient times, as taught by out history, India, or better, Northern India, formed a civilisation of its own, based entirely upon the Vedic culture. One single language was spoken at that time throughout the whole country. This was Sanskrit. For many centuries Sanskrit was used in all cultural and political intercourse as well as household affairs. But no sooner did the caste system come into being than Sanskrit lost its former position. People of very low rank and social position who spent much of their time in cultivation of food grains and raising livestocks had not any education so called. As a result they could not pronounce Sanskrit as laid down by the high priests of the Society, and as such a new dialect grew out of Sanskrit most naturally—Prakrit. Afterwards Pali and Apabhramsa followed suit. Side by side with Sanskrit all the three languages, or better, dialects went in use for many centuries. But never was wanting the unity or integration in the country. People of very high social position, who were the priests and royal personages, exerted deep-rooted influences upon the general mass. Everyone, therefore, though differing in the use of languages took the same culture and Vedic gospel as the guiding principal of life. That is why a cosmic India, or Northern India, as it is better to say, was possible in those days of remote antiquity. And that it lost afterwards its ancient heritage is due to many reasons. The priests and royal personages who

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were born of high colours looked generally down upon the people of very low social position who formed the major part of the population as it is today. This way came the sectarian element into the whole and the civilisation which was originally so well-based and well-formed trampled to the ground like a structure built of cards. Language, so to say, had no part to play in it.

Afterwards, India many times came together under the supreme rule of kings and emperors, as in the Mourya period, Kushan period, Gupta period, etc. In those periods of royal regime northern India expanded into a greater one covering the South, the East, the West and it was no more Northern India but India as a whole. Speaking more elaborately, it was during these times that Vedic culture penetrated into the whole of India and not remained concealed in the limited compas of North India from where it was originated. So far the South had its own culture —the Dravidian culture totally independent of the Vedic one of North India. When these two cultures came together, a great liasion was formed between, knitting the whole of India culturally into the same even up till now. And language did not put a bar before this union. South India, like its own culture, gave birth to as many as four languages, namely, Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam and Kannada; and these four languages remained there as before like Pali, Prakrit and Apabhramsa in North India. All these languages of the South, though their origin was as primitive as the civilisation of the South, came to form a standard of their own comparatively recently, after the advent of Lord Christ. However, we can see that there were as many as seven great languages prevailing in the country at the one and same time, in place of only one, *i.e.*, Sanskrit, and none of this group was suppressed on the plea of one language. Still the Vedic and Dravidian culture-fusion was formed like granite stone and unity was not absent in the country. This was, however, the fact during the period which started from 3rd century B.C. and terminated at 10th century after the birth of Christ.

The next period was a fuddling one. For at least five hundred years unity went out of sight. But during the reign of Mughal Emperors again India became united and culturally speaking, it was a compound of Hindu-Islamic origin. Languages spoken and used in respect of administration were many and each was granted its due liberty of circulation. This way the great Mughal empire lasted for nearly four hundred years and within so vast a period breach of unity was never seen positively. But that the great Mughal empire fell one day to pieces and went out of sight in the long run, is due the fact that some of the emperors and kings had no respect for the religion of others, rather they being the Mughal, who were intimately related in terms of religious belief with the Mohammedans, made attempts and took measures likewise to Islamise those who were the first to settle in this subcontinent centuries ago. Towards the end of Mughal regime came from the west the English with their modern education, outlook and culture. For nearly two centuries they drove their own car and everything originating from the country became westernised.

From all these facts discussed above the lesson we get is that unity or integrity did never depended on language. The Mourya kings used Pali not because it was the language of the kings but because it was spoken and understood throughout the country. Later, when Sanskrit resumed its former appellation during the Kushan and it was made the state language, Gupta periods and pali became extinct. But in order to meet the demand of the contemporary generation in later periods Sanskrit was outcast giving place to Prakrit and Apabhramsa, and no single language was ever predominant in ancient as well as mediaval India. In 1857, one hundred years after the British landed in this country, a countrywide mutiny arose among the Sepoys against the East India Company for their misrule and usurping mentality. English was not then understood everywhere and by evedybody and no single Indian Language was found to take a definite shape throughout the country. Still the Sepoys became united and rose against the British. What then, is the tie that bound them together? Surely not language but patriotic feelings of the countrymen.

Today, a great change has already taken place, and the India we are now living in is a changed India, changed from its unsophisticated background of Vedic culture, and later, Vedic merged with Dravidian. Two centuries with the British the people of India digested overmuch the western culture and modern education. The individualistic trait which was the outcome of the French Revolution has grown deep into the heart of every man today and economic depression loaded with the unemployment

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problem, which is a grim crisis since the British left India, has compelled him to depend on none but himself. Added to this is the lesson of two great wars. Since the dawn of human civilisation never was so much blood shed at a time and so great a sacrilegious murder of humanity committed, leaving everything under the pitiable condition of devastation and disruption. People throughout the world have in their stock the bitterness of war and as such they become overconscious about the political atmosphere of the world today. As a direct result everything has most necessarily become remodelised to suit the climate of the present times, as in the case of government, two great changes have been noticeable : there is, on the one hand, Democracy and Communism on the other. Anything which had its origin nowhere but in the human mind recently will, therefore, most necessarily have its due reaction if it be imposed forcibly upon the generation following.

Moreover, the growth of provincial mentality which is a resultant factor of English education given as per purpose, has taken its root very deep among the people of India today. Wedded to this is trade and commerce of the country, captured and encouraged disproportionately, so that burning flames have touched the combustibles which, are in store for many of those who are not benifited by that policy.

From this standpoint the question as to the formation of a one language State on the plea of emotional integrity is to be judge and no cause, however minor, directly or indirectly, should be left unattended to. If such be done, we will see that it is not possible in India to form a State on the basis of one language, because India is a multilingual State, English playing the predominant part. In this condition no one single language except English can meet the demand of everybody.

India is inhabited now by a population of 440 million among which the largest circulated one single is Hindi (mixed with Urdu), which is spoken by only 150 million—not a very great proportion. In that case if Hindi be imposed—or pushed step by step, as the Government of India has taken measure to do so—on the rest of 290—million people, it may lead to chaos because of the fact that the ratio of greater length will never submit to that of lesser one. This assumption is not a vague one; if we look at the contemparary history of the world, we can see it as easily as anything else. Once in East Pakistan Urdu was tried an introduction by the Government of Pakistan on the plea that to keep peace and tranquillity in the country the State should be formed on the basis of one language. But this attempt was given a setback by the people of East Pakistan where Bengali is spoken universally, as a result of which the Government of Pakistan had to discard the policy. If Hindi be imposed on the whole of India on such grounds, it is very likely that similer occurrences will happen in no time.

The British came to India when there was no unity among the states and kingdoms in the country, and they came here to trade, simply to trade. But if, on the other hand, they were motivated from the very first of their landing on this subcontinent by usurpation, it is most probable that the then kings and nawabs would become united and attempts on their part made to teach the British their due lesson. But the British are a clever people—a race of shopkeepers. People of contemporary India, therefore, failed to discover the usurping mentality of the former; had it been not so, the history of India would have been written otherwise. Imposition of Hindi, as it is going on today, is nothing but a like tactics and so it must turn fatal one day.

One language State, it is free from doubt, was never in the history, and what was never in history will not be in India at least in her present position.

In conclusion, the cause for the absence of emotional integrity, it can be definitely said, is *political* and not linguistic. If it be linguistic, India would not be distracted as it is today, because for long as two hundred years English, a language of more impetuosity, has been taking a deep shape at every nook and corner of India. But the case is otherwise. The policy to form India linguistically one, therefore, should be left immediately, as language may be only one but not the sole cause of national integrity. Had it been not so there would have been no war for American Independence in 1776, nor also could the people of Bengal dissect their mother land into East Pakistan and West Bengal in 1947.

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GRANTS-IN-AID IN INDIA AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By S. CHANDRASEKHARAN, M.A.
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Today Grants-in-aid are in a variegated state of confusion. "There is a lack of coherence and conformity to any broad principles in the system of grants-in-aid at present in force in India."[1] In 1870, under Lord Mayo, they appeared in the form of aiding fixed purposes. In the "Mont-Ford Reforms, "inverted grants" have made the provinces pay the centre as the sword of Democles of deficits was on the centre at that time, which did not last long. The 1935 Act provided Grants-in-aid with an impetus. Sir Otto Niemeyer's suggestions of 1936 regarding the amounts to be paid to the provinces for maintaining fiscal stability were unconditional and to be in force upto 1948.

Independence pronounced the dependence of the states on the centre. The grants at the end of the pre-Independence stage were converted into matching grants, only to disappear in 1950, except those of very specific nature.

Articles 273 of the New Constitution provides for grants-in-aid to Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal in lieu of export duty on jute products. As per Article 275, such sums as Parliament may by law provide shall be charged on the consolidated fund of India in each year as grants-in-aid of the revenues of such States as Parliament may determine to be in need of assistance and that different sums may be fixed for different States. Thirdly, as per Article 282, the Union and the State Governments may make grants for any public purpose not withstanding that the purpose is not the one with respect to which Parliament or the legislature of the States, as the case may be, may make laws. Article 280 of the Constitution provides for the Finance Commission to determine grants-in-aid except those under Act 282 and the two provisos to Art. 275. The Ministry of Home Affairs provides financial assistance to States, as regards the provisos to Art. 275, for the welfare of backward classes. The pattern of assistance was on the basis of 50 :50 ever since the reorganization of the States was performed. "Revenue gap" grants and special grants were being given to Part B and Part C States before 1956 under the Federal Financial Integration Agreements.

The first Finance Commission considered the comparative budgetary needs of the States which specially shown abnormalities, if any, that upset the budgets. They "have taken into account the additional burdens arising out of the partition of the country which have been placed upon some of the States."[2] Secondly, they have insisted upon the States to qualify for grants by aiming at obtaining an optimum tax structure. Thirdly, the States should observe the strictest economy possible. The Commission have also kept before them "the need for assisting the less developed States through special grants which would enable them to raise the standards of one of the important social services."[3] As a whole importance was placed on obligations of national importance, political partition famine conditions and economic underdevelopment.

The Second Commission had, a little stringently, imposed upon the principles of grants-in-aid in that if a State had raised the additional revenue which it had promised for the implementation of the Plan, that State could be considered to have made the maximum tax effort. It also stated that grants should be provided to help a State to bring its basic standards of social services on a par with those available in other States. But, since this aspect is more relevant matter for the Planning Commission, the Finance Commission jettisoned the idea of social service grants.

The Commission set off important ideas

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such as that assistance should depend upon the fiscal need in a comprehensive sense of co-operated planned development, bridging the gap between the ordinary revenue and inescapable expenditure and that grants have to be of a residuary and unconditional nature.

These large grants were subject to the Commission's warning that they could be justified only in the context of the Second Plan's larger requirements, but were not to be taken as indicating the permanent requirements of the States for their ordinary budgetary needs. Nevertheless, the principles and approach in defraying grants have remained basically the same. The basic over-all approach of Niemeyer still remains valid.[4] The Commission, further, saw "no reason for departing from this basic approach to the problem of grants-in-aid although our emphasis on the various principles laid down by our predecessors has been influenced by subsequent developments."[5] The Commission criticized the concept of "tax effort" of its predecessor in fixing eligibility for grants-in-aid which said "clear cases" of inadequate taxation are difficult to determine.....Low per capita taxation in poor States may simply be evidence of low taxable capacity.....It is ....difficult to decide whether a State is taxing its people adequately in relation to their income and taxable capacity. Some kind of empirical judgement is inevitable. In our assessment of tax effort we have assumed that if a State raised additional revenue which it has promised for the Plan, it will have done its part."[6]

The third Finance Commission observed about the principles of grants-in-aid as "unexceptionable in themselves, but, difficulties as appreciated by the first Commission arise in their application. The comparative determination of the tax efforts of the States cannot be in absolute terms. It has to be related to their tax potential, and this calls for a special study."[7]

The "fiscal needs" affected by development programmes apart from the "budgetary needs" formulated by the first Commission and the reaffirmation that grants-in-aid should be considered in a comprehensive sense of the fiscal needs to subserve the requirements of planned development, have been taken note of by the third Commission. ". . . we should not leave out of consideration the fiscal needs of the Plan. Our terms of reference also give recognition to this principle by directing us specifically to take note of the requirements of the Third Five-Year Plan."[8]

The Commission, while appreciating that centralization and regimentation in some degree are inescapable in the context of planned development, felt that the States should get out of the fear that their autonomy is being unduly frustrated due to the restrictions and conditions attached to the grants.

The question of covering 75 p.c. of the revenue component of the States' Plans was objected to on the ground that it would have serious impact on the concept and mechanism of national planning. According to the majority of the Commission, only 25 p.c. will be left to be given under Article 282 to provide flexibility and the bone of contention in the Dissent Note is that it will weaken the hands of the Centre in enforcing compliance with the Plan. "If there are defects in the present system (grants made under Article 282), they are capable of being remedied.....Measures to impart greater flexibility to the present system have been recently devised.....But to displace such a system by a system of statutory grants, is like throwing the baby out with the bath-water."[9] The Government of India have rejected the recommendation of the majority and accpeted the views of the official representative in the Commission.[10]

From the study, one conclusion will be that the States have to be the agents of economic developments, depending upon the Centre. There seems to be little place for thinking about their sovereignty whether it is at cross roads or at the right place. "... In practice, it has been found by both Canada and Australia and the U.S.A., that sizeable federal grants cannot be avoided.[11] ....strict observance of the principle of financial independence would mean that they have to be treated with a raw and primitive

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fatalism which is valid only in respect of acts of God."[12] Fifteen years of Indian history of federal finance is not clear enough yet, as regards any decisive policy. There stems out controversy between the discretionary and statutory grants. More than once, it has been suggested to go deep into the principles of grants-in-aid as well as the qualifications to be attached. It will be good to save the baby from being thrown out with the bath-water, but it should not be strangled in our anxiety to redress it. A permanent body attached to the Planning Commission might auger well to make problems simpler. Nothing prevents the research bodies to examine the advanced systems again and find some solution in an organisation like the Australian Commonwealth Grants Commission. While assessing the needs of the States pickled with inequalities, it is also a matter to be pondered that premium should not be placed on the prodigals at the expense of the provident.

1. P. P. Agarwal, *Grants-in-aid in India* p. 73.
2. *Report of the Finance Commission*, 1952, p. 99.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
4. *Report of the Finance Commission*, 1957, p. 23.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
6. *Ibid.*, Pp.24-25.
7. *Report of the Finance Commission* 1961, Pp. 28-29.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
9. Minute of Dissent by Shri G. R. Kamat *Report of the Finance Commission*, 1961, p. 52
10. K. Santhanam, *The Hindu*, 17th. March
11. Dr. K. V. S. Sastri, Comment, *Federalism and Economic Growth in under developed countries*—A Symposium, 1961, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., p. 129.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 131

ACHARYA BRAJENDRANATH SEAL
His Contributions to Philosophical Studies

By S. C. CHATTERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

Sir Brajendranath Seal's contributions to philosophical studies are many and multifarious. It is not possible for me to enumerate them all or to discuss any of them at full length. Some of his contributions bear directly on strictly philosophical topics and problems, as for instance, his monographs on the Sankhya-Patanjala theory of Evolution, the Vedantic View, the Atomic theory of the Buddhists and of the Jainas, and the Scientific method of the Hindus, in his well-known work, **The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus.** To these we may add his learned paper on "The Test of Truth" read at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome in 1899 A.D., **and The Quest Eternal** in which he sought to transcribe basic philosophical ideas in forms of pure poetry. Some other contributions of his consist of a philosophical study of religious, sociological and cultural subjects, as for example, his remarkable dissertations on "Comparative Studies in Vaishnavism and Christianity with an Examination of the Mahabharata Legend about Narada's Pilgrimage to Svetadvipa", "Foundation of a Science of Mythology in Yaska and the Niruktas with Greek Parallels," "Origin of Law and Hindus as Founders of Social Science", and his most learned Presidential Addresses at The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society at Bangalore in 1924, and Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Parliament of Religions in Calcutta in 1936. Still some other contributions to philosophical studies were made by him in his most instructive and illuminating talks and lectures to University students,

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some of which have been preserved in the form of notes, and in his wonderful "Syllabus of Indian Philosophy" based on those lectures and focussed on all the areas of the vast and variegated field of Indian philosophy, of which some have been explored and many still remain to be explored and studied. This syllabus will serve as a perpetual source of inspiration and guidance to generations of students, teachers and research scholars in Indian philosophy all over the world. But above all, the most valuable contribution he made to philosophical studies in India is his pioneer-work in the field of comparative studies in philosophy.

There was a time, which is within living memory, when the charge was often heard against Indian philosophy that it was not based on independent reasoning but on authority and, therefore, it was dogmatic, rather than critical. What was, and still now is, necessary to remove this stigma of dogmatism attached to Indian thought by uniformed Western critics, is a comparative study of Indian and Western philosophies, and a critical estimation of the value and validity of their respective contributions to the world of philosophy. Sir Brajendranath Seal was eminently qualified for this task, and it was he who probably first undertook the work in right earnest and accomplished it in part with great success. He is thus a pioneer in the field of comparative studies in philosophy and has inspired many other scholars to work in the same field. His great achievement in this direction is **The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus**, published in 1915 A.D. We would here explain some of the chief contributions of this valuable work to the comparative study of Indian philosophy.

The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus is a series of monographs on the scientific concepts and methods formulated by the ancient Hindus. It is a study of ancient Indian scientific thought and it seeks to correlate the Indian scientific concepts and methods to parallel Western ideas and methods, and thereby bring out the contributions of the ancient Indians to the scientific thought of the world. These studies in Hindu Positive Sciences were intended by Sir Brajendranath to serve as a preliminary to his "Studies in Comparative Philosophy", a projected work which did not see the light of day ; and for this the philosophical world is left the poorer to-day.

In **The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus** we have first an illuminating interpretation of the **Sankhya-Patanjala** theory of **prakriti** and the **gunas.** The concepts of **prakriti** and the **gunas** pervade the whole of the history of Indian thought ; and they are also found in popular literature. But their philosophical import is shrouded in mystery and could not be grasped even by many competent scholars. This has been brought out by a comparative study of them in this work. The **Sankhya-patanjala** theory of **prakriti,** we are told here, is the earliest clear and comprehensive account of the process of cosmic evolution, viewed not as a mere metaphysical speculation but as a positive principle based on the conservation, transformation and dissipation of Energy.

The manifested world of objects is traced in the Sankhya to an ultimate, unmanifested ground called **Prakriti.** The unity **of Prakriti** is an abstraction ; it is in reality an undifferentiated manifold, an indeterminate infinite continuum of infinitesimal Reals. These Reals are termed **Gunas,** and are classed under three heads (1) **Sattva,** (2) **Rajas** and (3) **Tamas. Sattva** is the Essence which manifests itself in a phenomenon, and which is characterised by this tendency to manifestation, the Essence, in other words, which serves as the medium for the reflection of Intelligence. **Rajas** is the Energy which is efficient in a phenomenon, and is characterised by a tendency to do work or overcome resistance. **Tamas** is Mass or Inertia which counteracts the tendency of **Rajas** to do work, and of **Sattva** to conscious manifestation. The ultimate factors of the physical Universe, then, are Essence or intelligence-stuff, Energy or activity-stuff, and Matter or the stuff characterised by mass or inertia. The infinitesimals of Energy do not possess inertia or gravity, and are not therefore material, but they possess quantum **(parimana)** and extensity **(paricchannata).** The very nature of Energy is to do work or to

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produce motion (**calam** and **upastambhakam**). All Energy is, therefore, ultimately kinetic; even potential Energy (**anudbhuta-vritti-Sakti**) is only the Energy of motion in imperceptible forms.

The **Gunas** are conceived to be Reals or substantive entities. But they are not independent and self-subsistent entities; rather they are interdependent moments in every real object of the world. In intimate union these enter into things as essential constitutive factors. In everything of the world there is an intelligence-stuff by which it manifests itself to our intelligence, an energy-stuff by which it moves or sets other things in motion, and a matter-stuff which counteracts the tendencies to motion and manifestation. But though co-operating to produce the world of objects, these diverse moments with diverse tendencies never coalesce. In any phenomenal product of their co-operation they continue to exist distinctly in different proportions. Whenever anything is produced there is a preponderance of one over the other two. Thus in a body at rest, **Tamas** or mass is patent, **Rajas** or energy is latent and **Sattva** or conscious manifestation is sublatent. In a moving body, **Rajas** is predominant, while mass or inertia (**tamas**) is overcome. In voluntary activity, the transformation of Energy (**rajas**) goes hand in hand with the predominance of conscious manifestation (**sattva**), while the matter-stuff or Mass (**tamas**), though latent, is to be inferred from the resistance overcome. Thus the interaction among the **gunas** is of a peculiar nature; in it there is co-operation but no inter-penetration or fusion of the ultimate elements of things. In Western science and also Natural philosophy, the physical world is ultimately traced to matter and motion which were once supposed to be externally related, but are now taken to be inseparably connected with each other. On the **Sankhya** analysis, however, all physical things contain an intelligence-stuff in addition to matter and motion. For, without such an element we cannot explain the manifestation of objects in experience. Just as light manifests objects which reflect it in different measures, so intelligence manifests things which contain an element of manifestation in them. Hence, there must be a manifestation-essence in things in addition to their mass and motion constituents. This essence is **sattva**, whereas motion and mass (or inertia) are **rajas** and **tamas** respectively.

If we keep in mind these ideas about the **Gunas** and their interaction we can understand the process of cosmic evolution. In the beginning of the process there was a condition of equilibrium, a state of uniform diffusion of the Reals, in which the tendencies to manifestation and motion were exactly counterbalanced by the resistance of Mass. Although all the materials necessary for building a world-system were there, the impetus for the creative process had to be given by the light of the **Purusa** or the Self. Just as a sleeping body begins to move and act when it is awakened or enlightened by consciousness, so **Prakriti** begins to create when it is roused from quiescence by the consciousness of the self. But the self's consciousness does not add to the **Gunas** or the reals or **Prakriti**. It only serves to end the state of their uniform diffusion and equipoise. The process of cosmic evolution goes on and is closed within **Prakriti** itself. The law of evolution, according to the **Sankhya**, is differentiation in integration. The process of evolution is one of progressive differentiation of the undifferentiated and within the undifferentiated. The order of succession is not from the whole to parts, nor from parts to the whole, but ever from a relatively less differentiated, less determinate less coherent whole to a relatively more differentiated, more determinate and more coherent whole. The process of evolution is not as, on the Spencerian theory it is supposed to be, the transition from a homogeneous unity to heterogeneous parts and then the integration of the heteroeneous parts into a whole, a process which goes on repeating itself for ever. Nor does the process conform to the Hegelian formula of dialectical development from thesis to anti-thesis and from that to synthesis. On the **Sankhya** view, increasing differentiation proceeds pari passu with increasing integration within the evolving whole, so that by this two-fold process of what was an incoherent, indeterminate

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homogeneous whole evolves into a coherent determinate heterogeneous whole.

The different stadia in the order of cosmic evolution are represented as follows :

(1) The unknowable and uncharacterisable original ground of the world of objects—**Prakriti** or the Reals in a state of equilibrium.

(2) The knowable or empirical universe as the stuff of consciousness—**Mahat** or the intelligible essence of the cosmos, evolved by differentiation and integration within the formless **Prakriti**.

(3) The individuated but still indeterminate stuff bifurcated into two series—Subject-experience and Object-experience, the one comprising the empirical Ego, **Asmita** or **Ahankara**; the other comprising, through the mediation of the former, the subtile vehicles of potential Energy, the ultimate subtile constituents of the material world—**Tanmatra** or **Suksma-bhuta.**

(4) The determinate stuff of the Subject-series in the form of sensory and motor stuff, and that of the Object-series in the form of atomic matter-stuff in which the **tanmtaras** are actualised as specific sensible Energies—the **Paramanus** or the atmos of different kinds of gross matter.

(5) The coherent and integrated matter-stuff or individual substances like inorganic objects, vegetable and animal organisms, all of which are subject to change or evolution and dissolution.

(6) So the cosmic series moves on in ascending stages of unstable equilibrium until the reverse course of equilibriation and dissipation of Energy, which constantly accompanies the evolution and transformation of Energy, completes the disintegration of the universe into the original unmanifested ground, the unknowable **Prakriti.**

Throughout the process of evolution the Reals—**Sattva, Rajas** and **Tamas**—assume an infinite diversity of forms and powers, but they can neither be created nor destroyed. The individual objects of experience are subject to addition and subtraction, growth and decay which are only due to changes of collocation and consequent changes of state from the potential to the actual. The total amount of Energy, therefore, remains the same, while the world is constantly changing and evolving. It follows from this that cause and effect are only more or less evolved forms of the same ultimate Energy and that the sum of effects exists in the sum of causes in a potential form. What we call the cause and the effect are only the unmanifested and manifested forms of the same thing, power or energy. All effects are contained potentially in their material causes and are manifested by certain concomittant conditions which set free the energy of the cause and make it patent and manifest. The **Sankhya** view of causation thus follows logically from its doctrine of the conservation and transformation of Energy. On this view of causation the perplexing problem of the relation between cause and effect conceived as two separate entities does not arise. If the cause be something different from the effect and separated from it by an interval of time and space, we cannot understand how any energy or force can pass from the former to the latter. If, however, cause and effect be regarded as two different states of the same thing or power, the hypothesis of a passage of energy from the one to the other becomes unnecessary, and the effect may be said to be a manifestation of the energy latent in the cause or rather the unmanifested causal energy made manifest. Another point of special interest that should be noted here is the **Sankhya** conception of atoms as complex systems. Atoms are not regarded as simple, indivisible and ultimate constituents of matter. There are three stages in the genesis of matter : (1) the orginal infinitesimal units of Mass which arise within **Prakriti** when its original equilibrium is disturbed **(tamasa-ahankara** called **bhutadi)** and on which **Rajas** or Energy does work, (2) the infra-atomic potencies, charged with different kinds of energy, which result from the action of Energy on the original Mass-units **(tanmatra)**, and (3) the five different kinds of atoms which are said to be the

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indivisible parts of gross matter, but are themselves complex Tanmatric systems **(Sthula-bhuta-paramanu)**. Thus atoms are found to be complex systems of potential powers or energies which are infra-atomic in their nature. This is a splendid prophecy about the divisibility of atoms now admitted by modern Western scientists.

The **Advaita-Vedanta** theory of **Maya** and the world's evolution out of it is regarded by many as a philosophical puzzle. Let us see what light one gets on this puzzling matter from the standpoint of the positive sciences. **Maya** is regarded by the **Vedantin** as the material cause **(upadana-karana)** of the world. The power of **Maya** is the power to realise the unreal—to impart practical Reality or mediate existence to that which does not and cannot possess absolute Reality or self-existence. **Maya** is at once real and unreal, while **Brahman** (Self) is absolute Reality, absolute Intelligence and absolute Bliss. The world evolves out of **Maya (mayaparinama)**, so that **Maya** in the **Vedanta** replaces the **Prakriti** of **Sankhya**. But **Maya** and by implication the world, originates out of Brahman not by a process of evolution **(parinama)**, but of **vivarta** or self-alienation. The self-alienation of the Absolute, acting through **Maya**, produces in the beginning the subtile element of **Akasa** which is one, infinite and all-pervasive and has the capacity of sound. From **Akasa** evolves Vayu as a subtile gaseous matter which is instinct with the potential of mechanical energy, i.e., of pressure or impact. From **Vayu** comes **Tejas** as a subtile radiant matter which contains **in potentia** the energy of light and heat. **Ap** evolves from **Tejas** and is a subtile viscous matter, instinct with the potency of taste. Lastly, Earth comes from Ap and is a subtile hard matter which possesses the potency of smell. These five subtile elements are compounded in five different ways to give rise to the five gross material elements of those names **(Mahabhutas)**. The gross element of **Akasa** is produced by the combination of the five subtile elements in the proportion, four parts of **Akasa** and one part of each of the other four subtile elements. Simlarly, each of the other four gross elements is produced by the combination of the subtile elemnets in the proportion, four parts of that element and one part of each of the other four—the four parts of the element to be produced being the radical in each case. This process by which a gross element is produced from the subtile elements is called **Pancikarana** or quintuplication.

The subtile elements **(suksma bhutas)** are forms of homogenous and continuous matter, without any atomicity of structure. The gross elements **(mahabhutas)** are composite, but even these are regarded as continuous and without any atomic structure. **Vedanta** speaks of Anu or the atom not as an ultimate indivisible discrete constituent of matter, but as the smallest conceivable quantum or measure of matter. When the gross elements are once formed, the different kinds of substance or individual things and beings are derived from them by the evolutionary process called Parinama. Matter is constantly undergoing change of states. Causation is this change of states in matter. The effect is only the cause in a new collocation. Change is of two kinds. It may be a spontaneous process, without external influence. Action from without is not always a condition of change, nor is it necessary that more than one substance should combine to generate naother substance, e.g., the formation of curds from milk. Change may also be due to combination with other substances. Such combination may produce a compound substance which possesses either like qualities with the constituents or unlike and new qualities not to be found in the constituents. In this way the world's evolution goes on until the reverse process of dissolution begins and completes the disintegration of the cosmos into its original ground—**Maya**, the inscrutable power of **Brahman** or the Self. The **Vedanta** is at one with the **Sankhya** in holding that the self which is just consciousness as such, is above matter and the cosmic process of evolution. To create another substance, e.g., the formation of self is the logical presupposition and the rational ground of both the process of evolution and the world-systems formed by it. It somehow starts the course of evolution,

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but is not itself subject to evolution or dissolution. This is a truth which no theory of evolution, old or modern, can afford to ignore and far less deny.

So far we have considered what light a compartive study throws on the **Sankhya** and the **Vedanta** theory of cosmic evolution. The limited scope of the present paper does not permit us to study in a similar way the contributions of other Indian Systems to the same subject. But the value of the entire body of Hindu positive Sciences depends on the scientific method of the Hindus. And this we propose to consider next.

By scientific method is meant the method of discovering scientific truths. It is the method of establishing general truths about the facts of experience or the objects of the world, in other words the method of discovering the laws of Nature. The value of a scinece depends entirely on the value of the method it follows in its investigation of the phenomena of Nature to arrive at certain general truths. So the question as to the right scientific method occupies an important place in Indian Logic. Scientific method consits of two main parts, namely, observation of and experiments on facts, and generalisation of facts in the form of laws or principles. With regard to the first part we find that the entire apparatus of Hindu scientific method proceeded on the basis of observed instances carefully analysed and sifted. This was the source of the phsysico-chemical theories and classifications. But in Anatomy the Hindus went a step further and practised dissection on dead bodies for purposes of practical demonstration. In some sciences the observation of facts was precise, minute and thoroughly scientific, while in others it was rather defective, probably on account of the lack of practical interest. Experiments were, of course, conducted for purposes of chemical operations in relation to the arts and manufactures. But of experiment as an independent method of proof or discovery, the instances recorded in books are rare. This may appear to be a serious defect in the scientific method of the Hindus. But here we should point out that the experimental proof of a scientific hypothesis involves the logical fallacy of affirming the consequent. It is here supposed that if the consequences of an hypothesis are verified, the hypotheses itself is true. But this is not necessarily so, for there may be other hypotheses that would yield the same consequences. Experiment cannot prove a scientific hypothesis simply by verifying its consequences. For this, other factors like repeated observation and careful analysis of observed facts are essentially necessary. The observation of facts must be free from the fallacies of mal-observation and non-observation. These were carefully studied by the ancient Hindu thinkers and ascribed to three principal causes: (1) **Dosa** or defect of sense-organ and of necessary stimulus, e.g., diseased condition of the senses, dim light, etc.: (2) **Samprayoga**, i.e., presentation of a part or an aspect instead of the whole: and (3) **Samskara** or the disturbing influence of mental predisposition, e.g., expectation, memory, habit, prejudice, etc.

The second part of the scientific method deals with the problems of inference and generalisation, or induction from particular facts of observation. Inference in Indian Logic is based on the establishment of an invariable concomittance between the middle term and the major term, or the ground and the object of inference **(vyapti)**. Thus inference is neither merely formal nor merely material, but a combined formal-material, deductive inductive process. It is neither the Aristotelian syllogism which is a formal-deductive process, nor Mill's induction which is a material-inductive process, but the real inference which must combine formal validity with material truth. In the West the modern school of mathematical logic now recognises this truth and makes a distinction between implication and inference. As regards logical form, inference in Indian Logic consists of five propositions for purposes of demonstration, and of three propositions for that of acquisition of knowledge for oneself. The third proposition is called **udaharana** and is a general proposition which is supported by facts of observation. It thus combines and harmonises Mill's view of the major

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premise as a brief memorandum of like instances already observed, with the Aristotelian view of it as a universal proposition which is the formal ground of inference. But the question is: What is our warrant for taking the leap from observed to unobserved cases? Under what conditions are we justified to assert a Universal Real proposition on the basis of our necessarily limited observation? What is the ground or the method of induction?

According to the Buddhists, a general proposition may be based on the principle of causality or essential identity (**karyakaranabhava** or **tadatmya**). If two objects are related to each other as cause and effect, or if the two have the same essence, then we may say that they are universally related, i.e., wherever the one is, the other must be. There can be no exception to their uniform relation, since that would lead to the absurd position that an effect may be produced without any cause or that an object may be different from itself. If then, we can discover the relation of causality or essential identity between two objects, we can arrive at a universal or general proposition which is the ground of inference. To discover the causal relation, the Buddhists recommend the method of **pancakarani** which consists of five steps as follows: (1) non-perception of the 'effect' phenomenon, (2) perception of the 'cause' phenomenon, (3) perception of the 'effect' phenomenon in immediate succession, (4) disappearance or elimination of the 'cause' phenomenon, (5) dsiappearance or elimination of the 'effect' phenomenon in immediate succession. The method of **pancakarani** it will be seen, is a combination of the positive and the negative application of J. S. Mill's Method of Difference and, as such, it may be called the Joint Method of Difference. It has some advantages over Mill's methods of Agreement, Difference and Joint Method of Agreement and Difference, each taken by itself. It obviates the difficulties in which each of these methods is involved. If when all other circumstances remain the same, the appearance of one phenomenon is immediately followed by the appearance of another and its disappearance is immediately followed by the disappearance of the other, we become doubly sure that the one is the cause of the other. Similarly, a universal proposition may be based on the discovery of an essential identity between two objects. Thus we know that all men are animals, because animality belongs to the essence of both, and men without animality will not be men.

The **Naya** method of induction is different from that of the Buddhists. For the **Naiyayikas**, causality and essential identity are not the ultimate grounds of induction, but are themselves established by induction. There is but one method of induction which consists of the following steps: (1) **Anvaya** or observation of agreement in presence between two facts, (2) **Vyatireka** or observation of agreement in absence between them, (3) **Vyabhicaradarsana** or non-observation of any contrary instance in which the one is without the other, (4) **Upadhinirasa** or elimination of all external conditions on which the relation between the two facts may be suspected to be dependent, (5) Tarka or indirect proof of invariability of the relation by exposing the contradictions which arise out of its denial, (6) **Samanyalaksana** perception or perception of the universals which under-lie the particulars of experience and constitute the ultimate ground of induction. It will be seen here that the Naiyayikas agree with J. S. Mill in holding that the principle of causality is itself an empirical generalisation, although it is universal in its scope and is nowhere contradicted in our experience. But they do not accept with Mill four or five methods of induction. For them the inductive method is one, although it is a complex process in which we have to pass through several stages. That this is really so is now admitted by the Western logicians when they say that none of the methods of Mill can by itself establish and warrant induction and that they should supplement one another for conclusive inductive proof. As Sir Brajendranath says, "Mill's Method of Agreement breaks down in dealing with cases of uniformities of co-existence unconnected with causation; the Nyaya method is a more daring and original attempt, and i

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far more comprehensive in scope, being applicable to all uniformities of co-existence and of causation alike".

The account of **The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus** given here is very brief and fragmentary. It hardly does justice to the range and depth of the comparative study of Hindu positive science and its methodology that one actually finds in the book. But it will serve some useful purpose. It will give one some idea of the achievements of the ancient Hindus in the positive sciences and their methodology. It will also convince one that the contributions of the ancient Indians to these subjects deserve careful consideration even at the present day. Above all, it will, we hope, create a lively interest in the comparative and critical study of Indian philosophy. If competent scholars devote themselves to this much needed and fruitful study of Indian thought in all its aspects, the unfinished work of Sir Brajendranath will be continued and some day completed. And the result will be a great revival of Indian thought with a great future before it.

THE CHINESE TANNING INDUSTRY OF CALCUTTA

By SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

The Government of India of late had declared that all Chinese residents in India were to be regarded as foreigners. The Indian Government has after that decided to stop their business.

Chinese Banks used to finance these Chinese Tanners. Upto the present time the Chinese Tanners of Calcutta had been expanding year to year. It had not been possible at any time to get an accurate idea of the volume of business in Leather handled by the Chinese because of the violent resistance offered successfully by these people to submit to the requirements of the Factory Act, Industrial and other similar Acts and also to provide correct reports.

The volume of business is estimated to be many crores of rupees worth of tanned leather per year of which a large portion is exported and brings in foreign exchange for India.

It is estimated that about 10,000 non-Chinese people find occupation in various capacities in connection with the Chinese Tanning Industry.

Although so many people find occupation in the industry yet for tanning work proper the Chinese employ no other people but themselves.

Indian Chamars In Chinese Tanneries

In the Chinese Tanneries it is only the most repugnant work—that of liming, dehairing and fleshing the hides—that provide employment for non-Chinese. Indian Chamars do these jobs for the Chinese. All subsequent processes are conducted by the Chinese in which Chinese men, women and children find employment. As far as possible, the Chinese keep their process secret to themselves. They do not let the non-Chinese know the formulae they use for making liquors, varnishes, etc.

The Chinese in families conduct leather manufacturing operations as family occupation from deliming to the finish. The factories have pits, machineries, etc., which are utilised by individual families paying so much to the factory owner for allowing the different processes to be worked and machineries to be used. The labour is that of the family unit. The machines are hired out at a piece rate of turnover. The huge Industry of the Chinese in Calcutta is really decentralised and manned by individual families.

The capital is found partly from the family resources and partly by the factory owners, partly by Chinese Banks and also by

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Indian Registered Co-operative Societies. Two Indian Government Co-operatives are there in the same area of Tangra, Calcutta, to help the Chinese Industry.

On account of the aggressive war imposed on India by the People's China, the Government of India has wisely put in restrictions on the movements of the Chinese and the Chinese Banks have been frozen. The Chinese Tanners are daily being thrown out of employment. Ultimately as the natural consequence of restrictions and of shutting off of Trading, the vast Industry is bound to collapse.

The Crisis in the Chinese Tanning Industry

The prospects of this industry are of its being closed down. It is likely to create considerable disturbance in India's economy if the industry is allowed to collapse, complacently, as is being felt by on-lookers like me today. As has been pointed out already it is not only the several hundred Chinese that would be affected but thousands of Indians also would be affected and the stoppage of the supply of leather from Chinese tanneries will create a void which cannot be allowed to happen.

A way should be found for preventing the creation of any such void.

A Scheme for Continuation of Normal Conditions

To begin with, the Government of India should take a census of the Chinese in the Chinese tanneries of Calcutta and record the material possession of all individuals and families. This has in a way begun but may be, not so thoroughly. After the record of possession is satisfactorily taken the Government takes the assets over for keeping in custody. The tannery property, all investment therein in building machinery stock in trade, hides, leather and chemicals, become Government of India property. The Chinese population in the Chinese Tannery Camp or Town are ordered to work and become only labourers in the industry. Tanning work goes on undisturbed exactly in the same way in the same family units as before. The difference will be that the erst while proprietors of family tanning units wi now work under India Government orders a controlled labourers under surveillance. I place of what they used to get as profit o their turnover, they will now get token or cards for obtaining their necessaries i proportion to their turnover. The scal will be on piece rate. They will have n opprotunity now of having savings or pro fits. In their communistic society i China, they live something like this sort o life of labour under Government surveil lance and this should be acceptable to th Chinese population of Calcutta. Regimen tation of all families is the rule in China What is suggested may be nothing mor than what is normal in People's China.

Government provides the hides and chemicals and other requirements and markets the product through the usual channel in the old way where little change would be preceptible.

In order to accomplish this the Govern ment will have to cordon off the area o Chinese tanneries. Let us call it the "China Tanning Camp." It will be admi nistered by a Special Officer with special powers. Supply of water and food mate rials, fuel and clothing, stationery, etc., will be provided against labour tokens. There will be Government-owned shops of all possible requisites normally required for civic life. Considering the violent temperament of Chinaman in general it would be necessary to have a full contingent of ordinary and armed police for the Camp-town. The police vigil will be round the clock—day and night—and every group say 3 or 4 factories, will have one police man on duty by shifts all day and night. Necessary Police Camp, Hospital, Bazar and Prison will have to be allocated to the China Tannery Camp. On the other hand there will be all amenities possible in a Camp life within the cordoned area.

The Final Shape of Chinese Tanning Industry in Calcutta

The first phase consists of taking over the industry by the Government of

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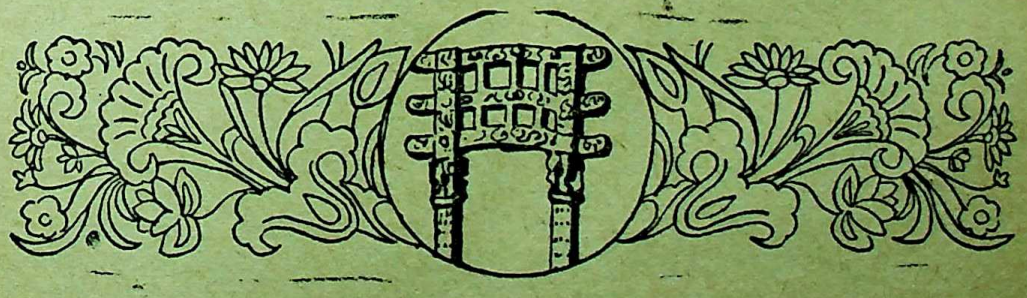
India and treating the Chinese population as working families maintained by the Government and employed in tanning work as they used to do under control and regulation.

In the second phase—as the process of taking over gets normalised section by section in the area, the families of Indian subjects are put along with the Chinese families as employees of India Government. As the newly introduced family gets efficiency in the technique of leather manufacture, the teaching Chinese family is repatriated by paying back in cash for the property taken over at the outset. In this way what is now the Chinese tanning industry may be in course of transfer a Bengali-Behari-Uttar Pradeshi leather manufacturing industry of Calcutta.

Chamar-vs-Non-Chamars

It is only the Chamars or their equivalent caste people in India who handle hide and tan them. The same system as the Chinese employ for tanning by families is prevalent in U.P. where the State Government has created tanners' co-operative societies and constructed tanneries. Families as proprietors work in the compound. The families are free to buy raw materials and hides from anybody from anywhere and they are free to sell the finished leather anywhere. They have to pay the co-operative for such material as may have been purchased from the Co-operative. They have to pay the piece rate for machinery utilised or for hourly service as of the disintegrator for crushing bark or myrobalams. They sell to the co-operative or outside and pay back the dues to the Co-operatives. The system has freed the Chamars from the clutches of money-lenders. Those who are in the Co-operative are earning double of what they used to earn unaided. An additional amenity is that their houses are now free from the offensive liming-fleshing smell and of tan refuses. This is what has been happening in U.P. and U.P. Chamars might easily fall in for participating in the second phase of replacement of China families by Indian families. But the Chamars of Bihar and U.P. do not as a rule bring their families to Calcutta. Therefore, the taking over should have to be done by Bengalees. It is unlikely that Chamar families from the villages of Bengal would be available to participate in a form of life to which they are not accustomed. They have neither the initiative, nor the adaptability, nor the enterprising spirit to take up family tanning in town conditions like the Chamars of U.P. For filling the place of Chinese families new Bengalee families of middle class or peasant class people will have to be trained up.

As a trainer for tanning my experience with Bengal is that they take to from liming to finishing process quite normally and acquire speed and skill in course of a year by devoted urge to learn. I have faith that if proper environment is created and proper ideology is presented, youngmen and women of Bengal in families will take up the industry and fill the place of Chinese tanners and bring in culture and good breeding of the Bengalees to the tanning trade and contribute to the creation of a high grade of civic life as an elevating occupation and not a degrading occupation as it now is.



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LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By MRS. D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

VI

"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever." It seems ever so paradoxical that an artist whose joy is to create things of beauty finds pleasure in the game of destruction. But this sort of diversity is found in Sri Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury. He can be as hard as he is kind. His heart melts when he sees a person in distress and when he is not able to give some relief. This trait he might have inherited from his mother. Many a crook has taken advantage of this softness in his nature. More than once his knidness had been returned by an ungrateful gesture from the receivers. His sensitive nature rebelled against this attitude and for the time being it hardened his heart but it could not wipe out the natural disposition of the man.

In spite of the predominance of this trait in his character Devi Prasad is not what one would call a man of mild temper. He flares up if anything goes wrong. He is very conscious of his own honour and he can never excuse anyone who tries to stultify his name. He would do all that is in his power to make such a person bend down in humility and regret his own action.

Devi Prasad is a peculiar person. In his talks he is a thorough aristocrat, with a staunch faith in the purity of blue blood. But in his works he is with the proletariat. His "Triumph of Labour" depicts the struggle of the working man whose every sinew rises up in arms to fight against odds. In the "Victims of Hunger" the grim reality of starvation is portrayed in a way which makes one's heart cry out for the suffering crowd. The terrible carnage of the Calcutta famine which he witnessed with his own eyes, inspired the artist to execute this piece of work. We find the same sympathetic trend of his feeling for the poor in his stories such as the "Rickshaw Puller" and the "Dustbin."

Yet this same man is a firm believer in the distinction of class. According to him the insignia of birth is sure to manifest itself in each man's life. A man who is born in poverty, even if he is able to accumulate wealth, will seldom have the generosity of a prince who is born in the midst of luxury and for whom magnanimity of heart forms a part of his tradition. The latter's heart would bleed if circumstances did not allow him to act according to the dictates of his nature, while each act of charity of the former may be the result of deep calculation.

It grieves the artist to acknowledge that the class that was once responsible for the development of art and culture in our country is gradually on the decline. The clamour for equality, he says, has affected the condition of this class. The artist fears that the continuous suppression of their natural inclination will soon bring a change in their mentality.

Another peculiar characteristic of Sri Devi Prasad is that though he lives in the midst of a civilized society he is essentially a primitive man. He loves the wild beauty of the jungle and the natural way of living of those who are still out of touch with civilization. Whenever the pent-up atmosphere of the conventional life seems to suffocate him, he longs to run to the wilderness to invigorate his system with its fresh and uncontaminated air. But such opportunities are rare in his life. A man who is bound by duties at home and in the office cannot often indulge in such luxuries. He has to wait patiently for his chance after fulfilment of his obligations. When his mood prompts him to run away and his responsibilities make him linger, he feels the burden of family life and curses his own folly in having entered into matrimony. Yet I wonder whether a person with such strong emotions could have been happy if he had none to shower his affection on or to growl at, when he felt out of sorts.

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The moment he is free he is ready with his paraphernalia which are certainly not small. Apart from its sombre beauty the jungle has yet another attraction for the artist. He is a keen 'shikari'. He was attracted by this sport from his boyhood. His uncle's armoury at Tajhat used to entice him. But since children had no access to the place, he had to wait for his opportunity to steal the weapons in the darkness of the night. He accompanied his uncle in some of his shooting excursions. These were great occasions for the boy and he looked forward to them with a lot of expectation. Sri Gopal Lal Roy (the Rajah of Tajhat) his uncle, believed in shooting his beast, perched safely on the back of an elephant while his poor victim was driven towards his death by the beaters, giving the animal no chance of escape or aggression. A great retinue therefore accompanied them during these expeditions. Devi Prasad neither approved of this method of shooting nor its pomposity. Yet his love for shikar impelled him to join the party. Once, during these expeditions he shot a panther and his heart bounced with joy. But he dared not claim his bag for fear of being forbidden to touch a weapon in future. He knew his uncle was a jealous shikari and thought it prudent to let him usurp the credit of the hunt.

For a long time after my marriage I was ignorant about this trait in the artist's character. It remained dormant for an extensive period and was revived when our son grew big enough to possess an air gun and start shooting at birds. He began to incite his father to go for picnics where he could make free use of his weapon. I joined with my son in order to have the benefit of some fun and an outing. Picnic as such has no attraction for my husband. He cannot understand why people should go out of the way to have their meals when they could enjoy the same at home and with greater comfort. But any prospect of shooting was most alluring to him. Being aware of this weakness we tempted him with the bait. He fell into the trap and agreed to go. By this time he had purchased a double-barrel gun and a rifle and procured the licence. Our gardener who perhaps felt the need of a few coins in his pocket as reward, declared most emphatically that we could easily get ducks and birds at a short distance from the city. Vandalur, a place about 35 miles from Madras, was chosen for our first trip. We were told we might have a chance of meeting with a leapord if we could stay there overnight. This of course I came to discover later was a mere hoax to dupe the artist and drain his purse. Ours was a fairly big party and therefore the tempters were not successful in their premier attempt. But their continued perseverence had its effect. The artist fell a victim to their plot, went to Vandalur once again and came back disappointed.

Our next excursion was to Nagalapuram, a village about seventy miles from the city. Some interested fellows gave the artist to understand that its neighbourhood was infseted with leopards. Since there was a traveller's bungalow where we could stay, it was decided that I and our son should accompany him with a few friends. We went with the intention of spending a few days there in consequence of which we had to take our servants and some essential articles. I and my husband had a small argument about what things to take and what not. I was in favour of taking the minimum amount of luggage. He proposed that we should take the water filter but I was strongly against it. I explained to him how difficult it was to carry the thing in the bus or in the car and at the end of it my wish prevailed. It was already dusk when we arrived at Nagalapuram. My husband and his guide went in search of game after partaking a light supper while we rested in the bungalow. A heavy downpour started shortly after the shikaris had left. About midnight we heard the noise of some bullock carts intermingled with human voices. Any noise in a strange place makes one alert. I was wondering what it could be when the servants who were sleeping outside called out "Madam, please open the door, Master has arrived." To be sure there stood the master with his merry band, drenched in

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rain and damped in spirit. Attempts were made to encounter the beasts on the two following nights but with no better success.

The only substantial result of this expedition was a shikar story written by the artist in which he represented his wife as the most fastidious of women where household matters were concerned, assigning to himself the role of the scapegoat of her attacks. This story consists of a number of amusing episodes and few could ever guess that most of the alleged facts depicted therein were the outoome of the artist's imaginative faculty. The story writer has the privilege and I do not grudge the fun enjoyed at my expense.

Gradually the shikar mania, if I may call it by that name, took a serious turn in Devi Prasad's life. His ambition was to bag a tiger and he was always on the lookout for opportunities for the fulfilment of his desire.

During World War II, when there was some scare over Japanese bombs, I with my son and the servants were sent to Renigunta, a railway colony about a hundred miles from Madras. It was almost a solitary imprisonment for me. I had no one to talk to and nowhere to go except for a walk in the evenings. I was feeling miserable and cursing the war for being the cause of my banishment, when one night we were suddenly awakened from our sleep by the sound of a horn followed by a loud knock at the door. As soon as it was opened, in came Devi Prasad much exhausted and badly hurt owing to some accident. A trail of heavy luggage came after him. Much of it consisted of his inseparable firearms. The school closed a month before its time by the order of the Government, and since he started immediately, he had no time to inform us.

An active person without specific work is a difficult person to live with. Devi Prasad did not know what to do with his time and kept himself busy with all sorts of impossible demands. Situated as he was he was in no mood to paint pictures. He did not like his guns and rifles to remain idle and was enquiring from everybody whether there was any place near about where he could make use of his weapons, pening his departure when our son who was Mamandur, ten miles from Renigunta, was declared as the ideal spot.

Soon all preparations were made to start. It was a place where no foodstuffs could be had. Since we went with the idea of spending a whole week, we had to make adequate arrangements for our food for not less than eight members. Their appetite appeared to have increased ten-fold with the knowledge that no eatables were available at that place. I, who had to provide for them all, found it extremely difficult to manage and was too eager to get back to Renigunta. The artist was unconcerned about my position. Every evening he collected his food and went to spend his night on the "machan" waiting patiently for the elusive animal. One night we heard a gun shot and ran to meet the shikari when his cart approached our bungalow but the expression on his face told us that the result was not satisfactory.

Devi Prasad's spirit of adventure was roused by these repeated failures. When the war was over and people could move about more freely from one place to another, the artist made the best use of every available opportunity to run to the jungle. This enabled him to get three panthers and shoot two Bengal tigers, one of which escaped with his wound to die in his natural environment. Their skins are still hanging in our room to tempt the shikari to further attempts. In spite of his keen interest Devi Prasad is not very lucky in these exploits. It seldom happened that he did not meet a tiger in his quest but the cunning beast escaped from being his target by taking a position beyond range. Once he saw a tiger sitting under his "machan" for full three hours and heard him lashing his tail without being able to do anything to the great beast.

Many a time the life of the artist was endangered in these shikar expeditions. Yet the attraction of the jungle life and his love of adventure got the better of him and they did not allow him to remain quiet. On one occasion when he was about to start I discovered that he had a high temperature which he kept concealed from me till the last moment. I was on the point of post-

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then a boy of ten came to his father's rescue. He told me not to stop him, for disappointment would surely increase his fever and make him more ill. Since the artist was no better than a child at these moments, I accepted the boy's advice.

At another time he went to a malaria-infested jungle of Jaipur (Orissa). Though he was advised by the doctors to take all precautions against the dread disease and he took great care to pack up the medicines he was advised by the doctors to take he forgot all about it and the inevitable result followed. Instead of getting the tiger, he contracted a malignanant type of malaria which gave cause for anxiety to all concerned. I thought this would teach him a lesson and he would be less tempted to take such risks in future but no! the cure had made the man more bold.

Devi Prasad once met his adversary, the tiger, in very peculiar circumstances. He was sitting on the ground behind a camouflaged bamboo clump. When the tiger appeared on the scene the light which was to have fallen on the animal for an unaccountable reason decided to illuminate the place where our shikari was sitting giving the beast a position of ventage! What made the monarch of the jungle so tardy about making use of such a favourable opportunity, is still a puzzle to me.

The artist's shikar experiences are varied and thrilling. At one time he had to spend a whole nightt under a cart there being no bungalow near by. Another time, while he was sitting on the "machan" he felt the cold touch of a reptile slowly passing over his body. One can imagine his state of mind at the time, for this is the only creature in the jungle which unnerves him. On another occasion he was caught in the rain and took shelter in a thatched cottage. On the ceiling of the cottage insects of some sort were crawling in large numbers. When he lighted his torch to see what they were, he was horrified to discover that they were scorpions. Luckily, water poured down through several leakages in the roof and flooded the room causing the deadly insects to be swept away by its current before they could do any harm.

But the crowning glory of his shikar experiences was when he was hailed as a magician or a witch doctor by some villagers at a place near Kurnool. A young woman was stung by a scorpion and was writhing in pain. With the consent of her relatives Devi Prasad scratched her skin with a knife and then applied the medicine for scorpion bite, which he always carried with him when he went to the jungle. Within a few minutes she was relieved of the pain and was quiet. The simple village folk were so impressed by this feat that there was a regular scramble among them to please the miracle man!

While Devi Prasad was passing through a certain jungle he came in contact with a dangerous type of creeper. If a traveller is unaware of its power and goes near, it spreads its arm and holds him in its death embrace. Nothing can save a man once he falls into its clutches. Had he not been warned in time by some local people who accompanied him, the artist would have fallen a victim to this terrible fate.

Every good husband finds pleasure in sharing his joys with his partner and Devi Prasad is no exception to the rule. He had the ambition that his wife should see a tiger shot. Besides he wanted her to take in the virgin beauty of the forest. Though the prospect of killing did not inspire me much, umpteen times I had been tempted to see the movements of the jungle creatures in their natural home. But the knowledge I have gleaned from the descriptions of my husband, taught me to be cautious. I am a believer in safety first and therefore decided to curb my curiosity rather than risk my life. I was quite content with the share of profit that I derived as a result of the hunts. These are ornaments of a unique type and made from the fangs and claws of the kills, designed by the artist.

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SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRY IN INDIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By DR. R. K. JAIN, M. Com., Ph. D.,
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II

Transport is another obstacle in the small-scale sector industrialisation. Despite the considerable expansion and improvement of transport facilities over the last two Plan periods, the network still remains deficient to meet the growing demands of industrialisation. In its relation to the development of small-industries, the transport needs may be judged by the fact that, with nearly 430 million people at 1.3 million square miles of area, the country is expected to have only 144,000 miles of surfaced roads and another 250,000 miles of unsurfaced roads. Thus about 60 percent of the existing road mileage consists of earth roads only and is inadequate for all weather travel. Lack of bridges, low-capacity bridges, rigid load restrictions, multiplicity of taxes and absence of reciprocal agreements between States further weaken the system. Moreover, the use of existing roads by motor vehicles, is also limited. Although there are some 10 million animal-drawn vehicles, there are only 160,000 goods vehicles.[10] In 1957, the number of motor vehicles per 1000 sq. km. was 130, while the figure of about one truck per mile of surfaced road compared with 5 to 10 trucks per mile in many other countries. In the same year, the number of motor vehicles per 100,000 population was only 89 in India compared to 483 for the Phillippines and 903 for Ceylon."[11] As against the target of 40,000 vehicles set in the Second Plan, the actual production in 1960-61 is expected to be of the order of 30,000.[12]

The result is that the reorganisation of traditional industry and the introduction of small industries based on steadily improving techniques have been possible only where electricity and transport facilities were available. Concentration of small-scale industrialisation in urban areas has thus checked the dispersal of opportunities of income and employment all over the country.

Community development programmes are designed to ensure that the possibilities of small-scale and cottage industry are fully utilised. "Although some of the existing pilot projects did comparatively good work, the total achievement was below expectation particularly in providing greater employment potentials. These projects have highlighted some of the weak spots in rural industrialisation such as the lack of adequate supervision at the district level, lack of co-ordination between the various agencies, lack of facilities for marketing products locally and inadequacy of finance, materials and technical assistance."[13]

One of the principle factors adversely affecting the tempo of progress during the first two Plans was the inadequacy of the administrative machinery of the Government. The production of small industries fell short of the fixed targets in many cases mainly due to "late submission of schemes by State Governments for technical examination, delay in according sanctions by the Centre, inadequate machinery in most of the States, paucity of technical personnel and, to some extent, delays due to reorganisation of States."[14] To avoid delays, some steps were taken by most of the All India Boards and by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the direction of simplification of procedure. However, "some procedural formalities in regard to certain matters like acquisition of land and construction of buildings, purchase of machinery and recruitment of technical and administrative staff were understood to have hampered the speedy implementation of the States' schemes. In regard to the Centrally sponsored schemes, particularly those relating to small-scale industries, the principal factors responsible for impeding the progress were lack of proper buildings and paucity of technical and administrative staff."[15]

There is considerable amount of over-

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lapping and duplication of effort in the formulation and implementation of programmes for village and small-scale industries at all levels; namely, the Centre, the States, and the field. Thus the developments envisaged in the scheme of rural industrialisation have been devoid of a unified view of the entire problem. The existing institutions and agencies have not always been able to take an integrated view because each of them operates in its own specified field with limited objective.

In formulating the programmes for the development of small industries, particularly traditional crafts, the government's approach during the past decade, was essentially a protective one calling for the imposition of certain restrictions on the expansion and modernisation of the related large and medium-scale industries. The safeguards provided under the "common production programme" included, among other measures of assistance, the reservation of spheres of production, the pegging down of production and levy of a cess on large-scale industry and giving a price advantage to the smaller units through differential taxation, subsidies, sales rebates, etc. The protection of small-scale industries against competition from large-scale industries was based on two considerations: first, to make them economically self-supporting and; second, to transfer surplus labour from the declining trades to other occupations with the creation of new employment opportunities. This protective policy in its total effect has resulted, at least in the short run, in holding up the overall industrial advance and consequently a slow down of its proportion of increase to the total national product. Moreover, it is now clear that the protection to declining small industries may not solve the unemployment problem in the long run as it envisages the use of labour intensive methods in other sectors of the economy, such as construction and services.

14. Lastly, the production programme of the small-scale industrial sector was not based on the correlation between the demand and production of certain varieties of goods. For instance, when the rates of rebate, etc., were reduced in 1958-59, there was considerable accumulation of unsold stock mainly due to the deterioration in the general economic conditions of the people as a result of unfavourable seasonal conditions and the rise of the price of essential requirements.

Measures for Promotion

Obviously, in terms of the potential contribution to output and employment in a developing economy, the developing of small industry depends on its capacity to help the craftsmen to adapt their skills to meet the rising modern-type demands and thus gradually to transform itself into a geographically decentralised and efficiently modernised small-scale sector on the basis of a rationalised overall programme of industrialisation. This offers the best prospects so as to continue to compete successfully with large-scale concerns and, therefore, deserves priority. The main line of action should, therefore, be to orientate the small-scale industrial policy in the direction aiming at the adoption of the improved techniques which will yield higher production and quality and, in turn, higher incomes and employment. It means that a progressive programme of development has to be introduced in which emphasis should be on the positive measures of improvement. These measures include, among other things, the following forms of productive efficiency:

(a) Mechanisation of small-scale industry represents one of the most important conditions for its progress. However, it does not mean in all cases the introduction of entirely new equipment and machinery by abandoning the traditional or old production tools, or the extensive substitution of human labour and skill by modern machinery. It conceives those aspects of manufacturing procedures that aim at increasing the productive efficiency by improving both equipment and process, or fuller utilisation of the existing facilities. On the one hand, it involves technological improvement in the productive equipment and methods of small industries thus lowering the cost of production and improving the quality, while, on the other hand, it pro-

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vides technological employment relieving the workers from the burden of their traditional production methods that require streneous physical effort and improving their working conditions.

(b) It should, however, be emphasised that productivity and employment do not necessarily increase in proportion to the rise in the level of mechanisation. In fact, "unless some of the pre-requisites for mechanisation are available, such as markets, working capital, raw material supply and managerial and technical skill, any attempt to introduce premature and drastic technological change will inevitably lead to under utilisation of capital equipment as well as of labour."[17] It is, therefore, imperative to build up a dynamic and modern small industries sector by means of advisory services, marketing and credit assistance programmes and raw material allocation and import control.

(c) The organisational element as a factor to make better use of available resources and skills in order to effectively mobilise the process of economic development has hardly been sufficiently stressed so far. The family control of enterprises is still a general rule which tends to inhibit the development and growth of a body of professional managers in order to prove themselves successful in initiating industrial activities. Although the number of industrial co-operative societies increased from 7105 in 1951 to about 29,000 in 1959-60, yet the industrial co-operatives did not cover more than a small proportion of those engaged in village and small industries.[18] Generally speaking, supply and marketing co-operatives have been more popular than producer co-operatives. The financial, marketing, technical and managerial difficulties of small-scale enterprises may be alleviated by adopting suitable organisational patterns, mainly the co-operative organisation. The optimum size of a co-operative unit may be determined taking into account many considerations such as the population of the town or village, centralisation of activities and related problems. The products requiring a high level of technique in the manufacturing process should be centralised on co-operative basis; while repair and service industries should be decentralised. Likewise, it should be made possible for individual entrepreneurs to maintain their autonomy if they like and co-operate in fields where further rationalisation is desirable. They can, of course, form co-operatives by pooling their necessary capital and labour. The Government should subsidise the provision of facilities for co-operative production, processing, storage and transportation.

(d) Dispersal of industries in rural areas presupposes availability of large number of infra-structure facilities such as power, road transport and raw materials. There should be a close link between schemes for the development of village and small industries and the programmes for development of infra-structure facilities. "Rural extensions of electricity," notes the Third Five-Year Plan, "becomes relatively uneconomic mainly because of distances separating individual villages, the low level of power consumption and the seasonal character of the requirements of power specially in agriculture. Consequently the load factor is low and the available generating capacity is not fully utilised. With a view to improving the load factor it is essential that different types of economic activities in each district requiring the use of power should be developed in a co-ordinated manner. This object can be secured through a carefully formulated development programme for each area covering activities in different fields of development such as minor irrigation, credit and service facilities for equipment, improved seeds and village and small industries, so that rural electrification makes the maximum contribution possible to the increase of agricultural and industrial production. There should be forward planning of rural electrification over a period of two or more years ahead of taking up the work so that simultaneous action is initiated in other sectors also."[19]

In the process of rural industrialisation, the need for improved road transport is acute. The situation in India, during the last two plan periods, reflects a serious imbalance between transport supply and demand. The transport planning has, so

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far, taken better account of the need to provide transport capacity along with predetermined industrial, agricultural, power or other development. Its role of promoting development by providing access to natural resources, by extending markets, by attacking rural isolation, by promoting programmes of health and education, and by multiplying the effectiveness of scarce personnel through increased mobility, has been rather neglected.

Efforts in transport planning have generally been concentrated on the object of making feasible the goals established for other sectors of the economy rather than on using the transport as a means of setting in motion new developmets on the basis of potential demand. In fact, increasing economic activity involves, and depends to a large extent on, increasing mobility; therefore, transport development of promotional type must be regarded as an essential to make the economy more dynamic—carried forward by its own momentum towards higher efficiency and higher output.

(e) In any scheme of the development of small-scale industries providing employment for surplus labour and at the same time making for better living and working conditions in rural areas, the suitability of any particular industry should be judged on the growth of its direct connection with the village crops such as tabacco, cotton, etc., and the machinery required for processing these crops, its adaptability with the activities of family members, such as tanning, weaving and embroidery etc., its trading activities ancillary to agriculture, such as repairing and maintenance of vehicles, etc; rural credit schemes providing assistance on easy terms and capacity to check rural exodus to large towns.

(f) Lastly, what the heads of small undertakings need to be taught is not so much the techniques of their trades as the administrative, accounting and financial management of their undertakings, the basic principles of marketing and market research and the importance of their contribution to and the benefit they will get from the development of the economy.

Government Policy in Third Five-Year Plan

During the Third Plan period, Government policy is being adjusted on the lines discussed above. The main objectives to be kept in view in implementing programmes for village and small industries will be: [20]

"(i) to improve the productivity of the worker and reduce production costs by placing relatively greater emphasis on positive forms of assistance such as improvement of skill, supply of technical advice, better equipment and credit, etc.

"(ii) to reduce progressively the role of subsidies, sales rebates and sheltered markets:

"(iii) to promote the growth of industries in rural areas and small towns;

"(iv) to promote the development of small-scale industries as ancillaries to large industries; and

"(v) to organise artisans and craftsmen on co-operative lines."

Given the measures as outlined above, there is no reason why small-scale industry should not continue to play an important part in the industrialising of the national economy. However, it should be remembered that the process of development can only be accelerated by the rapidly growing rate of capital formation which, in turn, is, largely, a result of large-scale production.

Industrial Estates

As has already been noted, the prospects of small-scale industry depend upon its acquiring sufficient vitality, efficiency and growth to be self-supporting and its capacity to be integrated with the development programmes as a whole in relation, on the one hand, to agriculture and, on the other, to large-scale industry. In order to succeed in the pursuit of its own programmes, the small industry therefore, needs adequate co-ordination and common planning arrangements in its different branches having common requirements and problems. One of the most important measures for developing small industries

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and building up a decentralised sector of industry which has the inherent strength to expand its operations is the establishment of industrial estates. These estates provide conditions favourable to working efficiency, maintenance of uniform standards in production and economic utilisation of materials and equipment by enabling the constituent small-scale units to have the advantage of common services and other facilities, such as, a good site, electricity, water, gas, steam, compressed air, railway sidings watch and ward, etc., as well as the necessary technical and financial assistance. Being located near one another, some units may be better able to use the goods and services of other, so that they become interdependent and complementary.[21]

In India, the Governments' policy regarding the establishment of industrial estates has so far been motivated to achieve the main aim of providing on a rental basis or on hire purchases terms, suitable factory accommodation and other conditions favourable to working efficiency to groups of small entrepreneurs who would otherwise find it difficult to secure these facilities at a reasonable price. However, the economic rationale for setting up industrial estates is not limited to this objective only; now the aims are broader. Thus, the estates are expected to provide nursery beds in which both new classes of skilled workers and new classes of efficient small-scale entrepreneurs can grow. Industrial estates may be used as a tool of industrial promotion by means of organising land uses economically for industrial development. As stated by the United Nations Seminar on Regional Planning held in 1958: "These estates, if located outside of large urban areas and provided with existing or new housing and community services, can discourage the migration of population to large urban centres; however, even in large urban centres, industrial estates provide the opportunity of scale economies and the segregation of potentially harmful land uses from the living quarters of the people."[22] In other words, industrial estates can discourage, on the one hand, further concentration of population in large urban centres by their establishment in or near towns of comparatively small size and thus control urban growth and regulate location of industries, on the other hand, they can relieve the existing congestion in the old industrial towns and cities, thereby serve as a tool of city planning. Another objective is to stimulate the growth of small industries as ancillaries or auxiliaries to some major industrial plants.

Industrial estates, when properly designed, allow the economies resulting from mass construction to pass on to the occupants, whether purchasers or tenants in the form of lower prices or rents, thus facilitating conversion of a capital cost into an operational expenditure and release resources for the purchase of machinery and for working capital, which is of particular importance in a country like India, where credit is scarce and interests are high. When based on a rental basis, they reduce the risks incurred by the industrialists, as they can easily get rid of the unsuccessful ventures. While this involves some risk to the sponsor, experience shows, for instance, in the United Kingdom, that successful estates seldom lack applicants for vacant factories. By making provision of grants or loans they attract the prospective entrepreneurs with limited financial means to assume entrepreneurial responsibilities by joint action through the formation of industrial estates. Industrial estates can also be a suitable device for developing large-scale industrial complexes including heavy and light industries of all sizes, centred on major projects. Lastly they allow for maximum flexibility in organisation and the use of land and in the services extended to industry.[23]

By the end of the Second Plan, about 60 industrial estates were completed of which only 52 with about 1035 factory sheds employing about 13,000 persons were actually functioning while another about 60 estates were to be completed. The outlay of Rs. 11.60 crores on industrial estates during the Second Plan formed about 26 per cent of the total outlay on small industries and 6.4 percent of the outlay on village and

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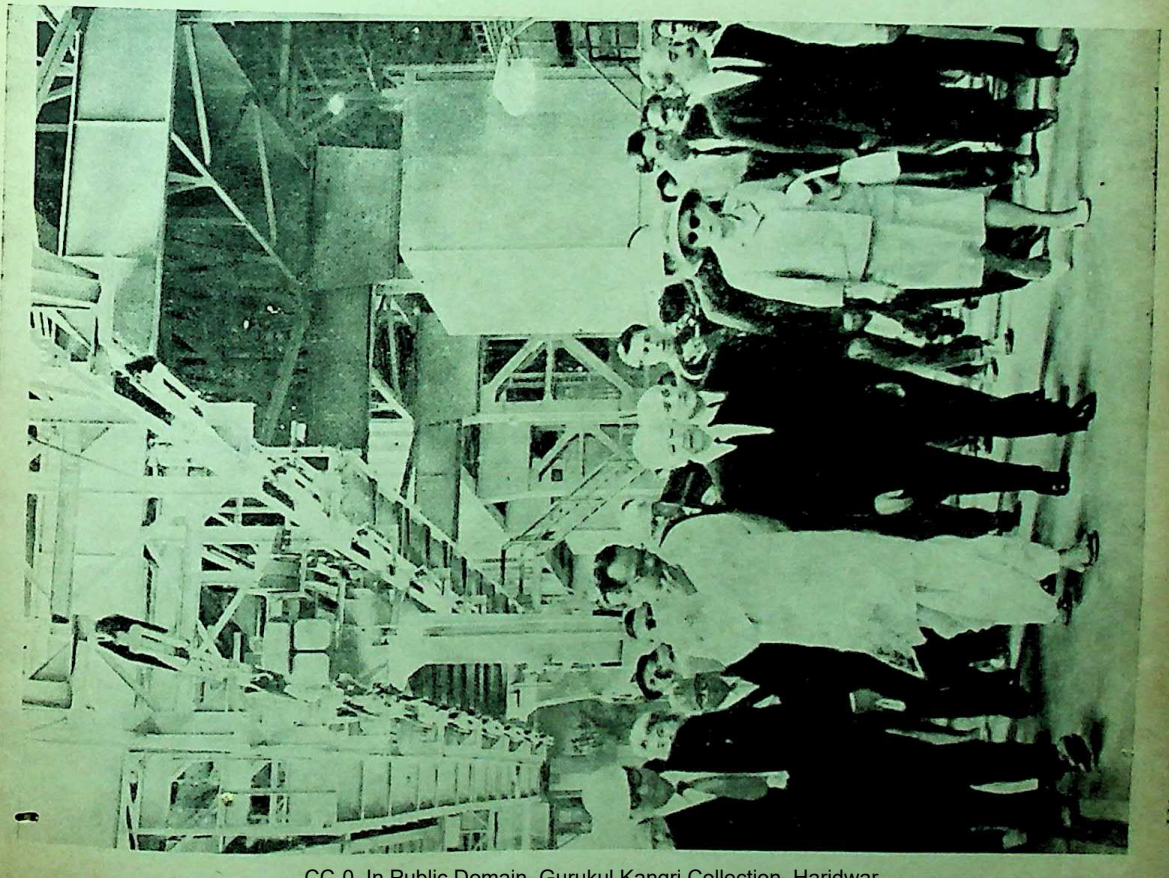
President Luebke of the Federal Republic of Germany and his wife on their tour in India



His Excellency Dr. Heinrich Luebke, President of the Federal Republic of Germany and party at Rourkela

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Rupmati—Bazba—Ladur
Mid. 18th century

A Hunting Scene
(Akbar period)

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small industries put together. In the Third Five-Year Plan, the projected outlay on industrial estates of Rs. 30.20 crores will form about 35.7 per cent of the outlay on small industries and about 11.4 per cent on village and small industries put together. As many as 300 medium-sized estates and 500 to 1000 small rural estates are proposed to be started during the Third Plan period.

These figures suggest that taking into account the rapid rate of growth of small-scale industries in recent years, for many years to come the facilities which industrial estates provide will not be available to a majority of the small-scale units; thus the role of these estates for the development of small industries may be somewhat limited for a considerable period. The essential value of the industrial estates, however, lies in the fact that they serve as 'inspiring models' to small entrepreneurs and skilled workers all around, and, also produce an awareness of what can be achieved in regard to levels of technical efficiency and larger production. It is from this point of view that the Government has given preferential treatment to units in industrial estates so that, ultimately, the concept of small industrial units and the concept of industrial estates may be brought together on the basis of direction to the community and acceptance of discipline by the small-scale units. Consequently, in the concept of Indian industrial estate have been integrated all or most of those facilities which are devised by the Government to encourage the establishment and growth of industry and improve productivity, such as, provision of financial and technical assistance, procurement of machinery, supply of raw materials, marketing facilities, training of manpower and the like. This integration of measures on behalf of the small industry makes the Indian industrial estates programmes by far the most ambitious undertaken so far by any developing country. This ambitious nature of the programme, on the one hand, makes it a costly undertaking since expenses for the provision of a variety of Government services are to be added to the outlays on site improvement and factory construction, on the other hand, it attracts many difficulties to crop up in carrying out the programme.

The results obtained from the working of some of the industrial estates in the country suggest that the programme of industrial estates as an instrument of extending and accelerating industrialisation by means of small industry has not been wholly successful. Generally speaking, the industrial estates have a low level of productivity, maintain low social, economic and technological standards and, are incapable, by definition, of setting an example in drive and growth. The principal difficulties which have been experienced in carrying out the programme of industrial estates stem precisely from the following factors:

First of all, it is now clear that the promotion of small-scale industries through the device of industrial estate is not necessarily a labour-intensive measure; it has been proved that it can be the most capital-intensive type of manufacturing process. Commenting on the programmes for industrial estates in the Second Plan period, the Third Five-Year Plan states that "expenditure on some of them has been on the high side and the new employment created is not yet commensurate with the expenditure incurred."[24] Obviously, mere construction of industrial estates does not guarantee expansion of industrial activity because in addition to provision of factory accommodation and other infra-structure facilities the entrepreneur requires adequate credit, technical service, assured supply of raw materials and use of small machines and tools to make complete success. In estates intended for occupancy by small-scale industries, the governmental agency has to establish a large number of infra-structure facilities that are essentially indivisible, and has to furnish connections with large-scale infra-structure facilities at the State and national level 'outside' the estate as well as with individual installations 'within' the estate. "No matter how modest they may be, such facilities will probably be out of proportion to the dimensions of 'small estates' of the Indian type. Consequently,

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the cost of the infra-structure facilities per unit product for a small estate are much greater than they would be for a 'large estate' in which there was considerable mass production."[25] After comparing the size of industrial estates in India and Italy and also taking into account the 'per capita value added' in the case of industrial units of various sizes in several countries like Japan, the U.K., and the U.S.A., Signor Alessandro Molinari, an Italian expert, says that the multiplication of small states, as in India, "involves the creation of an extensive network of imposing economic and technical assistance facilities, and thus constitutes a heavy drain on an underdeveloped country's limited reserves of experts and technicians."[26] But even if, through such enormous effort and expenditure of resources, the minute nuclii of small-scale industries were kept in existence and their productive efficiency increased, the contribution to industrialisation and its acceleration in the countries adopting such policies would be very slight. Clearly, the facilities as provided by the Government are too large in comparison with the size of the present estates and add to the total cost of an industrial unit. It seems that it may take a long time before industrial estates specially located in rural areas, are fully occupied and, above all, before satisfactory levels of productivity and quality of production are achieved.

Secondly, the objective of establishing new centres of industries near small- and medium-sized towns has been achieved only to a very limited extent; since the effectiveness of industrial estates and the scope as well as the speed of development are greater in or near large towns having enterprise and skill in sufficient quantity.

Thirdly, there are indications that many estates are not working with their full installed capacity. A survey of the Okhla Industrial Estate, conducted recently by the Directorate of Employment and Training, Delhi Administration, has shown that only four of the 31 units at the estate are utilising their full installed capaciiy. The reasons for the under-utilisation of capacity by a large number of units are varied; they include scarcity of raw materials, inadequate power supply, defective machinery and lack of demand for finished product. It is pointed out that if these defects are removed, it will be possible to employ 80 more workmen, and thereby reduce the average investment-employment ratio from Rs. 4,500 to Rs. 3,000 per person. It is also explained that yet another reason for this low ratio is the shortage of skilled labour which is specially marked in such occupations as tool making and general mechanics.[27]

Fourthly, it is only local well-to-do initiative and enterprise that has been accommodated in the setting of industrial estates while the more progressive artisan but otherwise lacking financial resources at his command has been left to take care of himself. This action may stimulate local investment in local industry but ultimately there is an inherent danger of the concentration of economic power in few hands. "And it is noteworthy that industrial co-operatives have not emerged into view on industrial estates. The chief beneficiary is the small capitalist who is propped up by the state-aided agency so that risk taking is minimal."[28]

Finally, the Government taxation policy also to some extent hinders the development of industrialisation on small-scale. Generally speaking, tax exemptions or abatements and other concessions granted to newly founded enterprises expire by the time profits begin to emerge. In fact, "profits before tax have to be large if tax exemptions or abatements are to be of any use. In general, newly founded enterprises can seldom if ever make any substantial profits in their first years of operation, and tax concessions have expired by the time profits begin to emerge . . . Thus to be effective tax concessions should evidently offer a large diffferential advantage and be granted for a sufficiently long period."[29]

Recently, the Institute of Economic Growth, New Delhi, has conducted a survey on the role of small enterprises in India's economic development. Its findings are pertinent in connection with the present study of industrial estates. These are:[30]

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(i) The small facories produce products for direct consumption or parts and components for other industries.

(ii) Since enterprise and skills are available only in cases where some industrial development has already taken place, industrial estates have not been quite successful in areas where such enterprise and skills are not available. If the latter areas are to develop industrially, it looks as if they must first have large industries which will create external economies of agglomeration as well as provide potential entrepreneurs from amongst the ranks of its skilled workers.

(iii) Technical and economic considerations should have been given greater weight in the choosing of sites than the consideration for so-called dispersal of industry, for a wrong site results in heavier investment and heavier current costs of production.

(iv) The capital costs of construction of existing estates have been excessive. The excessive overheads have provided no justification for subsidising rents.

(v) In small estates, the provision of common technical and other facilities for the purpose of improving the technical efficiency and the chances of commercial success of small enterprises is uneconomic, because they remain largely unutilised.

(vi) The techniques used in factories in the estates are not labour-using and capital-saving; they do not, therefore, create large employment opportunities than could be had from medium or large factories making the same products.

(vii) One justification for the estates is that they provide nursery beds in which efficient small entrepreneurs can grow. As this objective has not been kept firmly in mind, there has been some waste of effort in trying to create 'new' entrepreneurs and in offering valuable new facilities to people who are unable to make good use of them.

It must be stated, however, that the difficulties, as discussed above, are not peculiar to India only. In fact, they are inevitable in the process of industrial promotion in a developing economy and will no doubt be overcome as the programme—now barely three years old—achieves maturity. Nevertheless care will have to be taken of future development of industrial estates on the following lines:

1. The location of industrial estates must be guided strictly by technical, economic and other basic considerations which, generally, enhance the mobility of capital and manpower resources rather than to block them in the process. For example, estates should be located in rural areas only when a number of infra-structure and other essential facilities such as power, means of communication, water supply, concentration of artisans and craftsmen, etc., are available or can be readily provided. In view of the comparative shortage of basic facilities, it would be prudent to adopt a selective approach in the matter of setting up industrial estates in rural areas. In or near large towns and cities, weightage must be given to the establishment of 'functional estates' with a view to accommodating small units working as ancillaries or subsidiaries to related large-scale industries, while 'general purpose estates' are suitable in rural areas for a great variety of light industrial activities. In any case the location factor must ensure improvement in the competitive strength of the small producer, secure economies in the capital costs of construction and, lead to the maximisation of production by making possible the use of improved techniques, better tools and relatively modern facilities.

2. Social values must be taken into consideration when planning the development of rural industrial estates. Attitudes, outlook and traditions, rural conservativeness and reluctance to change must be given due regard. It is necessary to involve local leaders in active participation. Local estate advisory committees should be set up. This would ensure continued support to and permanency of a rural estate undertaking. Moreover, a rural industrial estate will have a sound base if developed around either a common facility operation or an agricultural processing activity. Large industries located in close proximity to a rural industrial estate, would lend additional strength and support. Feeder industries as well as

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service workshops can also be developed to take care of the needs of large factories.

3. Small industrial units housed outside industrial estates, in order to strengthen their position, must be pursuaded to group themselves together into co-operative societies or joint stock companies and start industrial estates of their own. Following the direction given by the Government within the framework of a national policy of industrialisation, they must be rewarded for fulfilling their obligations in this regard similar to that of the Government-sponsored estates.

4. In or near large towns and cities and other appropriate places, where essential facilities are readily available, the provision of developed sites itself should be regarded as sufficient inducement to make the industrial estates programme attractive. Small entrepreneurs, in such places, should erect their own factory buildings, instead of establishing an industrial estate complete with factory premises.[31] It would not be desirable to provide special concessions and facilities which are not available to units outside the estate in the local area.

5. For the success of industrial estates, especially in rural areas, it is essential that they should be co-ordinated, on the one hand, with the different types of economic activities in each district and, on the other, with the needs of each local area. This would facilitate the process of forward planning and simultaneous action in all sectors at the same time.

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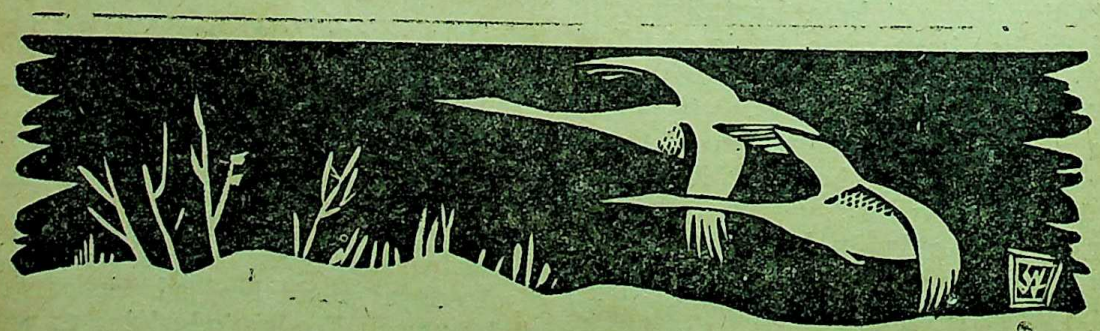
10. *Ibid.*, p. 549.
11. United Nations : *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East, Economic Development and Planning in Asia and the Far East : Transport Development,* Vol. xi, No. 3, Dec., 196[illegible] p. 16.
12. *Third Five Year Plan, Op. cit.*, p. 553.
13. *Progress Report on the Second Five Year Plan* for the year 1958-59, *Op. cit.*, p. 54
14. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
16. "Modern machine—made articles will probably replace hand-made goods in Asian countries unless they are really useful and artistic, and steps should be taken to develop the best work in the traditional crafts. Although traditional forms of arts and crafts can be assisted by government information and encouragement, they will survive only if they derive their strength from popular approval." (*United Nations : Report on the World Social Situation*; p. 196; New York, 1957.)
17. United Nations : *Modernization of Small Industries in Asia; Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East;* Vol. xi; No. 1; p. 26; June 1960; Bangkok.
18. *Third Five Year Plan; Op. cit.*, p. 429.
19. *Ibid.*, Pp. 404-5.
20. *Ibid.*, Pp. 431-2.
21. *Second Five Year Plan; Op. cit;* Pp. 452-53.
22. *Tokya;* 28 July to 18 August, 1958; (ST|TAA SER. C|35); p. 35.
22. *The Economic Times*, November 1, 1961, p. 6.
24. *Third Five Year Plan; Op. cit.*, p. 449.
25. *The Economic Times*, November 2, 1961, p. 6.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
27. Reported in *The Economic Times*, November 10, 1961.
29. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1961, p. 6.
30. Reported in *Commerce Weekly*, Leading Article, p. 929, Vol. Ciii, No. 2641, November 18, 1961.
31. *Third Five Year Plan, Op. cit.*, p. 449.



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MUGHAL PAINTING

By HIREN MUKHERJI

PREJUDICE and misconception about art stood long in the way of proper appreciation of Mughal Painting. Curiously enough, it came to the notice of the Western people as early as the 17th century but it failed to cast any spell on them. Among the earliest admirers of Mughal painting in Europe mention may be made of the great Dutch master Rembrandt and the Austrian Empress Maria Theressa. The former copied Mughal paintings to follow their drawing and the latter adorned the walls of her Schonbrun palace by a choice collection of Mughal miniatures acquired through trade agents and embassies. Later when the British held sway over India many Englishmen belonging both to civil and military ranks became interested in these miniatures and began to collect them. As a result the best Mughal miniatures have found their ways to foreign Museums and private collections. But these people collected these paintings purely out of curiousity and were hardly aware of their aesthetic merits, so that for a long time Mughal paintings failed to attract the notice of foreign connoissers. Its serious study began only in the twenties of the present century.

There was a tendency among earlier critics to label Mughal painting as Indo-Persian or Indo-Islamic stressing thereby its exotic nature. Though these labels are not entirely without justification yet they are often misleading and hence have been aptly rejected by all modern scholars. Mughal painting is not a mere provincial offshoot of Islamic painting as supposed by these earlier critics but a synthesis of two art traditions—Islamic and Indian (not merely Hindu). The seed was imported from Persia, no doubt, but it was fertilized on Indian soil. It grew up vigorously in its new environment and developed its own characteristics which differ in several respects from those of the Persian as well as Indian painting. Thus Mughal painting is a new creation which stands on its own merits and should be judged by its own standards. But before trying to trace its origin and development it is necessary to have some idea of the two art traditions that gave birth to this new pictorial art.

In Islam figural art has been prohibited by Quranic injunction. An artist who ventures to depict a living being is accused of usurping God's creative role and has been warned of the dire consequences that would follow his presumptuous act. It has been said that "on the day of judgment, God will call upon the painter to put life into the creation of the art; when he confesses his inability to do so, the unfortunate wretch will be sent to hell." In view of such an outright condemnation of the art of painting the artist had no other way but to direct his creative urge towards architecture, calligaphy and designs. Early Islamic painting was therefore, restricted to geomatrical and floral design mostly on mosaics. Gradually landscape and animals crept in. Finally the human from made its appearance. This occured within one hundred years of the Prophet's death. How the religious ban could be set aside so easily is a matter of conjecture. But several possible explanations are advanced. First of all, representation of human form is an age-old practice and purely theological restrictions cannot prohibit it effectively. Secondly most of the Arab Muslims were idolater-converts and naturally they had a leaning towards figural art. Third, Islamic social and political structure had undergone a sea-change within these hundred years and the Empire though still under a theocratic rule by name with the Caliph at its head, was actually divided into small states ruled by military dictators who were supreme in their own spheres. If any such dictator wished that his own effigy should be drawn or a given story be illustrated there was none to prevent him and even the most powerful religious teacher had to bow down before the will of such a despot. All these factors contributed to the re-emergence of figural art.

In its early phase Islamic painting was a curious admixture of several elements Arab, Syrian, Iraqui, Turkish, Sasanian-Persian, Greek and Byzantine. It sprouted simultaneously in various

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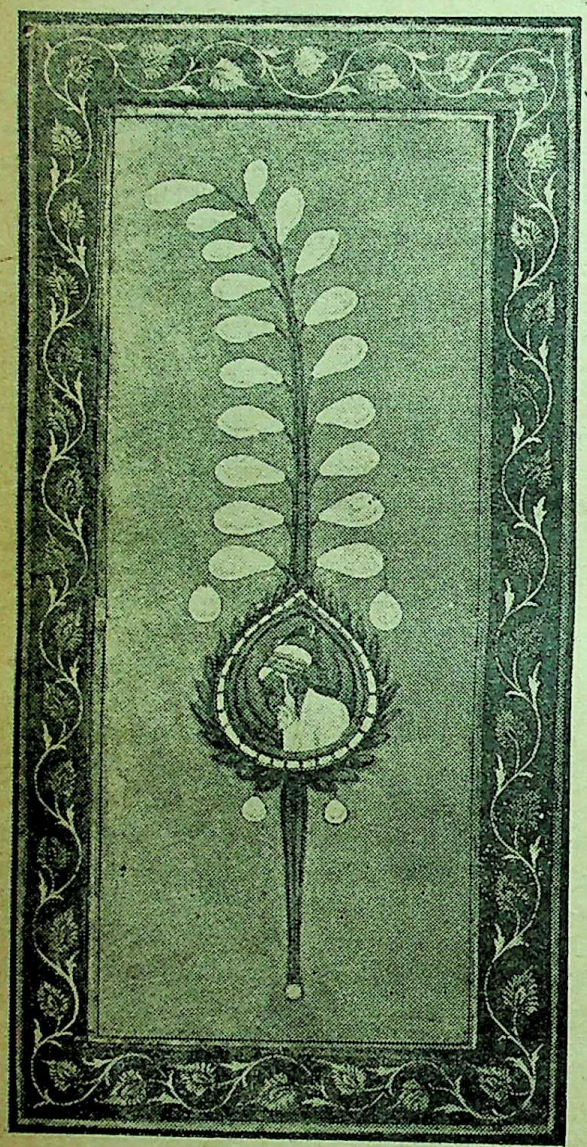
centres of Islamic culture—Bagdad, Damascus, Istamboul, Cario, Jordan and even Morrocco, and was developed by the synthesis of diverse cultural elements. As regards the nomenclature of this pictorial art there is divergence of opinion among critics. A few call it Mesopotamian, others call it Abbasid and some others still prefer the



A Moghul "Ruby Plume"
India Office Collection

title Arab. The last one seems to be most appropriate as the pictorial art is purely a product of Arab culture. This Arab painting (or whatever name we may choose to call it by) is primarily an art of book illustrations and is noted for its bold lines, dashing colours and sensitive rendering of human and animal forms. It reached its zenith in Turkey in the thirteenth century A.D. and thereafter began to decay. The cause of its decay must be sought in the decline of the power of the Caliph and the consequent disintegration of the Caliphate Empire. From the 13th century onwards Iran rose to prominence and it is here that Islamic painting entered into a new and most brilliant phase. This Persian painting (the name in which it is known) is the outcome of the fusion of several elements—Arab, Mongol, Timurid and Safavid. It is essentially an art of mss. illustrations in keeping with the tradition of Islamic painting and is famous for its rythmic, fluid lines, brilliant colours and decorative qualities. The persian artist never attempts at depicting this real world of ours but creates a world of his own. In this dream world the sky is golden or cobalt-blue occasionally interrupted with Chinese colours; the hills are mauve, pink or turquoise and take very fantastic shapes; the streams are serpentine, winding their ways through pebbles and flowering shrubs; the trees are highly stylized and flowers glow like jewels. The Presian painter never uses perspective or chiarascuro but combines birds-eye view with horizental view so as to ensure maximum visiblility. He depicts the night scene as if in broad daylight, the night being indicated by a starry sky and quiet atmosphere. The architecture is suggested by some such simple devices as obliquely disposed walls, flights of steps, hanging balconies and jutting windows. The floors and walls of rooms are decorated with sumptuous tile works and elaborate carpet designs. Some conventions constantly recur in Persian painting such as the high horizon, a shallow brook flowing quietly across the foreground of the picture, litle birds flying round a stylized tree and tiny flowers peeping out of bushes. The sentiment of human beings are expressed by streotyped gestures. In spite of such stylizations Persian painting is unique in its lyrical quality and ethereal beauty.

Mughal painting, though derived from Persian painting, yet differs from the latter both in spirit and outlook. The Mughal artist, unlike his Persian brother is conscious of the world around him and takes delight in depicting scenes from contemporary life. Mughal painting is naturalistic compared to Persian painting, though in a restricted sense of the term. This naturalism facilitated its comparatively early appreciation

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in Europe when other branches of Indian painting received very little or no recognation at all. Its naturalism is manifest in the use of perspective and chiarascuro, in the modelling of figures and in the detailed treatment of architecture and costumes. Although some of these elements found their way in Mughal painting much later, when it came into contact with European painting, yet the very fact that these were incorporated into Mughal miniatures, though never properly assimilated, indicates that Mughal painters were not averse to naturalism. That such a realistic trend in painting was actively encouraged by Princes and noble-men is apparent from the following utterance of Prince Daniell, Akbar's third son: "We are tired of the old tales of Laila & Majnu. Let our painters paint what we ourselves have seen and heard." This is the characteristic psychology of Mughal paintings. The interest in contemporary life and the spirit of curiosity are the two main traits of Mughal painting.

But how this switch over from idealism to realism was effected is a very difficult question to answer. It is generally believed that Indian painting is spiritual and symbolic and so stands on a different footing from that of the Mughal painting. This is true but only partially. We know that before the arival of the Mughals India had a long tradition of pictorial art that reached its climax in the cave paintings of Ajanta. Those paintings date from the 2nd century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. and they illustrate scenes from the life of the Buddha and incidents from his previous births. Some of these paintings are highly spiritual and rank among the best masterpiecess of religious art in the world, but most of them are examples of secular art under a religious veil. These paintings depict the joys and sorrows of ordinary men and act as mirrors to the life of the people of that remote past. Thus side by side with the great Bodhisattva figures of the Jatakas there are such glimpses into the everyday life as a stately procession moving along the city street accompanied with drummers and singers, a lady who has fainted at the death news of her husband, a pair of lovers rapt in conversation in a secluded chamber, a collapsing lady whose lover has forsaken her, a mother carrying her child in her arms a group of men tasting wine, a lady at her toilet, grocers selling their commodities in city markets, the poor villagers dwelling in their thatched cottages, a cowherd boy driving his cattle to the pasture, a Bhil couple in their forest abode and so on. Not only the human world but animal world too is depicted with equal love and sympathy. Thus the interest in mundane affairs. that characterizes later Mughal painting is foreshadowed in these paintings of Ajanta and it is not unlikely that the same Indian tradition would assert itself after the lapse of a millennium.

The Himalayan Cheer Pheasant
(Jahanghir Period)

The foundation of the Mughal Empire was laid by Babur, a descendant of Tamarlane and Gangis Khan, from father's and mother's side respectively. Though he had to spend most of his life in the battle-field yet he managed to snatch opportunities for writing down his memoirs which are acclaimed as being fine pieces of literature in Turkish language. He was a man of refined tastes and culture. While in Presia as a guest of Sultan Hussain Baiquara he came in contact with the Persian painting of the Herat school and has recorded his appreciation for it. He owned a

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very fine library which contained many illustrated Persian mss., executed by famous Persian masters including Bihzad, the legendary name in Persian painting.

Darbar Khan

Babur was succeeded by his son Humayun (1530-1556) who was driven out of India by the Afghan rebel Sher-Khan. He took refuge in the court of Shah. Tamasp of Persia and was accorded a sympathetic treatment. During his sojourn in Persia he became interested in the Persian painting of the Tabriz school and invited two young promising Persian painters Mir Sayed Ali and Khaja Abdus Samad to join his service when he was established in Kabul. After he regained his throne in Delhi he bestowed high titles on these artists and bid them to illustrate the story of Amir Hamza—Prophet's uncle—known for his many heroic exploits. But it is not certain whether he could see the project on the way of fulfilment as he died soon af (1556) as a result of an accident.

The real founder of the Moghul School w Akbar (1556-1605) the greatest Emperor the Moghul lineage. He was a man different tastes and inclinations. Unlike his fo fathers he accepted this country as his own a adopted native costumes and ways of life. Bef he came to the throne every thing Persion w the norm of the court life and the key posts administration were held by the members the Persian nobility. But the situation w changed during his reign and native Hind were raised to most enviable positions both civil and military ranks. He strengthened h position in India by forming marital allianc with Rajput Rajas who were the most formidab opponents of Muslims in Northern India. Th was not only a political manœuvre on his p but also a step towards his aim of a unifi India. Throughout his life he strove for pea and harmony. To eradicate the conflict amo peoples of different faiths he even ventured preach a new religion at the fag-end of his life th contained the essence of every religion but h had to abandon it in face of stiff opposition from all quarters. The spirit of symthesis is reflecte in the paintings of his time.

While a boy, Akbar took lessons in pain ing from Khaja Abdus Samad and there is painting showing the young prince delivering picture drawn by himself to his father f inspection. This interest in painting ne flagged in his life. He deprecated the views orthodox muslims regarding the art of painti and once said "Bigoted followers of the letter the law are hostile to the art of painting; h their eyes now see the truth." His friend a chronicler Abul Fazl states that once at a priv party of friends the emperor remarked "th are many that hate painting, but such men dislike. It appears to me as if a painter h quite peculiar means of recognising God; fo painter in sketching any thing that has life, a in devising its limbs, one after the other, m come to feel that he cannot bestow individua upon his work, and is thus forced to think God, the giver of life, and will thus increase knowledge." This logic was somewhat astound in an age when slightest departure from can cal laws was regarded as infidelity.

Akbar's own interest in painting was

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ponsible for the growth of the Mughal School. His court historian Abul Fazl states "His Majesty from his earliest youth, has always a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means, both of study and amusement." In the year 1569 the construction of the city of Fatepur Sikri was commenced and Akbar shifted his capital to this new environment next year. One of the palaces in this newly built city namely the house of Marium-uz-Zamani, Prince Salim's mother, was beautifully decorated with mural paintings in Indo-Persian manner. Unfortunately very little of these paintings survives and it is not safe to arrive at any conclusion as regards the nature of early Mughal painting from such insufficient data. Close to the Royal residence in Fatepur Sikri the Imperial ateliar was established. It looked much like a modern workshop having separate departments of painting, gold work, weaving, manufacture of arms etc. The emperor kept a vigilant eye on the functioning of his ateliar and every week the works of all painters were laid before him by the Daroghas and the Clerks and he would confer rewards according to the order of merit or increase the salaries of deserving artists. Thus the art of painting flourished in his time. His chronicler Abul Fazl states "most excellent painters are now to be found, and masterpieces worthy of Bihzad, may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world wide fame. The minuteness of detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, etc., now observed in pictures, are incomparable; even inanimate objects look as if they had life."

The Hamza Nama illustrations represent Mughal painting in its formative phase. As we have already remarked the work of the series was not probably undertaken until circa 1570, i.e., when the Imperial ateliar was established at Fetepur Sikri. This extensive set containing 1400 large size illustrations on canvas (alas only 125 of them have survived) was in itself an ambitious project and could not be executed by two Persian masters alone. Naturally artists were recruited from all over India and placed under the disposal of these Persian masters. But what was the position of indigenous painting by this time? We know that since the days of Ajanta pictorial art survived in one or other form in different parts of India. Thus by the 11th-12th century a school of mss. illustration of Buddhist texts on palm leaves flourished in Eastern India under the Palas. The style came to a sudden end due to Muslim invasion of Bengal in the 12th century but survived in Nepal and Tibet. Another school of painting sprang up in Western India by the end of the 11th century with the sole object of illustrating Jaina Mss. (later some Vaishnava subjects were also illustrated) commissioned by rich members of the Jaina community. This painting style was highly conservative in outlook and reached a state of degeneracy by the middle of the 16th century. Nevertheless, it was in vogue throughout Western India and in some parts of Northern and Central India when the Mughals set their feet on the Indian soil. There is evidence of the existence of other schools of painting also in different parts of India: in Kashmir, Malwa, Gwalior, Lahore and Rajasthan, not to speak of the Deccan where Muslim rule was established long ago and several schools of painting flourished almost side by side with the Mughal school, absorbing many Hindu elements from the ruins of Vijaynagar. Artists from all these pro-

A Stork
(Jahanghir Period)

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vincial centres thronged to the Mughal court in search of lucrative jobs and they were welcomed. The execution of the extensive Hamza Namah series provided a sort of training school to these artists. Later when some of them migrated elsewhere they carried with them their knowledge in advanced technique and inaugurated the birth of new styles. In fact, this time to time migration of artists from the Mughal Court was the cause of the development of subsequent schools of Indian painting and the famous Rajput and Kangra schools would not have emerged in the form in which they are known today, unless Mughal painting had come into existence.

Zeb Unnisa
Second Half, 17th century

In the paintings of the Hamza Namah series Persian and indigenous elements exist side by side. The composition, and figure drawings are derived from Persia, but setting, architecture, and costumes are Indian. The treatments of the trees, rocks and rivers are neither Persian nor Indian. The pictures show a vigorous style though lacking somewhat in delicacy. They are full of action and vividly portray the incidents of the story.

Hamza Namah illustrations were finished in 1582. Thereafter, on Akbar's order the illustration of the Razm Namah, the Persian version of the Hindu epic Mahabharata was taken up. The translation was carried out by the bigoted historian Badaoni, although much to his displeasure with the help of some Hindu Pandits. This Mss. contained 169 sumptuous illustrations each measuring about 12″ × 8″ and involved a total expenditure of Rs. 4024 the painting alone costing Rs. 3602, i.e., 21.82 Rs. per single miniature, a rather high cost indeed in view of the fact rice was sold in those days at eight maunds a Rupee. This Mss. remained in the Imperial Library for more than 150 years till Akbar's unworthy successor Mahammad Shah pledged it to Swai Jai Singh of Jaipur for a sum of Rs., one lakh when the former faced extreme financial stringency following Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi in 1739. Since then the Mss. has been zealously treasured in the Jaipur Pothikhana.

The illustrations of Razm Namah show that Persian and Indian elements that so long existed side by side are now getting fused and a synthesis has begun. The figures of various types of people including that of Lord Krishna are taken from life and they wear contemporary dress. Some of the figures of Gods and Goddesses may appear strange to our eyes but it must be remembered that this is the first attempt at illustrating this great epic. In depicting the life of Braja the artists have displayed an intimate knowledge of the rural life and this is not astonishing in view of the fact that most of them hailed from Indian villages.

Apart from the Maha Bharata other Hindu classics such as Ramayana, Bhagavata, Purana and Nala-Damayanti were translated into Persian language and illustrated by Akbar's Court Painters. Another Indian book of Fables Panchatantra was translated into Persian from its Arabic version Kalila-Wa-Dimna, under the title Iyar-i-Danish by Akbar's friend Abul Fazl. This Mss too was sumptuously illustrated by noted Mughal artists.

Besides Indian classics Akbar was interested in Persian classics and his studio produced some beautifully illustrated copies of such famous works as Nizami's Khamsa, Zami's Baharistha, Sadi's Zami and the never-too-old story of Laila and Majnun.

No less was the Emperor's interest in his

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rical works. On his order illustrated copies of a number of noted historical works were produced. These include (1) Dorab Namah, (2) Shah Namah, (3) Timur Namah, (4) Babar Namah, (5) Jami-ut-Tawarikh, i.e., history of the Mongols, (6) Tarikh-i-Alfi, i.e., history of the world, (7) and last but not the least Akbar Nama—emperor's own history written by his friend Abul Fazl. The illustrations accompanying the last named Mss. show Mughal painting of Akbar's period at its best.

Most of the Mss. cited above survive in more than one copies. This is due to the fact that the Emperor had ordered his courtiers to have illustrated copies of the Mss. prepared for the Imperial Library. Some of them obeyed his orders merely to please His Highness and others such as Khan Khanan truly developed a taste for painting. The artists employed by these noble men were mostly second-rate ones as they could not meet the demands of first class artists who were in the employment of the court. As a result the qualities of the copies often lag behind those of the originals. Nevertheless, it is clear that maintenance of an ateliar was regarded as an accomplishment by the members of the elite and this pretention or real love of art soon spread outside the court circles. As a result a popular branch of Mughal painting flourished in the market places of Delhi, Agra and other important cities to cater to the tastes of rich people who were becoming increasingly interested in the art of painting. The products of this popular Mughal school survived to a far greater extent than those of the Royal Studio.

A novel branch of painting developed during Akbar's time, viz., the art of portrait painting. The Emperor himself sat for his likeness and ordered his courtiers to have their portraits painted by his court artists. These portraits were preserved in an immense album about which Abul Fazl writes—"Those who have passed away have received a new life and those who are still alive have immortality promised them." Apart from their historical importance these portraits are fine examples of delicate brushwork.

Though most of the paintings of Akbar period are unsigned yet the names of more than 100 artists have come down to us. The most notable figures are—Mir Sayid Ali, Khaja Abdus Samad, Farukh Beg, Baswan, Daswanath, Lal, Mukand, Miskin, Kesu, Jagannath and Khemkaran. It should be noted that most of the artists are Hindus and what is still more surprising is that almost all came from the lower strata of the Hindu society. Akbar's historian Abul Fazl lavishes high praise on these Hindu artists. He says, "their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found to equal them." The two most notable Hindu artists were Daswanath and Baswan, the former a Palki-bearer's son and the latter a water carrier's son. About Daswanath, Abul Fazl says, "in a short time he surpassed all painters and became the first painter of the age," and about Baswan "he was so excellent that many critics preferred him to Daswanath." Baswan's works, however, survive in a greater number than that of Daswanath because of the fact that the latter committed suicide in a fit of madness at a fairly early age.

We have already mentioned that there was a division of labour in the Imperial studio. In a Mughal painting the individuality of an artist was never stressed and pictures were executed on a co-operative basis. Thus one would draw the outline, other would do the composition and a third would apply colours. This spliting up of responsibility among various artists had its merits and demerits. Each painter being a specialist in his own branch the pictures would come out as technically perfect but the lack of spontaneity and coherence that are sometimes observed should also be attributed to this practice. This specialization became more marked in the period of Jahanghir and Shahjahan.

Akbar's ecelectic outlook led him to invite Portuguese missionaries to his court. In 1580, a batch of Jessuits arrived in his court at Fatepur Sikri and presented him with a copy of Platyn's Bible embellished with flemish engravings. There is evidence that these illustrations impressed the emperor and he became an admirer of European painting. That European painting always evoked praise and admiration in the court of Akbar has already been noticed in an observation of Abul Fazl. Akbar's painters too became interested in these paintings and borrowed many of its idioms which changed the character of Mughal painting as remarked already. The contact with European paintings was renewed in the periods of Jahanghir and Shahjahan.

Akbar died in 1605 full of years and honours. He was succeeded by his son Jahanghir once a rebel but who nevertheless cherished deep

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respect for his father. This is evident in the following passages taken from his memoirs :

"He (Akbar) always associated with the learned men of every creed and religion specially the Pandits and learned men of India. In his actions and movements he was not like the people of the world, and the glory of God manifested itself in him."

An Elephant—fight
(Shajahan Period)

Jahangir too like his father was an ardent lover of painting. He inherited from his father a big library containing thousands of illustrated Mss. and it was his pastime to inscribe on them his comments as regards their material and aesthetic values. He himself acquired ma beautifully illustrated Mss. and precious obje of art from Persia, Central Asia and Euro through special agents and embassies. His ta for art was genuine and despite his addiction the cup he was a man of keen intellectual perc tion. His memoirs reveal an inquisitive m which carefully observes every thing that fires imagination. He was highly s sitive to the beauties of Nat and was very much interes in birds and animals. This the cause of the development genre paintings in his reign studies of flowers, birds, animals rose to great heights.

In his early years Jahang had a leaning towards Pers painting and this is responsi for the re-emergence of Pers motifs in Mughal paintings ecuted in the early years his reign. But Jahanghir s freed himself from this obsessi and Mughal painting continu to develop on its own linen. Jahanghir's time the old practi of illustrating Mss. was aban doned and painters were ask to depict scenes from the l of the court and the day to d activities of the emperor. Wh ever the emperor would go an expedition he would t with him a few artists in or to have important events corded in lines and colou The paintings of the Jahang period show increasing natur ism reflecting the taste of emperor and in contrast to paintings of the earlier per they lack intensity of feeling dynamism. But this loss has amply compensated by s lines, brighter colours and m delicate tones. This is best emplified in the art of port ture. The individualities of sons depicted have found expression in these portraits. emperor used to keep a large album with containing portraits of all important perso ities of the age from which he would judge characters of the persons depicted. A l number of portraits of the emperor himself

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come down to us. In some of these he has been depicted as the lord of the world while his rivals have been shown in a submissive attitude. We can guess that the emperor used to give vent to his suppressed desires through the portrayal of such imaginary situations.

It was a common practice in Jahanghir's time to mount pictures in albums. To heighten their artistic effect their margin's were beautifully decorated with gold arabesques occasionally interspersed with flowering plants, creepers, birds, animals and even scenes from every day life. These illuminated margins known as Muraqqas are charming examples of pure decorative art.

Jahanghir like his father was appreciative of the beauties of European paintings. Many fine copies of European painting on Christian thems were prepared by his court artists. Once he befooled Sir Thomas Roe the representative of the East India Company, by asking him to pick up his own original from an assemblage of four copies prepared by his court artists.

Jahnaghir was very conscious of his own connoisseurship. In his memoirs he states "my liking for painting and my practice in judging it has arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or of those of the present day, without the names being told, I can say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrows of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eye brows." Though there is obvious exaggeration in this utterance yet their is evidence that the emperor was now more than a mere dabbler in art.

Jahanghir was equally proud of his own artists. Most of them came from his father's studio and several were his own discoveries. The most notable artists were Abul Hasan, Monohor, Dhanraj, Gobardhan, Bishandas, Ustad Mansur, Nhana, Dawhat, Farrukh Beg, Anant, Hasim and Bichitr. Jahanghir is particularly enthusiastic about Abul Hasan to whom he devotes a rather lengthy passage in his memoirs. He writes. "On this day Abul Hasan, the painter who has been honoured with the title Nadir-uz-Zaman drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece to my Jahanghir Namah and brought it to me. As it was worthy of all praise, he received endless favours. His work was perfect, and his picture is one of the chef d'oeuvred of the age. At the present time he has no rival or equal. If at this day the masters Abdul Haye and Bihzad were alive they would have done him justice. His father, Aqa Riza-i of Hirat at the time when I was Prince, joined my service. He (Abul Hasan) was a Khanazad of my court. There is, however, no comparison between his work and that of his father (i.e., he is far better than his father). One cannot put them into the same category. My connection was based on my having reared him. From his earliest years upto the present time I have always looked after him till his art has arrived at this rank. Truly he has become Nadir-uz-Zaman (the wonder of the age)." About another artist Mansur who specialized in the study of birds and animals he observe "Ustad Mansur has become such a master in painting that he has the title Nadir-ul-Asr, and in the art of drawing he is unique in his generation." He also held high opinion of another artist Bishndas who "was unequalled in his age for taking likeness" and so was selected by the emperor to accompany an embassy to Persia, with the object of taking portraits of Shah Abbas and his courtiers. When the embassy returned to India Jahanghir was highly satisfied with the works of Bishndas.

Jahanghir died in the year 1625 and was succeeded by his son Shajahan. Painting continued to flourish in Shajahan's reign but the emperor had more leaning towards architecture than painting. Never before was the Imperial Treasury so full of gold and the emperor undertook ambitious building programmes. These gorgeous edifices proclaim the wealth and artistic taste of the prodigal emperor. The paintings, too, in Shajahan's reign reflect the pomp and splendour of the court life. They are heavily laden with gold and in drawing, colouring and finish leave nothing to be desired. But they betray also signs of over-ripeness which is the green signal for decay. In the later part of Shahjahan's reign genre scenes became very popular and there was an increasing demand for portraits of young ladies. It is not known how far these portraits are authentic but there is evidence of the existence of female artists working in the harem. It is possible that most of these portraits

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are either imaginary or based on the models of dancing girls who were easily available in the court but in cases of such important personalities as Nurjahan or Zebunnissa who used to give public audience there is every probability that the portraits were taken from life.

Mughal painting, however, received a serious jolt with the usurpation of the throne by Aurangzeb. This bigoted ruler was hostile to every form of art and painting shared the same fate as that of Dance and Music. Only in the field of portraiture the previous standard was maintained to a certain extent and that too was possible because the emperor kept portrait albums with him to assess the characters of his friends and enemies. This puritanical attitude led to the dispersal of court artists. Most of the members of younger generation migrated elsewhere in search of new patrons and those who remained sought the patronage of wealthy grandees. The paintings of this period naturally reflect the taste of these debased courtiers who insisted more and more on harem scenes and genre themes.

After Aurangzeb the history of Mughal painting is same as that of the Mughal Empire ; it was long past its zenith and was now rapidly declining. Court patronage was restored to certain extent in the time of Muhammad Shah but this weak emperor had neither the courage nor the capacity to turn the tide. Nevertheless several fine miniatures were produced in this period which are at least technically competent. Most of the miniatures, however, are weak and sentimental lacking in aesthetic values. The dispative life of the court found its echo in the paintings and there is no end of subjects like the lovers in a garden, a drinking party, a musical soiree, the lady at her toilet, the prince embracing his sweetheart, ladies of the har playing with fire works, flying kites, or visiti a saint, etc. Illustrations of old romantic tal were also in vogue and we have a large numb of pictures depicting Bazbahadur—Rupmat Sohini—Mohinwal, Hir—Ranja, etc. The in creasing contact with Rajput painting led to th adoption of Hindu themes and there are sever miniatures on Shiva Puja and musical modes.

The sack of Delhi in 1739 sounded the deat knell of the Mughal empire and also of Mugh painting. Thereafter the emperor was but symbolical head of a large number of semi independent states. The imperial Treasury wa empty and taste for painting declined. Art canno be expected to thrive under such a condition and migration of artists took place. Most o these refugees artists finally settled in the hil states and initiated the famous Kangra style There was a last attempt at revival during the regime of Shah Alam but the old spirit coul not be recaptured. Nevertheless, several fine copies of earlier works were prepared, which now often mislead art critics. After Shah Alam the Mughal school in the real sense of the term came to an end but paintings in Mughal styl continued to be produced in provincial centres Even these last vestiges of Mughal painting wer almost wiped out with the quelling of Sepo Mutiny that broke out in 1857.

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An old castle, which now houses the Parliament of the North-German State of Lower Saxony

OLD CASTLE—NEW FUNCTION

By BERNDT W. WESSLING

Hannover's "Leine Castle" now houses Parliament—
Respect for the old, courage for the modern world

ALMOST every German former residential city has an architectural centre, such as a castle, a palace or a fortress. Hannover, the capital of the modern Federal State of Lower Saxony and former residential city of the Kingdom of Hanover (under the Welfian dynasty which is closely related to the English and the Greek royal families), was completed in 1640 as the residence for Georg von Calenberg; in the 19th century it was supplemented by classicist facades and annexes. During the Second World War it was entirely destroyed with the exception of a few outside walls. This Leine Castle has now been rebuilt by the famous German architect Dieter Oesterlen. The interior is modern, while the old outside walls have been retained. The castle will have an entirly new function: it has been chosen as the new home for the Niedersaechsische Landtag, the Parliament of Lower Saxony. Thus it has become a new centre for the half-million metropolis of this North-German federal state, which comprises the formerly sovereign states of Hannover, Oldenburg, Brunswick and Schaumburg-Lippe.

The Leine Castle in Hannover had always been respected by the population, even after it had fallen into ruins during the war. The charm of a past representative epoch appeared to hover

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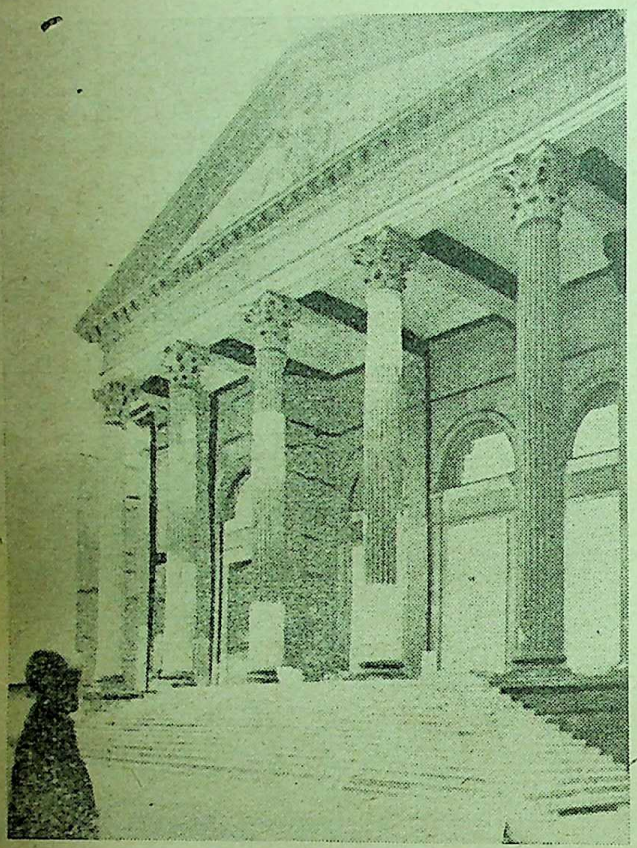
about his centre: famous celebreties, such as the Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugen of Savoya, Czar Peter the Great of Russia, the great philosopher Leibniz, and the English Kings of the Georgian epoch had wined and dined and resided here. The new parliamentary building which, covering 110,000 square feet of ground, will give plenty of room to the 157 deputies and office workers of the Parliament of Lower Saxo it constitutes a milestone in the reconstruction the city of Hannover, which had suffered hea during the Second World War. After Hanno had introduced a traffic and road system wh meets all requirements of modern traffic and highly reputed all over the world, after p setting new residential quarters had been bu the reconstruction of the necessary representat buildings has been taken in hand recently. Th new buildings breathe moderate representati that does without luxuries and employs archi tural and artistic means of expression which representative of this age.



Leine Castle in Hannover : Once a residence of kings, today the seat of Parliament of Lower Saxony

The heart of the new Leine Castle parliame tary building will be the meeting room of t plenary assembly. A large outside flight of stai connected with the portico leads to the upp floors, which display much glass, marble, sa stone and fine woods. Glass-covered corrid give brightness to every room. The restaura promenades, galleries, cafeterias which, of cour had not existed in the old castle, are n harmonious parts of the whole, thanks to t excellent architect. Painters and sculptors fro Lower Saxony have contributed to the interi decoration which has been adapted to the natio traditions of Lower Saxony. Only a few, ruin castles in Germany have been rebuilt so impr sively and so functionally as the new parliam in Hannover, an old aristocratic castle. This been achieved under the motto of the State Lower Saxony in the Federal Republic Germany, "Respect for the old, and courage the modern world."

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MODERN REVIEW FIFTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

We are publishing below excerpts from old Editorial Notes authored by the founder, the Ramananda Chatterjee, in the year of the Modern Review's inauguration in 1907, as a special Ramananda Birthday Centenary feature. The Centenary falls in 1964, and this feature, which will be a monthly one throughout the current year, will be reprinted in book form at the end of the year and offered as a Centenary commemoration volume with the beginning of the new year. These excerpts are a five representative picture of the times when they were written and should be of especial interest. The book (in D|Cr. 16mo) which will be approximately of 200 pages, shall be offered to those who place their advance orders now at the specially concessional pre-publication price of Rs. 2.00 only. As only a limited number of copies will be published, immediate order should be placed to avoid disappointment.

Editor, Modern Review.

The National Week

Speaking seriously, it must be evident to all intelligent persons that during "national week" no active or deliberative work is properly done ; the majority of those who attend the sessions of the Congress and the numerous Conferences indulge in patriotic dissipation, unintentional though it be. A remedy has to be found, and educated India is surely equal to the task. Perhaps we have to seek it in the gradual growth of a class of intelligent patriotic persons whose movements do not depend on court holidays. In the meantime let us make the most of the opportunities that such holidays afford by proper organisation and economical methods of work. It is a matter of congratulation that, in spite of the hurry, so much work is done. It is matter for still greater satisfaction that, the national awakening has touched every sphere of human thought and activity, though in some cases, not in proportion to their relative importance.

The Congress which still seems to have only just ended, appears alike memorable and important, whether we read its own records, reported without comment, or weigh one against the other the conflicting editorial opinions of the papers in India and England. Amongst friends and foes alike the note of surprise is audible at the "united front presented by the Congress to the world." We do not think this surprise is justified. The great distinction of Indian politics appears, to one within the ranks, to be their unanimity. We are not inclined to think that either Ireland or Russia can show a similar unanimity amongst their patriotic factions. The outstanding characteristic of Congress leaders in the past, moreover has been an overwhelming respect for the integrity and continuity of the Congress. Time and again the more outspoken and enthusiastic,—shall we say the most extreme,—amongst us have capitulated to the seniors rather than jeopardise that unity which was still dearer to the most hot-headed of us than his own opinions. The turn of the wheel brings many revolutions and to-day, with a peculiar generosity, the elders amongst us have recognised and asserted the right to be heard of an utterance that would not, perhaps, otherwise have been their utterance, have accepted a movement as national, which they had not themselves initiated, and have implicitly announced thereby their own future loyalty to the new eagerness of passion of the forward advance. But we do not agree with those who hold that such action shows "a gradual training" of the Congress leaders, or a successful imitation of a foreign pattern. On the contrary, to our eyes it appears that these mutual deference and respect of young and old,—this common unspoken determination effectively to maintain the working union, no matter how recklessly either may seem now and again to strain at the tether,—is peculiarly Indian. We read in it no slow political growth, but the old familiar methods of the undivided family. And it is but added proof to us that all the

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resources of our strength are to be found in ourselves, when once we have learned to avail ourselves of them. The deferential and patriarchal habits of the undivided family have long acted to conceal our strength, alike from outsiders and ourselves. But the strength was there. And to-day the manner that seemed to do us less than justice has become a powerful political weapon. For, it has revealed the fact that **we are not a majority but a unity,**—solid, impregnable, without dissentients on one side or the other. And as our manners amongst ourselves are those of kith and kin, so be it understood, is the heart within us also. We are of one blood, we Indian people, and the hurt of any one member affects us all. On this fact, no longer a faith but a demonstration, our future depends. For that future we must all work, work with hearts that never droop and hands that never waver, remembering all the while that in things essential there should be unity, in things non-essential liberty, and in all things charity.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's presidential address* has been variously estimated. It may at once be conceded that it does not lay any claim to literary excellence. That it is wanting in the emotional element is also quite plain. But cold steel does as good execution in its way as the red hot bullet. But it does not say anything that its author has not said before is also admitted. The great merit of the address lies in the fact that it states in clear and unequivocal language our chief political demand, namely, **Swaraj** or self-government.

Some of us have concluded in a mood of either hasty appreciation or of equally hasty fault-finding that Mr. Naoroji is in favour of self-government on colonial lines, but not of absolute autonomy. But the actual words that he uses,—"self-government or **Swaraj** like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies"—do not warrant any such conclusion. There is nothing to prevent us from interpreting his words to mean that he desires absolute autonomy like that of the United Kingdom, but would be content to have self-government on colonial lines under British suzereinty. And that shows the temperament of the practical statesman as distinguished from that of the doctrinaire politician or the political visionary. It is this temperament, too, that leads him to demand **at once only a beginning** but not the full rights of self-government. For absolute autonomy or self-government on colonial lines in a fully developed form are at present equally remote. India can be immediately free either as the result of a successful armed rebellion, or as the result of a magnanimous renunciation by the British nation of their suzereinty and domination. But both are equally out of the question. So we have to make a gradual advance.

* * * *

After half a century of struggle and disappointment Mr. Naoroji still hopes that "the British conscience" will assert itself. He must have reason for the faith that is in him. His age, character and intellectual capacity, and the disinterested and devoted work he has done for his country for half a century, incline us to make his faith our own. It is not impossible, too, for a nation to be just. Whilst we are perfectly sure that Mr. Naoroji's hope is sincere, we on our part cannot, without hypocrisy, say that we have full faith in the sense of justice of the British people; but at the same time we do not say that they may not in future be juster than they have been in the past. Our hope of India's salvation rests chiefly and primarily on what Mr. Naoroji has called "the supremacy of the moral law." And the appeal to a nation's sense of justice and love or righteousness is ultimately based on the moral order of the universe. At the same time large masses of people are influenced oftener by fear and self-interest. It is for this reason that we wish our national strength to be developed in all directions, so that our rulers may feel that unless justice is done, effective retaliation is sure to follow. We lay stress on the word **effective**.....If you threaten you must be in a position to carry out the threat. Else it is worse than useless.....

Gopal Krishna Gokhale

India has adored renunciation and devotion in all ages. It is significant that in this age these crowning flowers of spiritual

* Refers to the Congress session of 1906.

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ity should blossom in the political field, too, and receive their wonted homage and adoration. Herein lies the secret of the more than royal ovation which Mr. G. K. Gokhale has been receiving in his tour through the United Provinces and the Punjab. His reception shows, too, that the sentiment of nationality is growing in volume and intensity everywhere in India. Our only anxiety is that this sentiment should not exhaust itself in mere demonstration, but should strengthen itself by organised action. Political life of the Western type is new to our people. We need not be offended, therefore, if we are reminded without excessive ceremony that in all spheres of life spasmodic action indicates a low stage of development and sustained effort a higher one.

We are standing almost on the threshold of a revolution, and, if we can read the signs aright, it promises to be a bloodless one. But bloody or bloodless, all revolutions demand a sacrifice; the conditions of success are equally exacting, the work equally strenuous, in either case. The death of the martyred patriot because, perhaps, of its being more dramatic and the undoubted proof it affords of his earnestness, rouses our enthusiasm more than his life of renunciation and devotion. But we should not forget that it is his life that leads to his death, it is the former that makes the latter possible, that, after all, death may be a mere accident in the case and that without the death, the life would be valuable and adorable all the same....

Mr. Gokhale's political aspirations are not lower than those of any other Indian patriot, he wants his people to be in India what any other people are in theirs, he has declared that everything that is being done at present in the way of political activity in India is constitutional, that it is legitimate for us to have recourse even to passive resistance by way of non-payment of taxes. Passive resistance marks the extreme point of constitutional political pressure; and it is known to Mr. Gokhale's friends that his opinion as to its legitimacy in India and advisability, too, when the occasion demands it, is not of recent growth, but originated long before there was any talk of a new party. And he is an exponent of the "moderate" party. Let friend and foe, therefore, judge whether there are really two distinct parties in India among Indians, with a clear line of cleavage between them. We for our part do not see the need or feel the wisdom of being in a hurry to create or recognise a split in our camp. We prefer to stick to the rule: "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charit."

Free Education

Every civilized country has long recognized the duty of the State to provide free education to all children living therein and compel those to attend school who might not desire to do so. The British Indian Government has not yet done its duty in this respect. The Imeperial Government has no doubt invited the Provincial Governments to express their opinions on the subject; but it is not known when the decision of the former will be published. In the meantime let us try to see clearly what the consequences of free education given by the State in a subject country like India are likely to be. The first result would probably be the disappearance of all private primary schools, unless, of course, individuals or associations maintained such institutions of their own. It is notorious that in recent years all vernacular text books have been so expurgated or written to order as not to contain a single sentence or passage that breathes heroism and patriotism, and fills the mind with desire to serve the motherland and assert national rights. History has been and in future will be distorted in increasing measure to suit the purposes of the foreign bureaucracy. This is enough to show the kind of literature that will be provided for primary school children. Shall we, therefore, oppose free education? No, a thosand times no. But what are we going to do to provide our national patriotic literature to children and the mass of the people, and thus take advantage of the educational weapon to forward the national cause? What are we going to do to provide independent free primary schools for our children in villages and towns? The Government does not care much for discontent and unrest in the ranks of the educated minority. But it

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certainly desires that the mass of the people should be on its side. And more and more legislation and administrative measures will have the tendency to create an opposition of interests betwteen the classes and the masses. Have we sufficient foresight and patriotism and energy to preceive all this and create a solidarity of feeling and interests among all classes, or have we not ?

Caste And Nation Building In India

When Buddha taught the people, there were no railways, no telegraph, no printing press in India. Why and how is it then that Buddhism spread like wild fire within a comparatively short time throughout the length and breadth of India ? An answer to this question will be suggested here. Buddha was sincere and honest and possessed the courage of his convictions. His was the greatest renunciation the world has ever witnessed ; and he did what world has ever witnessed : and he did what he preached. He protested against Brahmanism, the corrupt Brahmanism of his day, given to bloody sacrifices or rather torturing of innocent and dumb animals and the observance of artificial social distinctions known as caste. He preached the gospel of love and brothehood of man to the poor people, to the outcasts of the Hindu Society, and as he had the moral courage to practice what he preached, and to recognise the rights of the outcasts, he was successful in his mission. Those who were in darkness saw the light that was shining brightly in Buddha. They were depressed and downtrodden and they recognised in Buddha their deliverer and saviour. It was thus that they followed his Standard.

Leaving aside the magnetism of the personality of Buddha, the method which he adopted in preaching his gospel to the people was the correct one. The Brahmanism of his day was a religion of the classes and took no account of the masses. Before his time nothing had been done to elevate and educate the masses, for in the social polity of the pre-Buddhistic period, the masses did not count for anything. They did not receive any religious instrcution because all the religious lore of the Hindus was locked up in Sanskrit which none but the twice-born were allowed to learn.

Buddha protested against these abuse of class privileges and tried to accord t the depressed classes the rights of ma Here lay the secret of his success. To reac the masses, to make them understand hi gospel of love, he preached to them not i the language of the learned, not in San krit, but in the language of the people. . . And he succeeded.

If India ever presented the spectacle of nation in that sense in which that word understood in Western countries, it was i that period when Buddhism was at it zenith in this country. If we analyse th causes that contributed to the success o the building of the Indian Nation in tha period, we shall find the main cause i the abolition of the rigour of the caste sys tem and hence in the elevation of the de pressed classes.

It is a law of physics that when we wan to heat a liquid mass, so that the whole o it may be heated, we apply the heat not t the top, but to its bottom.....Similarly, movement to be a success must follow thi law of physics. Those who are at the low est stratum of society should be approached they must be brought to the surface first b means of convection. Unless that is done unless the depressed classes are elevate there is no prospect of nation-building i India. If those men who are loudest in the talk are sincere, they should do wh Buddha did. They should sacrifice the ease and comfort and aristocratic style o living and take to the methods of Buddha.

Nation-building in India can never b an accomplished fact unless and until th depressed classes are accorded the righ of man, and every attempt be made to bri them to the surface. Hence the great nece sity of the abolition of the caste syste Unless this evil is got rid of, no thorou reform in any direction in India is possib —no reform whatever, whether politic social or religious.

Now-a-days most of our leaders try gain proficiency in speaking and writ only in English. . . . To reach the masses vernaculars must be cultivated. Unless do that, we shall not be able to influence masses, who form the backbone of nation.

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THOUSAND CONJURERS MEET IN HAMBURG

By CHRISTA ABEL

"Would you be kind enough, to let me see some of your tricks?" This question was recently heard frequently in Hamburg's bustling streets. The gentlemen so approached would thereupon produce white mice from their pockets previously appearing to be empty, or would unroll a short rope to show surprised by-standers the legendary Indian rope trick, or they would make their hands pass over a grass-green handkerchief making it turn fiery red in a split second.

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the German Magicians' Society one thousand conjurers from twenty-eight countries gave Hamburg, the distinguished and sober port and trade centre in the north of the Federal Republic of Germany, a weird atmosphere for a few days. Among the magicians who had come to Hamburg were guests from Egypt, France, Great Britain, India, Yugoslavia, Morocco, the Netherlands, Poland and Turkey; the Scandinavian countries were also strongly represented. The most prominent participants in the congress were the Dutch master conjurer Fred Kaps and Kalanag, the famous German illusionist. However, only every fifth deft-finger devotee and addict to the black arts of illusion and magics earns his living thereby. The great majority of participants are workers, employees, business people and scientists, who in their leisure time pursue "magic arts" as their hobby, making the amateur and do-it-yourself sorcerers and wizards.

Even the realm of illusions cannot do without international meetings and congresses. However instead of discussing annual balance sheets, annual reports and statistics, this conference rather directed its attention to the problems of transforming water into brandy, and of retrieving burnt banknotes uninjured from an

In Hamburg a Conjurer shows the ball-trick which a young lady watches very closely

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egg. Any attempt of outsiders to sneak or gate-crash into the meeting in the attempt of spying was doomed to failure. The magicians appeared to be no less anxious to keep their professional

In Hamburg a Conjurer shows his trick of the empty tube from which he produces many things

secrets than the Americans are in their efforts to protect their gold reserves in Fort Knox. Double and treble safety measures were applied to screen participants to keep undesirable "guests" away from the meeting. The programme included the presentation of English and American films showing the latest tricks in slow-motion pictur special courses given by international authorit in the "magic arts," and demonstrations of t latest paraphernalia and the newest devices illusion by specialist traders.

As was recently revealed an opinion poll, this kind entertainment takes the thi rank after angling, sports a stamp collecting among the m favoured hobbies. Millions people devote their leisure ti to learning and practising su tricks ; however, only a few reach top class. Today the a mission to the magicians' as ciation is as difficult to be tained as that to an exclusi millionnaires' club. Candidat will be admitted after a lo trial period followed by sever months of "expectant membe ship." Candidates must give solemn pledge forever to wat that no "magic secrets" known to the public. This pled to secrecy is, above all, intende to protect the professional con jurers who feel compelled t discontinue their careers, everybody knows how tricks a achieved, how a lit candle w be produced from pockets, h girls will be sawn in the midd and how rabbits can be made disappear in a top hat. The o jection that any layman may h almost any trick in the neare specialized shop is immaterial, asserted t Vice-President of German Magicians' Societ With a knowing wink he added : "Everyone c buy a piano or a violin, without thereby necessari acquiring the ability to play the instruments, we all too well know."

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MILKING PROCESS MECHANIZED

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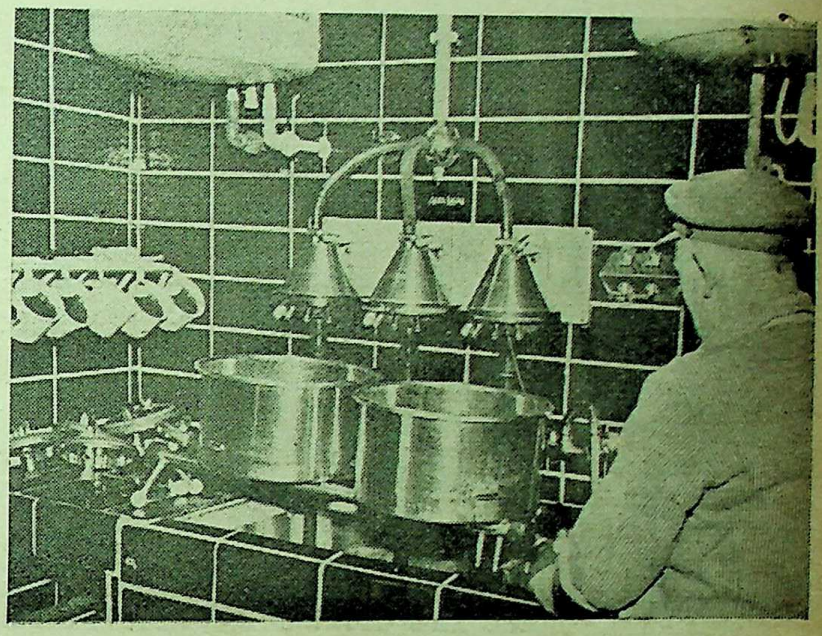
BY BERNDT W. WESSLING

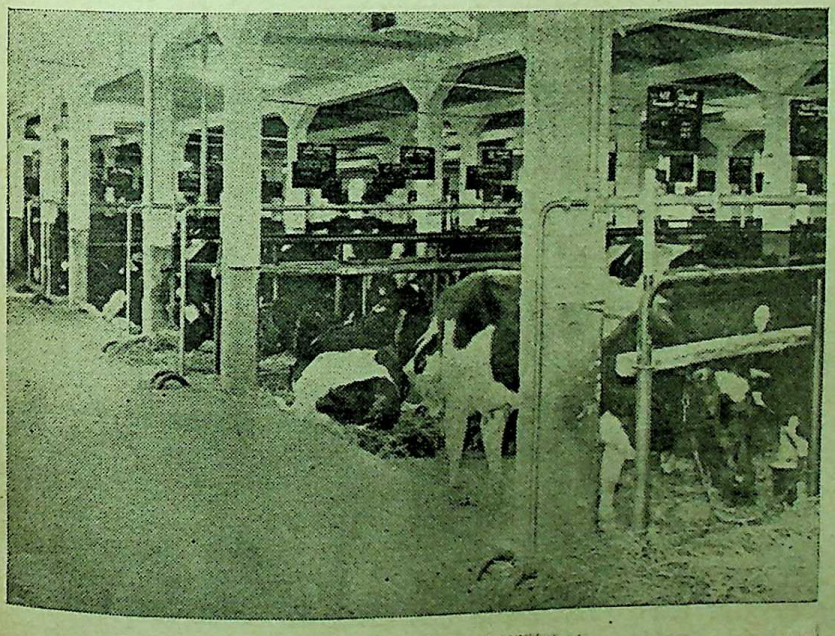
Plant Operating on German Model Farm

The Federal State of Schleswig-Holstein is known as the major milk and butter producing area of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Holstein cattle is a household word all over the world. The large herds of cattle grazing on the wide pastures between the North Sea and the Baltic are a characteristic part of the landscape of this area. But cattle need care, which in trun requires personnel, and labour has been very short in recent years. In order to overcome this problem, the farms had to adopt rationalizing measures. Thus, technology went to the countryside. An example for this trend in agriculture is the model farm of Stendorf near Eutin, where Europe's largest cowshed milking plant is operated. Almost daily there are farmers coming from all parts of the world to inspect the system. Enthusiastic comments have been uttered by visitors from Pakistan, England, the United States, Greece and East Asia, in short from everywhere in the world.

Modern farmers have realized that milking systems are the most rational approach to mechanizing their farms. Consequently, this agricultural installation is of foremost importance to Germany. The owner of the Stendorf estate is Mr. Marious Boeger, a "studied man," as the farmers call him, with the title of Doctor of Agriculture. He installed 270 meters of milk pipeline of chromium nickel steel as a partly underfloor installation in his cowshed. Twice a day no less 180 cows are milked in a little more than two hours. Formerly, the same work was done by forty cowhands in four hours. Now ten cows are milked at the same time. By means of a modern, centrally controlled magnetic pulse equipment, the ten milking machines operate the same milking rhythm day to day. The milk flows through the pipesystem, without interrupting other work in the cowshed, and is stored in the milk chamber, where it is deodorized, passed through the vacuum and into a plate cooler and then pressure pumped into a modern transport



The milker merely looks on and controls the milking process from a panel



Cows feeling pleased and comfortable in fully automated cowsheds

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tank, which holds approximately 1,500 litres of milk. The milk is then cooled down to approximately 10° Centigrade by circulation cooling, *i.e.*, without refrigeration. Dr. Boeger explained to us that the cleaning process of the system is also fully automatic. The individual machines and pumps can be operated by remote-control panel in the cowshed.

The plant at Stendorf estate has been designed according to the principles of the designer and engineer Gustav de Laval who had his first milking machine patented as early as 1910. His later inventions in the agricultural field, some of them even improved by other designers, have contributed a great deal to the high present-day level of agricultural engineering.

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THE CONCEPT OF THE PANCH SHEELA IN INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY

By KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL,
Head of the Department of Economics & Political Science, Krishnagar College.

Introduction

Where stands the Panch Sheela in international diplomacy today? This is certainly one of the most baffling questions in the minds of many, especially of those diplomats who attempt to control the march of events in international politics. This doctrine of the Panch Sheela, jointly proclaimed in 1954, by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Shri Chou En-lai, the Prime Ministers of India and China respectively, was almost universally acclaimed in the beginning. It continued to be so acclaimed for some three subsequent years of Sino-Indian honeymoon. But by now the doctrine has been almost completely rejected.

The lapse of the Nehru-Chou Doctrine of the Panch Sheela as a bilateral policy is also clear from the fact that when on June 3, 1962 the basic Agreement, dated April 29, 1954 between India and China for Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India lapsed, the two countries found it impossible to negotiate for the conclusion of a new agreement. To a specific question from Shri Kamath whether the lapse of the Agreement with China also entailed the snapping of the ties of the Panch Sheela, Shri Nehru, however, said on June 6, 1962: "The principles embodied in the Panch Sheela are basic, and they remain with us whether there is trade with Tibet or not. We shall try to abide by them as far as possible in the changed circumstances. We shall not violate them."

Clearly it is doubtful, if any country will find it possible in the world today to pursue even unilaterally a foreign policy based on the doctrine of the Panch Sheela as it is generally understood or even remain neutral should a world war break out.

All this is in striking contrast to the general attitude of the people towrads the Panch Sheela immediately after its proclamation. In the course of a debate on foreign affairs in the Indian Lok Sabha on September 17, 1955, Shri Nehru recalled his speech in the House six months ago and said: "At that time there was danger of a catatrophe, of a world war or something leading to it. The guns were all loaded and the fingers were on the triggers..... the situation now has improved greatly during these six months. The guns are still loaded, but the fingers are not on the triggers.....There are numerous dark spots and danger zones. Nevertheless.....there has been an improvement in the atmosphere all round and for the first time, people all over the world have a sense of relief and a sense that war is not inevitable. In fact, it can well be avoided." Shri Nehru admitted that "it would be an exaggeration to say that India has made a major difference in world politics. We must not exaggerate our role, but it is a fact that India has on significant occasions made a difference." And

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he added, "India's contribution to this new situation may, perhaps, be put in one word or two, 'Panch Sheela'."[2]

Indian and Chinese Acceptance of the Panch Sheela

It might appear that it was only extraordinary sincerity or simplicity on the part of India and extraordinary cleverness on the part of Communist China that combined to direct the attention of almost the whole human race towards the doctrine of the Panch Sheela.

In their present form the principles of the Panch Sheela were stated for the first time in the preamble of the Agreement between India and China signed on April 29, 1954. Briefly, these Principles are : (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty ; (2) Non-aggression ; (3) Non-interference ; (4) Equality and mutual benefit ; and (5) Peaceful coexistence.

The purpose of that Agreement[3] was to promote Trade and Cultural intercourse between the 'Tibet region of China and India and to facilitate pilgrimage and travel by the peoples of China and India. It provided for the establishment of trade agencies in each other's territories, specified markets for trade between the two countries and routes to be followed by pilgrims and traders and laid down regulations for travel.

The Agreement also provided for the lapsing of those rights and privileges which were exercised by the Government of India in Tibet as a result of customs or agreements with the Government of Tibet. For instance, the Government of India decided under the Agreement (1) to withdraw within six months the military escorts of about 200 men hitherto stationed at Yatung and Gyantse for the protection of traders and pilgrims, (2) to hand over to the Chinese Government free of cost and without compensation the postal, telegraph and telephone installations which it operated in Tibet, (3) to give up the ownership of twelve rest houses at a reasonable price, and (4) to return to the Chinese Government all land and buildings which it used or occupied in Tibet and lease from the Chinese Government all land and buildings which it required.

India's action represented, in part, "a gesture of good-will." Yet, in reality, the Agreement of 1954 might appear as marking an important step in India's withdrawal from Tibet under actual or threatened Chinese pressure. For, under the Agreement, India lost some of her important rights and privileges in Tibet, her Consulate at Kashgarh, and her policy of recognizing Tibet as a buffer state between India and China. What is more unfortunate, India did not demand, though later events showed that she should have done so, from Communist China, the latter's unequivocal recognition of Indo-Tibetan borders bequeathed to the present by the former Government of India. Instead of insisting on any such recognition in the terms of the Agreement, India preferred to delude herself into thinking that acceptance of the Agreement by China meant her acceptance of the frontiers also.

Dr. P. C. Chakravarti wants it to be considered as an important suggestion that "India was possibly hustled, in some measure, into this Agreement by her growing rift with Pakistan and the United States of America."[4] When a political Conference was proposed in August, 1953, Pakistan voted in the United Nations in favour of the U. S. resolution for the exclusion of India from the membership of the Conference. Rumours soon followed that the U. S. A. was considering a request from Pakistan for military aid. On February 24, 1954, in spite of known Indian opposition, President Eisenhower announced the decision of the U. S. A. to comply with the request of Pakistan for military aid. All this drove India towards a hurried agreement with Communist China even at the cost of her vital interests.

Communist China thus gained a diplomatic victory over India through the Panch Sheela Agreement of 1954. Anyone who considers the rationale of Chinese expansion and aggression at the cost of India almost immediately after this Agreement, will be further convinced about the nature of Chinese cleverness. Believing that as a loyal party to the Panch Sheela Agreement of 1954, India would behave in the Panch Sheela

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way even at her own cost, Communist China began to nibble at the territory of India against paper protests from India. Encouraged by the innocent nature of these protests, Shri Chou En-lai in his letter, dated September 8, 1959, to Shri Nehru laid claims to extensive areas in India covering about 50,000 sq. miles in such tracts as Ladakh, Bara Hoti, and North Eastern Frontier Agency along the Himalayan borders of India and China.[5] Some of these areas have already been under illegal Chinese occupation.

A policy of expansion, even aggression, has been quite natural for China, as it has been known in history. The very name China in Chinese is the Middle Country. Thus for centuries, the Chinese have looked upon their own country as a highly cultured and civilized entity in the whole of East Asia, surrounded by miscellaneous barbarians who were only the subjects or enemies of the Chinese of the Great Within.

Criticism of The Panch Sheela

The whole doctrine of the Panch Sheela as propounded jointly by Shri Nehru and Shri Chou En-lai in 1954 and supported until recently by almost the whole world, though most enthusiastically by the Communists, is subject to five main criticisms.[6] First, it is Communist-inspired; secondly, its principles are vague; thirdly, these principles are deceptive as being against the revolutionary ideals of world Communism; fourthly, these are redundant, being more or less identical with the principles stated earlier in the Charter of the United Nations; and, fifthly, these principles, unless backed by the military force of the United Nations or a possible World State, may be actually ineffective in meeting a crisis of the dimensions of a Third World War.

Panch Sheela as an Indian Message

The very name Panch Sheela is borrowed from the Buddhist literature of India. There appears to be also a very close affinity between the Nehru-Chou doctrine of **international** Panch Sheela and the famous Panch Sheela of **inter individual** conduct laid down about 25 years ago by Buddha. The five principl of the Buddhist Panch Sheela are : First, i our economic life we should not acce anything from others unless it is voluntar ly offered by them ; secondly, in our soci life, relationships among men and wome should be based on love and not on lus thirdly, military attitude should not on be discouraged as far as possible among human beings, but an attempt should al be made to discard violence even as again animals ; fourthly, for developing a rea cultural life, everyone should respect a practise truth and not falsehood in a shape or form ; and fifthly, the habit drinking wine should be given up and policy of prohibition pursued, presumab because drinking leads temporarily permanently to a loss of the sense modesty—a loss which cannot be conduci to the political virtue of serving all arou us.

With a view to realising the close affi nity between the Buddhist Panch Sheela fo inter-individual life and Nehru-Chou Panch Sheela of international life, it may be su gested that the latter doctrine has its econ mic, social, military, cultural and politic aspects. The Nehru-Chou Doctrine is, econ mically, dependent upon the principle mutual benefit or sacrifice ; socially, up the principle of equality or love among human beings and their groups ; militari upon the principle of non-aggression non-violence ; culturally, upon the princi that the territory of a state should in t main coincide with the territory of a nati i.e., upon the juridical-**cum**-psychologi principle of unity in spite of every form cultural diversity ; and, politically, up the principle of non-interference in e other's business, i.e., mutual service on absolutely voluntary basis.

Many centuries before Buddha, it interesting to note. Shree Krishna in Geeta made statements which remarka contain the very substance of the Budd Panch Sheela. According to Sree Kris "The man dwelling on sense-objects de lops attachments for them ; from att ment springs up desire ; and from de

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(unfulfilled) ensues anger. From anger arises infatuation; from infatuation, confusion of memory; from confusion of memory, loss of reason; and from loss of reason, one goes to complete ruin."[7]

Shree Krishna thus thought that the five or six principles essential to human life are at bottom one, for they all follow from the recognition of greed or undue profit as the ultimate root of war or destruction. Thus the primary enemy of mankind is greed; from greed arises the second enemy, lust; lust leads to the third enemy, violence; violence has to work in collaboration with the fourth enemy, falsehood; falsehood leads to the fifth enemy, pride; and pride leads to the final enemy, envy, self-destruction or war. From this it is but a step to argue that the basic principles of human life are: Sacrifice, Love, Non-violence, Truth, Service and Unity with all. All these principles, when fully practised, kill the animality in man and lead him more and more to the fuller development of his rational life until it reaches divinity which, according to traditional Hindu belief implies, first, Prosperity; secondly, Self-government; thirdly, Spiritual power; fourthly, Knowledge; fifthly, All-round Respect; and sixthly, Non-attachment or Disinterestedness.

Defects of the Panch Sheela Doctrine

If it be found that the Principles of the Panch Sheela are really vague, deceptive or ineffective, the answer is that what we should do is to clarify them, to remove the conditions under which they could be used for baser economic or political purposes and to develop the institutions for making them really effective.

Here it may be suggested that for any satisfactory success in the practice of the Panch Sheela, it is not enough that we should practise the principles of the Panch Sheela on any limited scale. We should practise them not only in our international relations, but also in our inter-individual or ordinary social relations covering all forms of group life; not only unilaterally, bi-laterally or multi-laterally, but also universally; not only on an **ad hoc** or temporary basis, but permanently or constantly through established institutions or conferences; not only through new and particular decisions every time a crisis arises, but through recognised and lasting laws and constitutions; and do all these not with the lower or lowest of human motives but with the highest or most ideal of them.

The Greek thinkers like Aristotle emphasised the idea that man is by nature a social or political animal.[9] Accordingly, man cannot live without society; and he neither did so in the past and nor will he do so in future. The relation between man and society may, therefore, be understood by supposing that the former is to the latter what a microcosm is to a macrocosm.

The obvious implication from this is that the ideal conditions for the full realization of the principles of the Panch Sheela must be certain ideal principles and institutions in the society, however imperfectly people in different countries and centuries may approach them. It may be safely suggested that in these days of large-scale production with continually improving technologies of mankind during the last two centuries or so, the necessity for the first principle of sacrifice or mutual benefit as against the first evil of greed or profit is some form of socialism on national as well as world scales.

But economic inequality arising from greed or profit is only one form of inequality. The second principle of the Panch Sheela, i.e., love or social equality as against the evil of hatred or social inequality evidently requires some form of democracy, and that on both national and world scales, with the individual as the unit of representation in all institutions based on purely territorial considerations.

The third principle of non-violence or non-aggression as against the third evil of violence ideally requires, again on national and world scales, universal disarmament with all atomic, biological and chemical weapons completely destroyed under proper inspection and control.

For the fourth principle of freedom to

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pursue Truth or national unity along with diversity as against the evil of untruth or ignorance, we ideally require multi-national states often with double or plural citizenships, all working with final loyalty to a single world-state for the whole human race.

For the safety of the fifth principle of service or non-interference as against the fifth evil of pride, the ideal requirement is some form of federalism or even the Gandhian idea of the tier system based on a constitutional distribution of powers at all levels of society whenever they are related to one another horizontally or vertically.[10]

The Goal of the Panch Sheela

In other words, for the finest realization of the Panch Sheela, the great macrocosm of the society of the whole human race should be a Socialist, Democratic, Disarmed, Multinational and Federal World State, along with all its microcosmic units similarly organised at different levels. This is what the ideal of the Panch Sheela ideally requires. Needless to say, even after some fifty centuries of recorded travelling towards this destiny, the human race is still dismally away from its goal. Indeed, the goal based on the doctrine of the Panch Sheela is so far away that its contours are visible only to a few far-sighted seers who can be counted easily on the fingers.

Mankind in the second half of the 20th century is rather nearer to its starting point than its goal. For it still lives in greatly, if not predominantly, capitalistic, autocratic, heavily armed, sovereign and conflicting nation-states, all exhibiting the evil traits of Greed, Hatred, Violence, Falsehood, Pride and Disunity. But a great saving grace for mankind at this point in history is that, with the latest technology at its command, it can move towards its social destiny with almost the velocity of sound. Modern radio and television have enabled men to send their messages all over the world almost instantaneously. With modern means of communication and transportation, our words and thoughts, physical bodies and material goods, travel so fast and so far, that what forefathers even until some eighty ninety years ago, took years, decades centuries, might well be done now in hou days or years. And this greater speed mi be applied to the struggle of mankind building the external structures of society like laws and customs for fulfilment of the doctrine of the Pa Sheela with all its implications.

India, says Arnold Toynbee, is epitome of the world today. Yes, it is. it is not because, as Toynbee claims, of or that particular aspect of the Five-Y Plans in India. It is rather because of over-all consideration that even at the of India remaining under-developed, sages and saints never advised the Indi to be so blinded by material glamour as reject or disrespect the doctrine of Panch Sheela, the essentially spiritual eternal ideal of man.

The U. N. & the Panch Sheela

Mounting dangers today confront th whole human race. For it has around it kinds of anti-Panch Sheela thoughts a actions, even on the part of those who we the authors of the modern internatio part of the ancient wholesome doctrine the Panch Sheela. On this year's Uni Nations Day, October 24, 1962, Shri Neh warned the world against the repercussi of the grave situation on India's bord and in the Caribbean and reminded people that the United Nations was the hope of mankind. "I do not know whet it will succeed in preventing the terri disaster that shadows us. I hope it will."

But looking towards the final goal the Panch Sheela, it is worth remember that the United Nations today is far a from the proper institutions required that doctrine, viz., the Socialist, Democr Disarmed, Multi-national, Federal W State. Mahatma Gandhi in his famous India resolution of August 8, 1942 cate cally demanded "a world federation of nations." For, he believed, only "on establishment of such a world federat

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disarmament would be practicable in all countries; national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

In view of the difficulties that India faces on her northern borders it will be difficult for India to accept Dr. Rajendra Prasad's suggestion at the Anti-Nuclear Conference in Delhi in June 1962 that India disarm unilaterally. Dr. Prasad's suggestion was, perhaps, an indirect hint that the United Nations, even as it stands today, should be armed, so that the human race may rely on it for peace. But in relying on the United Nations, we should not forget the disabilities from which this world organization suffers in comparison with the ideal institutions required by the doctrine of the Panch Sheela. Every attempt should be made to strengthen the United Nations, so that this organisation of the human race moves, as speedily as possible, towards the ideal conditions of the Panch Sheela.

The United Nations is evidently not a World State with world sovereignty and cosmopolitan loyalty for all human beings. There is also no true democracy in it. With its 110 members at present, the structure of the General Assembly of the United Nations is somewhat like this: There are 28 members from Europe to represent a population of about 600 million; 33 from Africa to represent a population of about 200 million; 24 from America to represent a population of about 300 million; 28 from Asia to represent a population of about 1200 million; and 2 from Oceanea to represent a population of about 10 million.

Power-politics—nothing but power-politics—has been almost the last word about the United Nations from its inception in January, 1942. As an alliance before it became an organization in October, 1945 its only aim was suppression of the Axis Powers led by Germany, Italy and Japan. As an organisation during the last seventeen years of its life, its predominant trend has been towards a forum for brinkmanship in the new bi-polar politics of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in the name of Democracy and Communism. The U.S.A. which never joined the League of Nations, and the U.S.S.R. which after less than half a dozen years of its connection with the League of Nations was expelled from it in December 1939, were brought into the United Nations not for the sake of the Panch Sheela but by Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R. in June 1941.

After the power-seeking company of the United Nations developed from an alliance into a regular organization, no individual member in it could prevent the consideration of any item which was placed before the Security Council—that organ of the United Nations originally intended to have the greatest power in the whole United Nations system. The acceptance of any item in the agenda of the Security Council required only seven votes in favour without any right of veto on the part of any member, as the decision was only of a procedural nature. According to ordinary interpretation, Art. 12 of the United Nations Character required that the General Assembly and the Security Council should not simultaneously decide on any question. The U.S.S.R. used her position in the Security Council—her permanent representation there with the right of veto on all decisions of a subtantive nature—to advance her political ambitions by the simple technique of placing an item on the agenda of the Security Council which might not the be in a position to cnosider the item in any effective manner because of the veto power of each of the permanent members there. When the U.S.S.R. used 'consideration' by the Security Council as a political technique in this way for preventing real consideration and decisive action, the Western powers led by the U.S.A. planned to strengthen the General Assembly through the uniting for peace Resolution of 1950 on the plea of the failure of the Security Council.

But just as a 'consideration' might be no 'consideration' at all, similarly, a 'failure' might be only an apparent 'failure' and not at all a failure in the real sense.

Actually there was such western success in the failure of the Security Council during the Suez crisis in 1956 and again

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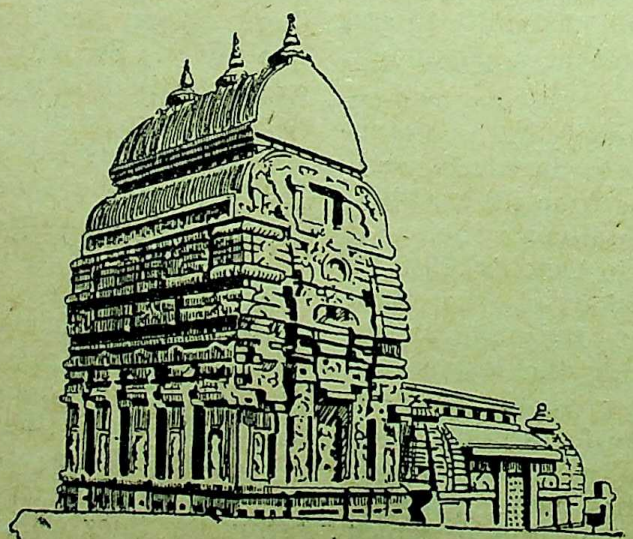
during the Lebanese Crisis in 1958. Accordingly Russia behaved very cautiously in the Security Council as in the Congo crisis since July 1960. She allowed even the creation of a United Nations Force under the Security Council for Congo and even took certain issues direct to the General Assembly for whatever success she may gain there in an attempt to avoid the operation of the so-called uniting for peace resolution, which might limit the discretionary powers of Russia.[10]

Conclusion

Under such circumstances, it is difficult indeed to hope that mankind in its present emergency will be saved through the United Nation unless it is modified to suit the ideals of the Panch Sheela—unless, that is to say, it is converted into a Socialist, Democratic, Disarmed, Multi-national, Federal world state. In her conflict with China with whom jointly in 1954 was proclaimed the ideals of the Panch Sheela, India should depend on her own strength, non-violent as well as violent, to the extent it may be necessary, keep clear of alignment in world politics and appeal to the world to follow the doctrine of the Panch Sheela along with its social institutions in as may ways as possible. Even when we have to resist force with force, we need not bid good-bye to the Panch Sheela, that spiritual multiplier in human society. The wisdom of all recorded history seems to suggest that with all limitations human nature the ideal for the human r will always be that the doctrine of Panch Sheela should be pursued int nationally as well as individually; univ sally as well as bi-laterally and mul laterally; constitutionally as well as ideal above all, institutionally and not o occasionally. Will not someone guide m kind in its present crisis along its age- Panch Sheela way towards its salvation

1. *The Statesman*, June 7, 1962.
2. The *Sunday Statesman*, Sept. 18, 195 Also my paper "*The Panch Sheela and W Peace*" to the 19th Session of the Indian Politi Science Conference, Bhopal, December, 19 published in *Calcutta Review*, February, 195
3. The terms of the Agreement have b critically analyscal by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti his book "India-China Relations."
4. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
6. *The Modern Review*, February, 19 my paper on "*Panch Sheela and World Peac*
7. The Geeta Ch. ii, verses 62-63, Ch. i 36-7 Ch. iv, 26.
8. *One World and India*, 1960, p. 45ff.
9. *The Statesman*, Oct. 25, 1962.
10. *Indian Journal of Political Scienc* Oct.-Dec. 1954—my paper on "Revision of t U. N. Charter.

* Summary of a paper read at the 2 (Silver Jubliee) Session of the Indian Politi Science Association at Agra during the Chr mas of 1962 under the Presidentship of Profes N. C. Bhattacharyya (Calcutta University).



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CHINESE EXPANSIONISM AS A THREAT TO ASIAN FREEDOM

By Prof. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE

China's Aggression On India

The massive invasion of India by the People's Government of Communist China resulting in the forcible occupation of large tracts of Indian territory in two sectors—at Ladakh in the north-west and at NEFA in the north-east (October-November, 1962)—has set the Asian stage for a new historical development. Pretending friendship with India for a long time past, China, the first signatory to Nehru's *Panch Sheela* advocating peaceful co-existence, has turned out to be its cold-blooded murderer. Whatever arguments might have been offered now by the Government of India for our total failure to defend our frontiers,—the treacherous move of the Chinese, the swiftness of their moves, the unpreparedness of Indians, the absence or inadequacy of mountain guns, mortars and automatic rifles in their armoury, thinner numbers of Indian troops at the check-posts,—do not and cannot conceal the central truth that in the initial encounters with the aggressive enemy, India has been completely over-powered and disgraced. At least for the time being, the world has come to believe the immense superiority of Chinese arms. After a noticeable demonstration of the terrible strength of China's war-machine, Communist China has all of a sudden made a unilateral declaration of cease-fire on the Himalayan frontier and now asks India with the customary insolence of a victor to bow down to the acceptance of humiliating terms as dictated by Peking (November 21, 1962). Having played the aggressor, China now seeks to cover her massive aggression of India by a comparably massive campaign of lies, as an Indian Communist has aptly declared in the Communist Party weekly, *New Age* (November 25, 1962).

Motives Behind China's Aggression

Various motives induced China to organise the massive invasion of peace-loving and friendly India. The disastrous failure of the "Great Leap Forward" policy in China's economy resulting in widespread discontent and frustration is, perhaps, a very strong inducement to the Chinese Communist leadership to divert the people's mind from domestic disappointment to foreign channels. Miltary exploits abroad are sure to react favourably for the Communist leadership in China. Armed engagement with a foreign country, particularly with a non-Communist, will not only liberate huge patriotic forces in China but also afford the leadership with an opportunity to strengthen its hands and set its house in order. This particular inducement should not be, however, over-stressed.

The second motive is the strong desire on the part of Communist China to secure "historical geographical national-state form" by a suitable revision of her frontier lines, particularly towards the Himalayas. The Chinese Communist leadership has developed the fanatic ambition to restore to China all lands and territories that were—really or supposedly—once her tributaries and to secure for China scientific frontiers in the south and the south-west both for offence and defence. China's forcible occupation of Tibet in 1950 was the first step in this direction. Her pretended friendship with India gave her the necessary smokescreen to execute her frontier policy in gradual stages, practically unnoticed by the world. Her occupation of Aksai Chin in Ladakh in India's north-west, her construction of a highway connecting Sinkiang and Lahsa through Aksai Chin, her seizure of Longju in the NEFA region, the conversion of the Tibetan plateau into a gigantic military base, constitute a part of her strategy of expansion. Her notorious claims to about 50,000 square miles of Indian territory and the subsequent release of massive forces to emphasise that claim, has suddenly lifted the veil and focussed the world's attention on this part of the Asian continent. What China had done in relation to Tibet in 1950 may be easily repeated in Sikkim and Bhutan at a suitable opportunity on the very simple ground of their once having been tributaries for a short while of the old Tibet

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and hence—by a wide stretch of imagination—of the Chinese Empire. There is hardly any distinction between the old Chinese imperial mentality and that of the present Communist leadership in Peking. China's clamour for scientific frontiers in the south and the south-west and her struggle for the restoration of her indefensible and intangible ancient or medieval territorial rights in a changed world setting, poses a menacing problem to many of her immediate geographical neighbours. Communism has not cried halt to China's territorial expansionism. It is sheer misreading of history to view the course of Chinese development at the Indian border in terms of the communist ideology alone.

But the ideological aspect of the Sino-Indian conflict cannot at the same time be ignored. Chinese imperialism as we witness it today, is fed and sustained by a militant ideology which, like religious orthodoxy of by-gone ages, upholds aggresive war against an infidel as a sacred religious duty. History has repeatedly shown the tragic truth of how the blindness of vision born of religious fanaticism can work havoc in society. The ideological fanaticism of communism is as dehumanising to the dignity of man as a moral and spiritual being as religious fanaticism, and it is this very fanaticism that gives a terrible momentum to China's expansionist imperialism. India and China are the two giants in Asia, but their socio-economic systems are today entirely different. India is the leader of Asian democracy, while China of Asian communism. The conflict between India and China may be equated to a conflict between the democratic way of life and the totalitarian system. A stabilised Indian democracy with a strong agricultural and industrial basis to sustain it, must always be an eye-sore to Chinese communistic authoritarianism. India, as the leader of Asian democracy, stands as a permanent dyke against the tide of communistic onrush in Asia, and hence the aggression on India by China has to be appraised as a historical necessity from the standpoint of Chinese, nay, world communism. In the political psychology of the Chinese Communists a military show-down with India is deemed inevitable sooner or later. Like Bismarck, they believe in the policy of blood and iron as the only effectual means of settling the great issues of history.

From the standpoint of the Chinese Communist leadership the acquisition of scientific frontiers in the south and the humiliation democratic India is, thus, a great step forward establishing Chinese claim to dominance leadership not only in Asia but also in Afri Once this primary task is complete, they co then seriously compete with Soviet Russia the ultimate leadership of the entire commu bloc. To oust Soviet Russia from her p tion of pre-eminence and leadership in the C munist world seems to be the ultimate goal Chinese struggle for expansion.

Limited Objectives of China's Present Aggression

The premeditated and large-scale invasion India by China does not automatically warra the conclusion that Communist China is at the very present moment to enslave the whc of India. Circumstances indicate that duri the current phase of hostility China's ambition limited to the strengthening of her fronti defences both in the Ladakh and the NEFA r gions by forcible annexation of the needed Indi territories in pursuit of her so-called historic claims. She is not, perhaps, prepared to undertake at the present moment a prolonged and extended war with India. With the actual occupation large strategic areas in NEFA and military ac vance upto the outskirts of Chushul in Ladakh the immediate objects of her military action hav virtually been realised.

And just at that very moment she declare cease-fire on her own initiative from the mi night of November 21, 1962. At a time when th retreating Indian Jawans were rapidly gettir equipped with necessary arms to launch counter-offensive against the invading armie China declared cease-fire and expected India react to the Chinese peace terms favourably. Th dramatic and unilateral declaration of cease-fi by China caused an initial surprise and bewilde ment all the world over, India not excluded. B the initial bewilderment disappeared before lor and as the fluid conditions on the frontiers we taking some shape, Indian statesmen were slow to perceive that China had simply chang her front of strategy from aggressive militari to a diplomatic offensive. The peace terms are ev dently not well-intentioned, and this is clear fr the very fact that although cease-fire was commence from the midnight of November 2

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the actual withdrawal of the invading armies by China would not start before December 1, 1962. The hollowness of Chinese protestation of peace is again laid bare by its rigorous determination to impose Chinese terms on humiliated India. Couched in deliberately vague terms, the cease-fire proposal is a cunning diplomatic move to paralyse the hands of aggrieved India when raised to strike, to create confusion in the enemy's camp, to slow down the arms aid from the Western democracies to India, and to pose before the Asian-African countries as being a genuine protagonist of peace. After two months' military adventurism, the Chinese troops needed a temporary respite both to gather the fruits of her initial victory and to bring in reinforcements from distant bases to the strategic points within the fluctuating line of their actual control.

Without being an alarmist one may reasonably conclude that the cease-fire declaration is an ominous preliminary for a bigger Chinese offensive against India at the next suitable opportunity, not necessarily in December 1962, or even at the end of this winter. It is not enough for a strategist to know when to fight ; it is equally necessary to know when to stop. Mao Tse-tung while enunciating the Chinese way of warfare remarked : "We should strike only when we are positively sure that the enemy's situation on the terrain, the people and other conditions are all favourable to us and unfavourable to the enemy. Otherwise, we should rather fall back and bide our time. There will always be opportunities, and we should not rashly accept battle". Again he observes, "It is inadvisable to fight when the enemy force is not isolated and is well entrenched; it is inadvisable to continue an engagement in which victory is not in sight. Under any of these conditions we are prepared to run away. Such running away is permissible as well as necessary. The recognition of the necessity, the running away, presupposes that it is the necessity of fighting. Herein lies the fundamental characteristics of the Red Army's mobile warfare".

Cease-Fire Not Voluntary But Forced

Obviously, the unilateral Chinese cease-fire is more a tactical retreat than a genuine gesture for amicable settlement of disputes even at a belated stage. She is not at all repentant for what she had done in total disregard of all canons of international behaviour. Her action has been a colossal crime against humanity. She believes in force and respects nothing but force. Superficially, her cease-fire declaration looks voluntary, but a closer view confirms the belief that it was an enforced declaration under the compulsion of the newly created circumstances. She was, perhaps, under the mistaken impression that India, unprepared and taken by surprise, would quickly submit to the threats of the enemy. Her expectation was that India, non-aligned as she is, would prove no match for the invading army. China found to her utter surprise that India, in spite of non-alignment policy, did not stand in diplomatic isolation. On her request, massive arms aid began to flow swiftly into India from friendly countries, particularly from Britain and the U.S.A. This has acted as a deterrant on China's wanton military adventurism in the Himalayan region.

In another important way also China's calculations went wrong. Her much-boasted Liberation Army instead of being welcomed with garlands and conch-shells, was greeted with bullets by the Indian Jawans. As the enemy advance progressed, Indian resistance became tougher. The Jawans bravely fought, in spite of relatively poor equipments, for every inch of the Indian soil and shed their blood in defence of the country's freedom and integrity. The Chinese aggression, instead of damping, hardened the Indian spirit of resistance. Instead of killing, it fanned the flame of Indian nationalism. Gigantic forces were released from the national mind and they were rapidly crystallising themselves into a mighty movement. A new wave of patriotism was found sweeping over the whole country, and at the clarion call of Prime Minister Nehru the nation rose to a man, united and determined, to repel the forces of aggression from the Indian soil. Even a section of the Indian Communists who generally cultivate internationalism at the cost of nationalism and who habitually dance to the tune of Moscow and Peking, came out with a bold denunciation of Communist China's blatant aggression on India. China found to her disillusionment that her military adventure on Indian territory was doing immense damage to the cause she was ostensibly fighting for—the cause of Communism. In spite of her lying campaign in Asia and Africa in defence of her adventurism, she found that the world at large was not inwardly convinced of the righteousness of

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her action. Even Moscow could not be lined up with Peking, in spite of their common affinity of Communism, in a denunciation of New Delhi.

Soviet Attitude to Sino-Indian Conflict

Barring *Pravda's* single editorial written favourably for China on October 25, 1962, Moscow did not show any special favour until only lately to her communist comrades in course of the Sino-Indian conflict, and that editorial was written just at the height of the Cuban crisis when the world stood virtually on the verge of a thermo-nuclear war. It is surprising to note that with the gradual lessening of that crisis the rift between Moscow and Peking widened. The old battle between the communist "Revisionists" and the communist "Dogmatists" began more fiercely than before. China's strategy of "Head-on-clash" with the world's capitalists and imperialists as early as possible is as much an eye-sore to Russia as Russia's strategy of peaceful co-existence and peaceful transition to Socialism is an eye-sore to China. After the Cuban compromise, the Chinese Communists began to openly charge the "Revisionists" of whom Khrushchev is the central figure, with a cowardly surrender to imperialist pressure and treachery to Communism in general and to Cuba in particular. Equally severe attacks were hurled against the Khrushchevites for their significant silence and inaction in the Sino-Indian conflict. This was, in China's view, tantamount to treachery to the Communist cause. From the Russian side immediately came the fitting retort from Boris Ponomarev, a Soviet theoretician, who declared in *Pravda* just on the eve of the recent plenary session of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, that the "Dogmatists," of whom Mao Tse-tung is the principal leader, were hypocritically swearing by the policy of peaceful co-existence, but trying in practice "to torpedo peaceful co-existence and push mankind towards a thermo-nuclear war". (Vide *Link*, November 25, 1962). This manifest Soviet policy cannot lend sanction to the Chinese aggression on peace-loving India. Perhaps, it is the recognition of this Russian world strategy by China that counselled her to suddenly declare cease-fire on the Himalayan frontier. Knowledgeable sources believe there was some sort of positive pressure on Peking from Moscow.

Many persons still labour under the delusion that the divergence between Moscow and Peking is a mere piece of imperialist propaganda. The communists generally fight shy of division and diversity in their camp. Their party discipline demands monolithic unity which is now found to be a fiction. The squabbles and vituperations among the Khrushchevites and the Maoists are now-a-days too sharp to be masked by communist propaganda. The Moscow-Peking battle of words is generally looked upon as an ideological battle in the communist camp. The strategy of communism advocated by Moscow is fundamentally opposed to the strategy of communism prescribed by Peking. Whatever differences are now noticeable between Moscow and Peking are after all, a divergence regarding the strategy or technique only of communist propoganda. Both still remain committed, as Dean Rusk, the U.S. Secretary of State, rightly points out, to international communism. Here is the meeting ground of the two wings of communism.

But the conflict between Moscow and Peking is not all ideological. In the last analysis, the cause of estrangement between them is the ordinary struggle for power and influence. Peking has been making a bid for leadership and pre-eminence in the communist world and naturally she considers Moscow to be a real thorn on her side. The suspicion of Moscow regarding Peking as its potential rival cannot also be ruled out. So far as the capitalists or imperialists are concerned they stand united no doubt, but the original unity between Moscow and Peking which was so long an outcome of Peking's docility to Moscow, was disrupted the moment Peking became self-assertive and competitive of Moscow's leadership. In this analysis, the ideological conflict is not so much a cause of Moscow-Peking divergence as an effect of it, the primary cause being the ordinary lust for power. There is still another aspect which is generally missed by political observers and it is the racial factor of the conflict which may be boiled down to the old struggle of the Slavs *vis-a-vis* the Mongolians. Racial ethnocentrism is still a powerful force in the world politics of today as it was yesterday. But all this does not mean that Moscow and Peking are at present in a war-situation. It is unthinking sentimentalism to draw much comfort from the reported battle of words between the two Communist giants which has recently come to a sharp focus. But to say that all this is mere propagandaism is al

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nonsense. Nobody can foretell with accuracy what will be stand of the Soviet Government, if the Sino-Indian conflict is not peacefully resolved even at this belated hour. Russia's loyalty to communism is not the only loyalty she is capable of. It is perpetually being modified in practice under the impact of *realpolitik*.

India's Reaction to Chinese Cease-Fire

If the past be a correct guide it can be argued, and perhaps with some justification, that chances of an amicable settlement of all outstanding issues between Peking and New Delhi are very slender in view of the latest Chinese stand on her cease-fire declaration of November 21, 1962. The terms of peace proposed by China unilaterally on that date are well-calculated for the realisation of her three-point programme of October 24, 1962, which had already been rejected by India on more than one count. It is difficult to find any reasonable basis of compromise between the two stands. It is well-nigh certain that the Government of India will not stoop low to accept the Chinese terms of peace, as they will require India to surrender about 47 check-posts in the different sectors of the Himalayan frontier. Knowing fully well the Chinese terms of peace had been deliberately kept vague, the Government of India even then sought clarification of certain complicated issues which the first Chinese clarification made all the more confusing. The meaning of Chinese cease-fire is now apparent even to the man who runs. China has no real intention of vacating her aggression on India's soil. In the considered opinion of Mr. Nehru, the Chinese interpretation as to "the line of actual control as on November 7, 1959," "amounts to a definite attempt to retain under cover of preliminary cease-fire arrangements, physical possession over the area which China claims and to secure which the massive attack since October 20, 1962, was mounted". This, as the Prime Minister has declared, India cannot agree to under any circumstances. Her patience has already been taxed to the utmost. Forbearance or patience has certainly a healing quality, but there is a limit beyond which it ceases to be a virtue. The surprise massive attack of China on India has shaken us up from long-accustomed complacency and has opened our eyes to the grim challenge that faces us at the Himalayan frontier. The latest Chinese Note of December 8, 1962, regarding the cease-fire is too humiliating for India to accept.

Communism and Imperialism

The challenge of China is more menacing than it looks at present. Her land-hunger will be whetted instead of being satiated by the forcible occupation of Indian territories at the Himalayan frontier. Her ambition will increase in proportion to her success on the battle front. The proverb that the frontiers of China move with her troops, faithfully mirrors the political psychology of Communist China. Whatever may be the Chinese line of defence of her military action, her massive aggression on India has struck a hard blow to the old communist propaganda that a Socialist State cannot have any expansionist, far less aggressive, designs against any other neighbouring state. The blow is all the more devastating to the communists who passionately believe in the correctness of the dogma. Put to a very awkward position, particularly after the Communist Party of India's Resolution (November 1, 1962) denouncing China's naked aggression on India, Mr. Dange, the Chairman of the Communist Party of India, goes on reiterating his firm faith in the old Marxian theory which he still considers correct, but regrets, at the same time, that even with this correct theory (that is, a Socialist State cannot commit aggression) the present communist leadership of China, urged by a fanatic ambition for territorial expansion, has gone wrong in practice (*Mainstream*, November 24, 1962). It is doubtful how far the non-communist world will be convinced by Mr. Dange's line of argument which is inherently weak in logic. History supplies little justification for Mr. Dange's precious contention that a Socialist state cannot have aggressive or imperialistic designs. Imperialism signifies the domination of one country or nation by another. It is generally linked with capitalism as its inevitable extension, as if there was no imperialism on earth in the pre-capitalistic epochs of history. Perhaps taking their cue from Lenin's *Imperialism* which stresses the idea of imperialism as the external or international aspect of capitalism, the communists hold it as a first postulate in thinking and use all the weapons in their intellectual armoury to fight even the slightest suggestion to the contrary. But already the facts have grown

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too strong against their theses. Capitalism or no capitalism, imperialism will remain so long as the love of power or the will and desire of domination functions in human beings organised as nations or states. Capitalism can breed that desire, and so also can communism. In formal logic, terms like democracy and imperialism or communism and imperialism may look antithetic, but in material logic the two alleged antitheses can co-exist as realities. Backed by a centralised machinery and a powerful army, animated by nationalistic chauvinism and an aggressive ideology, a Communist State can easily display imperialistic designs and can defend at the same time the whole of its indefensible action either in the name of self-defence or in the name of people's liberation. The so-called people's Army of the Communist State is but a blind instrument at the hands of an almighty bureaucracy, drunk with power and animated by an aggressive ideology. The transition of communism to imperialism is as easy as that of capitalism to aggressive expansionism. China's naked aggression on India lends force to the contention.

New Phase of Asia's Freedom Movement

Western imperialism is not the only or the last phase of imperialism. Imperialism has many forms ; its patterns are diverse. Its form and content may change from epoch to epoch, but imperialism as one country's domination, economic or political, over another continues to operate. The subversion of Euro-American imperialism in Asia or Africa is not tantamount to d imperialisation. The enemies of an old empi always pretend to liberate the empire's subject but on the liquidation of that empire it is fr quently found that the pretended liberator ha himself usurped the authority of a despot. Thi is a tragic experience of history. Eterna vigilance is the price which Liberty demand from its votary. In the early part of the twentie century, Japan as the liberator of Asia from th domination of the Western imperialists onc raised high hopes among the Asian peoples, b that liberator, intoxicated with pride and powe turned out later to be an enslaver of East an South-East Asia. In the second half of the pr sent century when Euro-American imperialism wa virtually at an end in Asia, Communist Chin under the guise of a liberator has been layin the basis of a new imperialism in the Orient. He treacherous aggression on India at the Himalaya frontier in open violation of her *Panch Sheel* obligations is a clear declaration to all mankin that her preparation for expansion is virtuall complete and that she is determined to mak herself the pivot of Asian politics. Her ambitious designs under cover of communism pose a menacing challenge to the forces of Asian free dom. The challenge has been taken up by India the central citadel of Asian democracy, which now stands determined to compel China to re trace her steps before it is too late. A new chap ter of Asia's freedom movement has opened wit China's proclamation of her manifest intentio for a new Asian empire.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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STUDIES IN ARABIC AND PERSIAN MEDICAL LITERATURE : *By Dr. Muhammad Zubayr Siddiqi, H.A., M.A., B.L., Ph.D., (Camb.), F.A.S.B., Sir Ashutosh Professor of Islamic Culture, Calcutta University. With a Foreward by Late Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chief Minister, West Bengal. Calcutta University, 1959. Indian Price Rs. 12/-, Foreign Price 1 Guinea and $ 5.*

The book is the result of years of study, stimulated by the writer's father himself, an illustrious physician of the Unani School, to whom the book is dedicated. It consists of 8 chapters, prefaced by an introductory chapter in which the importance of Arabic medicine is stressed, and its influence in modern India from the 12th century to our times is not lost to sight, even in the pattern of modern hospitals. In the concluding portion of this introductory chapter, the special purpose of the book comes to light : it is to give a brief account of Arabic Medical Literature till the compilation of the *Fridausul-Hikmat* to discuss the life and works of the author in detail, to show the interests of the Muslim kings, the noblemen and the scholars in India in Indian Science and Culture in general and in the Indian system of medicine in particular and to describe and discuss fully two of the earliest medical books written in Persian in India on the basis of the important works of the ancient Indian physicians on the subject.

The *Firdausul-Hikmat* or 'Paradise of Wisdom' by 'Ali B. Rabban,' a native of Tabaristan, is the first independent medical compendium composed in Arabic. It takes into account the Greek schools and gives a short and coherent exposition of the Indian system. A product of the 9th century, it contains materials for research, at the same time being a source book for the study of inter-relations between two great civilizations on a point of great importance for mankind.

The compiling of a compendium does not necessarily imply that the remedies were accepted and the theories of a different system adopted. It is a matter of speculation, therefore, to find out how far the Indian system had influenced the Arabic; but that may be left out of immediate consideration.

A question crops up : who was this *Manka* or *Manikya* who translated Charak, Susruta, Nidan and other classics on Indian Medicine into Arabic ? He is described as having been invited to the Court of Haroun-al-Rashid and cured him of some skin disease which had so long defied all treatment. Another question is : who was the Indian Woman who wrote on medicine? Or, the identity of Rusa remains to be established. The influence of the Barmecides in the Court of Al Rashid is another interesting topic—the Barmecides who were probably Buddhist in origin.

Dr. Roy, the late Chief Minister of West Bengal, rightly observed about the author as the first Indian scholar to write a short history of the contribution of the Arabic and Persian writers, to the history of medicine.

The book is a valuable contribution to the cause of the advancement of knowledge.

The photographic representations are very interesting.

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GANDHI WIELDS THE WEAPON OF MORAL POWER : *By Gene Sharp. With a foreward by Dr. Albert Einstein. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14, September 1960. Price Rupees Five only.*

The book under review is not an effusion from the heart, but a carefully prepared scientific study of the efficacy of moral power, through three case histories based on facts which are within living memory. Gandhiji's stress on moral power had justified itself in his brilliant and powerful struggle as an advocate of the peasant at Champaran ; in his independence campaigns of 1930-31 and after ; in his striving to establish human brotherhood in 1948, through his Delhi fast and, one feels tempted to add, in his laying down his life for the cause. The transformation in Indian life and the orientation in the attitude of the world, notwithstanding lapses since then, may be felt rather than formulated, and then a new sense of the moral values that do operate will dawn upon us.

The author has carefully excluded from the study all sentiment, and has subjected himself to strict discipline. The result has been a clearness of views regarding the power of moral values, for which necessary steps were taken in preparing the fighters advocating such values.

Dr. Einstein had in his foreward referred to the strength of the writer in completing his work from the inner struggle which the problems considered had caused him and concluded with the remark : "No attentive reader will be able to ignore its effect"—a pronouncement which will be sbustantiated on a perusal of the book.

Will a new way of life emerge ? Gandhiji's methods of combating evil are bound to be a fruitful subject for study in that direction. But this study is only the first step, and the author is bound to proceed further in his sociological researches, for which he will base the support of all who have in view the ultimate peace to reign on earth, and this book is bound to strengthen those who would build a new world.

P. R. SEN

TRENDS IN INDIAN PLANNING : *By Mr. Shriman Narayan, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, pages 137. Price Rs. 10/-.*

The essays contained in this book recently written by the well-known Gandhian economist, now a member of the Planning Commission, throws new light on several trends in Indian Planning, with special reference to the Third Five Year Plan. Mr. Narayan sounds a note of warning to those who in their great anxiety to attain speedy progress in raising standards of living of the people are apt to neglect that aspect of human progress and development which makes life really worth living. Any system of planning must provide ample scope for the development of human personality.

Planning in a totalitarian state is quite different from the experiment that is taking place in India which has a democratic Parliamentary Government at the helm of affairs. Indeed, the Indian approach although based on the Soviet model is greatly influenced by the spiritual ideals of Mahatma Gandhi—Father of the Nation. Mr. Narayan as a true disciple of the Great Master has presented through these essays the moral and spiritual meaning of Indian Planning which aims at the development of the man as a spiritual being along with his material progress. Discussions on Sarvodaya and Marxism, towards a co-operative Commonwealth, Planning from Below, Economics of co-operative farming, why prohibition, Labour Policy, Economics of National Defence, Economics of Village industries, The "People's Sector", are illuminating. Altogether 37 subjects have been discussed and each within a compass of 2 to 3 pages, thus the readers' patience is not taxed.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has written an introduction to this publication and quoting his words we "commend this book to those who are trying to understand our approach to planning."

INDIA AND PARLIAMENT : *By Mr. Hiren Mukherjee, Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, pages 159. Price Rs. 8.50 nP.*

The essence of Parliamentary democracy is discussion by duly elected representatives of the people and implementation by the administration of decisions reached by way of such discussion at various levels from the village panchayat to Parliament. India's problem is to make such a democracy successful. To most people the British Parliamentary System with its two party set-up is the only ideal to be copied or followed. But the conditions and historical developments in different countries are different with the result that the growth of the system has been of varying nature. Besides the United Kingdom having no written constitution any drastic charge is possible without revolutionary methods. Nowhere the British system has been copied or set-up in toto and as such India should develop her own system

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sistently with her genius and democratic traditions spreading over thousands of years before the subjugation of the country by the British.

The author has dealt with the fascinating subject in ten chapters and being a marxist his approach is from a different angle. In chapter 5 —(India and the idea of self-government)—he has given a lie to the British contention that India imbibed the spirit of self-government from foreign masters and proved from history that British rule was the cause of destruction of village self-rule or Panchayats which numerous foreign invasions and establishments of foreign ruling dynasties in the country could not uproot. British exploitation both political and economic and domination in the cultural sphere are the causes of this state of affairs. If India survived and is having her own again, it is due to the internal strength of the nation and also for the great power of assimilation which India has shown for ages. In spite of failure of democracy in neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and other countries of Asia and Africa and even elsewhere, it must be to her credit that India have passed through three general elections with universal adult sufferage, involving more than 200 million voters after the Third General Election. If the experience of the post-Independence period is a guide, India has a bright future for her democratic development.

In spite of some adverse views in regard to the action of the Central Congress Government in relation to the Communist Administration in Kerala and some other partisan treatment of the study of the subject, the author's presentation is fair and thought-provoking and students of current Indian politics will find this book an interesting study.

TREND AND PROGRESS OF BANKING IN INDIA DURING THE YEAR 1961 : *Reserve Bank of India. Published in Bombay.*

This is the Annual Report of the Reserve Bank of India under Section 36(2) of the Banking Companies Act, 1949.

First chapter leads with monetary trends, sources and uses of Funds, Deposits, Borrowings of Scheduled Banks from the Reserve Bank, Funds from abroad, cash reserves, Bank Credit and Credit Policy, open market operations, Money Market, Earnings and Expenses of Banks and Paid-up Capital and Reserves. Second chapter is devoted to Developments of Banking legislations and organisation and contains the Banking Companies (Amendment) Act 1961, Mergers (Progress), Deposit Insurance Act, proposal to strengthen the Capital Funds of Banks, branch expansion (including that of State Bank of India), Indian banking abroad, Remittance facilities, Clearing houses, Warehousing, Refinance Corporation, Small Industries' finance by Commercial Banks and State Bank of India, Banker's Training College and Employee-Employer Relations in Banking Industry.

Altogether there are ten appendices attached to the Report each of which is informative and valuable to students of banking and businessmen and industrialists. Maps and Graphs included in the Report make it all the more useful.

Among others this is a very useful and informative publication of the Reserve Bank of India and deserves to be read and referred to by persons needing authoritative information about Banking in India.

A. B. DUTTA

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Indian Periodicals

Civil Servants and Responsibility

Wriitng in the *Yojna* of October 28 last, Mr. H. M. Patel, former Secretary in the Union Ministry of Finance says :

Dr. Paul Appleby delivered four lectures under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Public Administration in Delhi in December, 1961, which have now been published as a book entitled 'Public Administration for a Welfare State'. Dr. Appleby spoke with India very much in his mind as the country which had set up as its goal 'a socialistic pattern of society', and which is faced as a consequence with numerous problems of administration and administrative machinery. Dr. Paul Appleby has paid four visits in all to India since Independence, and has been given full facilities for making a careful and thorough study of Indian administration. He expressed a high opinion of Indian administrative machinery and personnel, after his first visit, and has evidently found no reason to modify that view as a result of what he saw and observed during his subsequent visits. He is, thereofre, convinced that India's administration will have no difficulty in standing up to the strains and stresses that will have to be faced in the country's march towards genuine and dynamic welfare state.

"Playing Safe"

That Dr. Paul Appleby is a profound student of administration is evident, and with much of what he has to say, there can be no dispute, for it is all sound and shrewd. It is evident, however, that he sees conditions in India through rose-tinted glasses. He cannot unfortunately study conditions in this country as an ordinary citizen, and that perhaps makes it difficult for him to discover the real weaknesses of administration in India. How is he, for instance, to know that the average politician and the powers that be in the country have not yet realised what a vital role the civil services play in ensuring efficient administration in a democratic country ? In the days of the British rule, the bureaucracy was undoubtedly powerful, but the bureaucrat also did an honest day's work in a responsible manner. He was able to do so the more effectively, as he enjoyed great prestige among the people. Since Independence, he has, by and large, continued to work as hard, and with even greater devotion. But his effectiveness has been materially reduced because he does not any longer enjoy the same position of prestige and respect. In season and out of season, he is decried. If anything goes wrong, it is the civil service that is held responsible : its alleged failure to adapt itself to altered circumstances, its woodenness, its greed etc., are all held to blame. The Ministers themselves without hesitation blame their ministries ; forgetful of their own basic responsibility they do not appear to have learnt that they form part of the administration, and they cannot disown responsibility for whatever is done in their name—that is, in the name of their ministries. There is rarely appreciation of good work, and even more rare is punishment meted out where there has been inefficiency, slackness, etc. It is not surprising, therefore, that there has ensued a steady deterioration in the quality of the administration. Instead of displaying initiative and willingness to accept responsibility, the overwhelming majority of the civil servants now find it expedient to just 'carry on' and to wait until someone higher up is prepared to give the word for action. Inevitably, the entire administrative machinery has slowed down, and lost all sense of urgency.

And this, unfortunately, has happened at the very moment when it has become necessary to vest far larger powers than ever before in the hands of the bureaucracy. A Welfare State involves the assumption of an ever-increasing number of tasks by Government, and it is the civil service which has to execute these new responsibilities. And to these newer and responsible tasks they come without the restraining effect of healthy service traditions, on the one hand, and without the example of his standards of conduct—complete intellectual integrity, fair-mindedness, determination for urgency and thoroughness, etc.,—among their political masters to guide them, on the other.

Dr. Appleby enumerates twelve essential characteristics of a good administrator. The first of these, which he describes as 'the most crucial single qualification', is willingness to assume responsibility. And anyone with any experience of administration today in this country, whether in the Secretariates or in the districts, will point to this as the one single outstanding weakness in Indian administration. Even Ministers are no exception to this spreading general malady, and a good many of them, too, tend to await the approval of the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister before proceeding into action. Willingness to accept responsibility involves "courage, readiness to take risks, a dynamic attitude",

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is the converse of playing safe and attending to deatils which characterise civil servants today even at the top.

The next most important qualification of a good administrator is a 'strong bent towards action'. He must have a sense of urgency, his eye must be firmly on deadlines, and must take pride in ensuring excellence in execution and completion. Among other important qualities of a good administrator emphasised by Appleby, mention may be made here of only two : he must have self-confidence of the type which "enables him readily to confess ignorance and personal fault'; and he must welcome, not discourage, "reports of troublesome things lest they reach unmanageable dimensions before he hears of them". He must, in other words, have the courage to face facts himself, to find solutions for problems which exist to the extent he can, instead of running away from them, and to bring the situation in an unvarnished manner to the notice of his superiors. Are these qualities displayed generally by our administrators too ? The answer has, alas, to be in the negative, because they are set a bad example by the Ministers, most of whom appear to be devoid of these qualities.

Public Apathy

Government as well as the public, speaking through their representatives in Parliament and in the legislatures, and the Press, must, for their part also, adopt a correct attitude towards their bureaucracy. They must not hesitate to punish when there is failure, just as they must not be grudging in praise when praise is due. Too often today everyone seems content to let things be, unless they are stirred up by some inexplicable emotion against some individual or cause. There has to be a dispassionate evaluation and equally dispassionate application of 'correctives'.

If the Delhi power authority, on the showing of a competent inquiry committee, has shown itself wanting in the degree of care and foresight expected of it, appropriate disciplinary action must be taken against whomsoever is involved and however many. It is not necessary to do this merely because it has caused an enormous financial loss, or inconvenience to so many people, or that it happened in the capital of the country, but because it is a manifestation of weaknesses in administration which need to be firmly rooted out. And yet, all that the report of the Committee appears so far to have merited is a short mention somewhere in the news columns of daily papers.

Another similar incredible instance of administrative ineptitude was reported recently in the daily papers, which appears also to have aroused not a ripple of indignation. This was the fact of the closing down of Nunmati refinery for serveral days because of the inability of various State enterprises concerned with oil, all established by the Government of India, to reach an accord among themselves and with the Government of Assam. The financial loss must have been considerable. What is appalling, of course, is that differences among responsible bodies should have ever been allowed to reach such a stage : clearly public interest appears to have had to take a second place. And yet there is no indignation anywhere. Strange are the ways of our vigilant public men and the Press !

Dr. Appleby again places his sure finger on a major weakness of a democratic government when he says that "the more democratic government is, the more thoroughly political it is", and "the higher one goes in government, the greater is the involvement in politics". He does, of course, point out that a very significant difference exists between the nature of such involvement in so far as the politician is concerned, on the one hand, and the civil servant, on the other. Both being engaged in governmental work, and being administrators, both according to Dr. Appleby, may be said to be in politics. The difference, however, is that the politician has party responsibility which the civil servant does not have. It is perhaps because of his American background that this appreciation of the position appears to Dr. Appleby as correct and inevitable. We, who are closer to the British experience, are inclined to take a somewhat stricter view of the civil servant's position even when he plays an important part in the formulation of policy. He must, we feel, throughout remain non-political in his outlook and his attitude. He must leave it to his political chief to modify the conclusions to which he may have reached on the merits of a case, for reasons of politial expediency. On the whole, it would be best for our administration if we are able ot continue in the British tradition. Unfortunately, the tendency of the political chiefs in this country to prefer civil servants, who are more ready to fall in line with their way of thinking to others who may show a greater degree of independence, might lead to a definite shift in the attitude of civil servants generally.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Fourth Estate of the Fifth Republic

Ray Alan, writing for the *New Leader* of October 29, says :

It was a Frenchman, Joseph de Maistre, who declared that every nation has the government it deserves, but his truism has never been popular in France. Nor has its corollary that peoples generally have the kind of press they deserve. It is an open question whom Frenchmen mistrust more : their politicians or their newspaper editors.

The moral bankruptcy of the politicians opened the way for General Charles de Gaulle's drive for personal power. Now that he is engaged (in violation of his own Constitution) in establishing a "presidential" regime in which he will dominate legislature, executive and most of the judiciary—and control radio, television and the nation's only news agency—a reliable, respected press might have provided France with at least one substantial safeguard against the abuses all absolutism breeds.

Liberals here console themselves, as do liberals in Spain, with the throught that their ruler is an aging man. But the habit of political apathy and resignation, which he and the men in charge of his information media are doing their best to encourage, is unlikely to facilitate a democratic revival. It is a habit a responsible press could help to break. Yet the instinct of the press, with only a few honorable exceptions, is to specialize either in partisan, self-defeating abuse or—the general rule—in chauvinism and sycophancy.

Under the Fifth Republic, as under the Fourth, the coyness of the majority of French newspapers over successive administrative scandals and such matters as the bazooka affair, the use of torture by the Army, and last fall's atrocities against Moslems by the Paris police (generally unreported until two liberal weeklies published details), has been a depressing reminder of the extent to which the moral and political weakness of democracy in France is bound up with the moral and material weakness of the Paris press.

The problem is much older than the Fifth Republic. "It is the servility, not the freedom, of the press which has brought disaster on our land. There will never be publicspiritedness France without an independent press": quotation is not from an editorial in *L'Exp* by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber but from speech by Francois Rene Chateaubriand in 1

French Surete officials, whose contempt their national press is profound, estimate that the last years of the Third Republic more t half the dalies published in Paris were in rec of subsidies from the German, Italian or So embassies, or from French organizations dedic to the destruction of democracy. The "respectab Les Temps, which naive foreigners conside the Times of France, distinguished itself accepting money from Nazi Germany, the Co des Forges and, on one occasion, the So Union—along with "guidance" (on which editorials were directly and systematically bas from the Quai d'Orsay. But few of the uns sidized papers were much better: The depra *L'Action Francaise*, for example, one of Fran bestselling and most successful journals, churn out day after day for 30 years a torrent of lie abuse and obscenity quite without parallel the democratic world. Served by such a pr the Third Republic was extraordinarily rob to survive as long as it did.

Today, only about a third of the capit dailies earn their keep, and only four affluent : the sensationalist conservative *Fra Soir*, the sober bourgeois *Ls Figaro*, and the l IQ Right-wing *Le Parisien libere* and *L'Aur* This does not mean, of course, that all o Paris dailies are harlots, though it does sug that most of them are rather unhealthy.

The generally responsible *Le Mo* successor to *Les Temps*, was suspected in its e years of leaning rather heavily on the d'Orsay, but it now attracts sufficient qu advertising to assure its independence. Catholic *La Croix* and Communist *L'Hum* are said to be kept afloat by the earnings of profitable week-end magazines. The pro-Co nist *Liberation* claims that donations readers balance its budget. *Le Populair* pathetic ghost of the paper Leon Blum edited, has for years been a pensioner of Socialist party and is periodically threat with closure. Two or three papers, such as Right-wing *Paris-Jour* (formerly *Paris-Jo*

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originally the moderately Left-wing *France-Tireur)* and *Combat,* provide wealthy individuals with a fascinating if expensive hobby, and perhaps a hope of political influence.

Covert subsidization is still practiced, but most of the money is contributed by the French taxpayer. If dollars, roubles and ex-Algerian francs are heard rattling occasionally, it is chiefly in the begging bowls of a few of the weaker weeklies. The Fourth Republic established a secret fund to spare editors the ambarrassment of soliciting foreign charity, and the Fifth Republic proved no less considerate.

The present regime has also followed its predecessor's example in confiscating entire issues of critical newspapers, conducting the operation in such a manner as to cause them the maximum financial loss (*"frapper dans la caisse"* is the technical term). It must be stressed, however, that General de Gaulle has been much more tolerant of criticism than, for instance, Guy Mollet, whose government was condemned by the International Press Institute in 1957 for 40 specific violations of press freedom in six months—a record in the democratic world. The unrepentant Mollet told a meeting at Evreux in 1959, in reply to criticism on this point, that "it is very advantageous for a paper to be seized by the authorities since it receives considerable free publicity."

A year later at Angers, echoing then Prime Minister Michel Debre, Mollet declared that "France is the only country with a completely free press," and that journalists had only themselves to blame if "accidents" happened to them from time to time. But one of his own ministers, Andre Philip, who quarrelled with him on this point, has written of Mollet's Premiership : "Not since the Petain regime had France experienced such systematic and intensive use of all information media for the purpose of suffocating freedom of expression and thought and maintaining the government in power."

Even when the editor of a marginal paper has wrestled with his conscience and chief accountant to decide whether he can afford to forego subsidies and brave seizures, he is not out of the woods. Unable to maintain an adequate staff of correspondents and specialits, he may find himself, especially if he wishes to blaze a distinctive trail, devoting an unhealthy proportion of his space to the more or less psychotic guesswork of weary part-timers and ill-paid hacks.

Thus : The complexities of the UK-Commonwealth-EEC triangle are boiled down to a British desire to flood Europe with trash manufactured in British-owned sweatshops in the Far East. President Kennedy is reported to be sending troops to the Congo three or four days after he has made it clear that U.S. troops will not be available for service there. Robert Murphy is stated to be on his way to Bonn, as American Ambassador, for the purpose of wrecking the Paris-Bonn axis, long after his retrement from public service has been announced. A constitutional conference in Nigeria is described as a meeting to organize anti-French agitation in West Africa. And and/or British plots are held responsible for such events as the FLN revolt in Algeria, the *ultra* uprising of May 13, 1958, the Salan mutiny in Algiers and the Ghana-Guinea "union." (All these examples are from "moderate" papers; the last is from a frontpage editorial, quite unsupported by even a semblance of evidence, in *Le Monde.*)

Similarly, the marriage of Governor Nelson Rockefeller's son to a Norwegian girl a few years ago was reported in Paris as having been arranged to provide Rockefeller with headlines and political capital to counteract the effects of Richard Nixon's trip to Russia ! The headline-winning secrets prized out of Buckingham Palace, the White House and the Imperial Court of Iran by the semi-literate hacks who work for some of the wilder weeklies are among the curiosities of Europe.

One other major consequence of the economic weakness of the Paris press must be noted: its inability to maintain an independent news agency that might be comparable with Reuters and the AP. This failure has given the Government, through its control of the *Agence France-Presse,* a source of influence over French newspapers no less corrosive of journalistic self-respect than its secret funds and confiscatory power.

Why are so few Paris papers self-supporting? The easy answer is that too many papers—15, compared with 14 dailies in London, and seven in New York—are chasing too few readers and too little advertising money. Fewer than 250 newspapers are sold per thousand inhabitants in France, compared with 327 per thousand in the U.S., 381 in Australia, 383 in New Zealand, 464 in Sweden, and 573 in Great Britain. Only *France-Soir, Paris-Match,* and the weeklies that specialize in royal soap operas and the boudoir battle order of the entertainment world have circulations in excess of one million. *Le Monde* sells about 210,000 copies, few thousands fewer than *L'Humanite.*

French circulation managers attribute their poor showing to a number of factors: French

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papers are slightly more expensive, and wages slightly lower, than in Britain and Scandinavia; French working-class housing does not yet offer a degree of privacy and comfort conducive to prolonged reading; and as French families acquire more spacious accommodation and invest in their first armchairs, television is apt to insinuate itself at the expense of the press. It is also argued —in the capital!—that in the provinces the French are on the whole more provincial in outlook (that is, less interested in national affairs) and probably more insular (less interested in the outside world) than their British and Scandinavian counterparts, and prefer the *chiens ecrases* and *histories de clocher* of their local paper to topics Paris editors consider important.

Much of this may be true. But one cannot help contrasting the strength and authority of the leading provincial journals with the flabbiness of most of the Parisian daily press and the mistrust it all too often inspires. While only four Paris dailies sell more than 250,000 copies, nine provincial dailies top this figure, and, over the whole country, the "provincials" outsell the "nationals" by about two to one—a ratio that takes more than *chiens ecrases* and *histories de clocher* to explain.

Nor can one ignore the success of the weekly *L'Express*, success due primarily to its reputation for honesty and courage, or the loyalty inspired by more or less doctrinaire, and therefore reputely uncompromissing, papers like *France-Observateur*, a Socialist weekly; *Temoignage Chretien*, a liberal Cathoic weekly considered so fair and honest that most of the French Protestants I know read it; *L'Humanite*, holy writ to the Communist party faithful; and *La Nation francaise*, a royalist Catholic journal whose readers tend to believe that theirs is the paper that can be trusted. Significant, too, the relative profusion—reduced under the Fi Republic by governmental sanctions—of "ins information" newsletters and weeklies, such *the La Canard Enchaine* and *Aux Ecoutes*, wh purport to supply the reader with news a comment the rest of the press dare not or not print.

La Canard Enchaine, admired outs France as brilliantly comic, is taken v seriously by most of its French readers, w include a high proportion of teachers and jo nalists: Over 60 per cent of them rely on it, preference to any other paper, for their und standing of current affairs. When there is major crisis, it is papers like the *La Canard*, *Monde*, *L'Express* and *L'Humanite* that make t biggest immediate gains, and the sales of Swi British and American dailies rise sharply.

All this suggests that the weakness of t Paris daily press is due primarily to the aver Frenchmen's lack of confidence in it. Citize who lack confidence in their nation's newspap buy fewer of them; and the papers, econom cally debilitated, are driven deeper into t practices and compromises that lose reade confidence.

Which came first, the material chicken o the moral egg? It is hard to say, but t particular cycle is one only journalistic integr and courage can break. Meanwhile, the last w is, appropriately enough, with General de Ga who last year described the French p scathingly—but also perhaps, gratefully— "*cette presse qui ne s'occupe pas de gra problemes mais de petites histories*".

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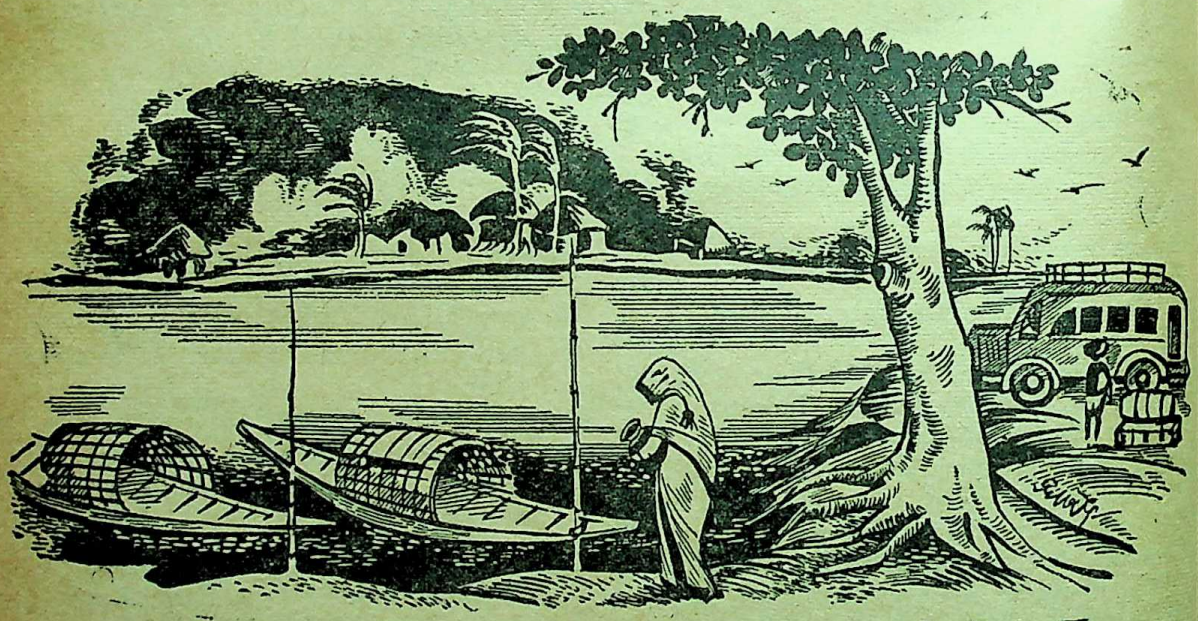

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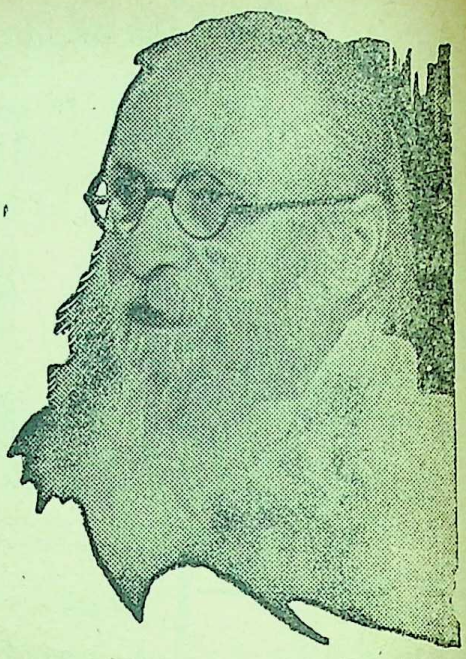

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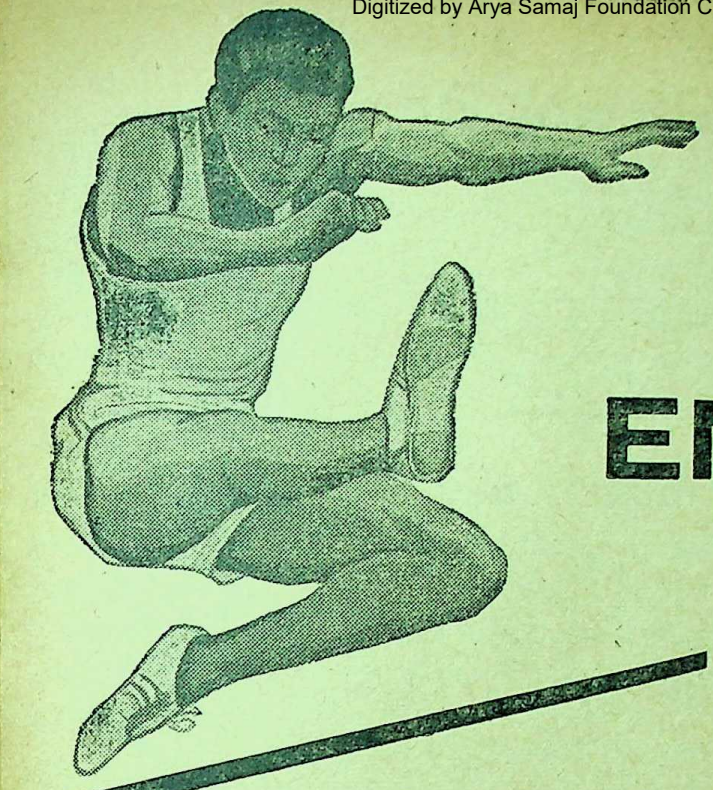

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NOTES

The World

Ourselves

The Lok Sabha endorsed the Prime Minister's decision regarding acceptance in toto of the Colombo Powers' proposals for peace negotiations on the Indo-China borders by a large majority vote. The voting was 349 against and 59 for a motion by the leader of the Socialist group which called for a rejection of the Colombo proposals on the ground that they offended India's honour and dignity. This vote defeating the rejection motion was an indirect approval of the Prime Minister's decision to accept the proposals. There was no positive motion conferring on Pandit Nehru the power to proceed along his own judgement but the implications of the indirect endorsement were clear. In the voting the Communists cast their vote for the Government, as was only to be expected, the fifty-nine votes for rejection representing the total non-Communist opposition strength in the Lok Sabha. The only rider on this indirect acceptance of the proposals was added by Pandit Nehru himself who clearly stated that the Colombo Proposals would take effect only if China accepted them totally, along with the clarifications offered by the spokesmen of the six nations that forumlated the proposals at Colombo.

Thus ended the second act of the drama that has been staged since December 10, following the unilateral cease-fire and withdrawal by the Chinese.

At the outset there was considerable opposition to the acceptance of the proposals. Large sections of the Congress Party in Parliament and nearly all the Opposition groups opposed acceptance as, in their opinion, which was vociferously expressed, the Colombo proposals in the form they were presented, did not satisfy the minimum conditions for opening talks with China, even with the clarifications provided by the Ceylon Prime Minister and her colleagues from U.A.R. and Ghana. In deference to their reactions, as conveyed to the Prime Minister in a series of meetings that took place before the debate was opened in the two Houses of Parliament on January 23, it was decided to limit the debate to the mere consideration of the proposals **until China's reactions to the proposals and the clarifications were received.** It was not explained as to why China's reactions either way should influence the consideration of a direct verdict—in the form of a Government Resolution tabled for the acceptance of the proposals—on the matter, but it is understood that the Congress Parliamentary Party did not think that the acceptance should be pressed forward in the form of an official resolution.

The official opinion, as originally expressed by a "spokesman of the External Affairs department" regarding the proposals together with the clarifications, was that "by and large" they met our minimum

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conditions-precedent to the start of peace talks directly with China. But Pandit Nehru ended by repeatedly stressing his opinion that the Colombo proposals not only fulfilled India's condition that the September 8, 1962, position should be restored, but in some respects they were **even more advantageous!** It was a remarkable feat of Parliamentary legerdemain on his part to say the least, but as things stand we would rest by saying that it might have been worse.

What were the proposals and the clarifications thereof? The text of the proposals were released by the Ceylonese Government on Saturday the 19th of January, but the clarifications were not officially published by them. The proposals and the clarifications were formally presented to Parliament at New Delhi on January 21. The text of the proposals as published by the Ceylonese Government is as follows:

(1) The conference considers that the existing de facto ceasefire period is a good starting point for a peaceful settlement of the Indian-Chinese conflict.

(2) With regard to the western sector, the conference would like to make an appeal to the Chinese Government to carry out their 20 kilometres withdrawal of their military posts as has been proposed in the letter of Mr. Chou En-lai to Mr. Nehru of November 21 and November 28.

The conference would make an appeal to the Indian Government to keep their existing military position.

Pending a final solution of the border dispute, the area vacated by the Chinese military withdrawal will be demilitarized zone to be administered by civilian posts of both sides to be agreed upon, without prejudice to the rights of the previous presence of both India and China in that area.

(3) With regard to the eastern sector, the conference considers that the line of actual control in the areas recognized by both the Governments could serve as a cease-fire line to their respective positions. Remaining areas in this sector can be settled in their further discussions.

(4) With regard to the problems of the middle sector, the conference suggests that they will be solved by peaceful means, without resorting to force.

(5) The conference believes that these proposals, which could help in consolidating the ceasefire, once implemented, should pave the way for discussions between representatives of both parties for the purpose of solving problems entailed in the ceasefire position.

(6) The conference would like to make it clear that a positive response for the proposed appeal will not prejudice the position of either of the two Governments as regards its conception of the final alignment of the boundaries.

The text of the clarifications, which relate to the second, third and fourth paragraphs of the original proposals are as follows:

Western Sector:

1. The withdrawal of Chinese forces proposed by the Colombo conference will be 20 kilometres as proposed by Mr. Chou En-lai to Mr. Nehru in the statement of the Chinese Government dated November 21 and in Mr. Chou En-lai's letter of November 28, 1962, *i.e.* from the line of actual control between the two sides as of November 7, 1959, as defined in maps IV and V circulated by the Government of China.

2. The existing military posts which the forces of the Government of India will keep will be on and up to the line indicated in (1) above.

3. The demilitarized zone of 20 kilometres created by the Chinese military withdrawals will be administered by civilian posts of both sides. This is a substantive part of the Colombo conference proposals. As to the location, the number of posts and their composition, there has to be agreement between the two Governments.

Eastern Sector:

1. The Indian forces can, in accordance with the Colombo conference proposals, move right up to the south of the line of actual control, i.e., the McMahon Line, except for the two areas on which there is difference of opinion between the Governments of India and China. The Chinese forces similarly can move right up to the north of the McMahon Line except for the two areas. The two areas referred to as the remaining areas in the Colombo conference proposals, arrangements in regard to which are to be settled between the two Governments, are Chedong or the Thagla ridge area and the Longju area.

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which case there is a difference of opinion as to the line of actual control between the two Governments.

Middle Sector :

1. The Colombo conference desire that the status quo in this sector should be maintained and neither side should do anything to disturb the status quo.

And there the matter rests, at the time of writing these, where the peace negotiations are concerned.

Pandit Nehru has repeatedly stated that the Colombo proposals were limited in scope and that they contemplated only the temporary measures necessary to prepare the ground for the actual peaceful negotiations for the settlement of the boundary dispute.

He emphatically stated that these proposals did not at any time affect the substance of the dispute which, he said, could be set before the International Court of Justice for arbitration at an appropriate time. It is to be hoped that the temporary nature and limited scope of the proposals have been clearly understood and accepted as such by the other parties in the present negotiations.

The proposals had a rough passage through Parliament. The Opposition did not miss any opportunity to make caustic comments and harsh words were exchanged on both sides, though there was little substance in most of their contentions. The sum total of the arguments were, however, satisfactory as the powers asked for by the Prime Minister were thereby confined to within narrow limits and the revisional authority of Parliament was kept unfettered by any mandate or wide open delegation of authority. It is as yet an open question as to whether the peace-talks and the negotiations for the final settlement of the boundary question can start on the basis of the Colombo proposals since China has not signified an unqualified acceptance of the same. In case there be any deviation from the lines laid down clearly by the proposals and the clarifications thereof, then Parliament has to be notified of the changes and its approval or rejection of the new terms has to be sought categorically according to the present state of affairs.

But peace or war, the preparations have to go on if India is not to be caught napping as it has been in the present campaign of the aggressor, who still possesses the initiative to the fullest extent and is still proceeding on with warlike preparations if the information which is reaching us indirectly is to be believed—and we do not know of any reason why it should not be so.

Pandit Nehru is reported to have made in the course of his long final speech at the close of the debate in the Lok Sabha the following statements :

"To reject the Colombo proposals, would be worng both diplomatically and politically, even though it was quite possible that nothing might come of the move."

In fact, he added, there was every likelihood that the conflict with China, as distinct from an actual war, would continue for a long time. But it was his considered opinion that in dealing with China, India should follow the two apparently contradictory urges; to live in pace and friendship and at the same time, prevent and resist encroachments on the country's integrity.

He emphasized that there would be no slowing down of India's efforts to step up the preparations to resist aggression, nor would India ever submit to military therats or coercion. But while doing that India would be always prepared for peaceful approaches.

Referring to the slow encroachment made by China on India and the massive invasion launched by it in September last, Mr. Nehru said: "We believe, and many countries agree with us, that China as constituted today is an aggressive and expansionist country, possibly with vast designs for future. It believes in the inevitability of major wars. Essentially, it does not believe in co-existence between countries and in the five principles of Panch Sheel which China and India laid down some seven or eight years ago and which have been accepted by a large number of countries".

He said China must have realized that it could not make India surrender to China. In spite of the aggressive action it has taken and

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the very intemperate language used by them, they had begun to realize that the policy they had followed did no good to them.

Nr. Nehru rejected the charge that the Government was paralysed by fear of the military might of China and that was why it wanted to accept the Colombo proposals. "We have committed many mistakes and will no doubt commit more but I have yet to know that we have succumbed to fear and have fashioned our policies on that basis".

Pandit Nehru is said to have denied "both in sorrow and anger" the charge of cowardice levelled against his Government by some opposition members. We ourselves consider that the charge was not only unfounded, but the making of it was an irresponsible act committed in the heat of argument. But there are serious doubts now in the minds of most thoughtful people who have the interests of the nation and the question of national freedom and the integrity of the territories of the Indian Union at heart. And that is, about the way the nation is being led and directed to prepare for meeting the massive assaults of an enemy whose potentialities for war on a large scale is proved and whose capacity for ruthless and treacherous aggression has been proved beyond all doubt as Pandit Nehru himself has stated.

That Pandit Nehru and his colleagues are unversed in the ways of war has been conclusively demonstrated in the debacles on our Himalayan frontiers and it is now admitted by him that the realities of the situation had escaped him and his advisors due to the fact that they were all "conditioned to peace." Be that as it may, the question remains as to whether he is willing to accept the advice of those of our friends and of the few amongst us who have the requisite knowledge, regarding the ways of meeting aggression on a major scale, without putting all kinds of impossible riders on all propositions?

We are forced to put forward this question because uptil now the leadership that has been forthcoming from those who are vested with the power of office, has been the reverse of inspiring. The new Minister for Defence, Sri Chavan has b working hard and talking very little w has given us some hope that the ar forces and those who are in command the three Services would, at last, rec the co-operation from the highest aut ities-in-charge of preparations, supp and co-ordination of work at the fr and behind them.

In the first of the two extracts f Pandit Nehru's speech we find that in opinion in dealing with China, I should follow the two **apparently con dictory urges to live in peace and frie ship and at the same time prevent a resist encroachments on the country's tegrity.**

Pandit Nehru is quite right in c ing the urges for Peace and Friendsh contradictory. Indeed, they are more t that, they are totally incompatible. We not know of any instance in history wh these two urges have been so mixed up the midst of war as in this present In Chinese conflict, without bringing disaster to the experimenter.

We are not opposed to friendship all and peaceful co-existence with all peoples of the world. Neither have ever decried non-alignment before. we do believe that peace and n alignment is being given priority Pandit Nehru to such an extent in all speeches that it is threatening serio to inhibit the war-effort of the people

We had hoped that some one Parliament would ask Pandit Nehru if peace, friendship, non-alignment, st ing of all war missiles—with or wit nuclear war-heads—etcetera, were pl on one scale and the freedom of India the integrity of her territories on other which, to his mind, should out-w the other in the consideration of peoples? We believe that this que should be clearly answered by the le of the nation to clear the public mind bewilderment.

The common citizen is accustomed judge every lead given by those who has placed in charge of the Union an nationals in the light of precedents

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along the plain everyday connotations of expressions and sentiments. Nebulous abstractions or philosophical precepts uttered in the contrasting perspective of war only tend to confuse his mind.

The World Outside

The most significant event in the outside world has been the final end—let us hope —of the long-drawn out attempt by Moise Tshombe for the secession of the Katanga province from the Congo Republic. This prolonged struggle was in reality an attempt by International Finance, in the shape of British, French and Belgian shareholders of the vast Union Miniere organisation, to keep complete control of the rich copper, cobalt and uranium mines and smelters at Katanga. Tshombe was a mere stooge who was being supplied with large sums of money, to the extent of over forty million dollars per annum, with which to maintain an army in the guise of a gendarmerie equipped with the latest arms, and led by a motley group of European, South African and Rhodesian mercenary soldiers, and with fighting planes flown also by mercenaries drawn from the same sources.

The U. S. has been maintaining a peculiar "on the fence" attitude so far, neither backing the U. N. effort to restore order actively nor openly opposing the use of force. The British had repeatedly "warned against the futility of trying to impose a political settlement by force," and the French and the Belgians openly declared that they wanted "hands off Katanga."

But toward the end of December last, the U.S. State Department agreed with the U. N. Secretary General U Thant's view that unless Tshombe was subdued finally, soon Premier Cyrille Adoula's Central Government at Leopoldville would collapse. The implications of such a collapse has been construed by the U.S. State Department as leaving the doors open for an immediate take-over by a leftist and Soviet backed regime. This possibility stiffened the U.S. attitude and U. N. action was approved in clear terms.

Moise Tshombe's "friend" Michel Struelens, an ex-official of the Belgian Government of Congo, who was sent to the U.S. as the Chief of the Katanga Information Service, and who successfully worked his "charm" with the help of Union Miniere money bags and widely circulated with the aid of the same charm, the stories of U.N. atrocities, had had his visa cancelled some months back. He is still in New York but evidently his supply of "charm" is curtailed as large-scale publication of U.N. atrocities —particularly those attributed to Indian troops—has not followed U.N. action

In any case Tshombe seems to have shot his bolt and it seems that the U.N. attempt at restoring peace and solidarity to the much distressed Congolese is within reach of successful achivement with the occupation by UN forces of all key points in the strongholds of the Katangese and the virtual control of the Union Miniere head quarters by the U.N. forces. The curtain has not finally rung down on this sordid drama enacted by the Katangese at the instance and with the full support of the financiers of the Union Miniere and the help and counsel of Tshombe's other friend, Roy Welensky, the Premier of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, without which twin aids Tshomb's bid for secession would not have lasted even a few months; but the ringing down seems to be imminent.

Another sordid and bloody drama was enacted in January at Lome the capital of the West African Republic of Togo. This small republic came into existence only in 1960 and the chief architect of its freedom, Synvanus Epiphanio Olympio, who was the first President of Togo, was assassinated by a group of mutinous soldiers whose sole grievance was that the President refused to enlarge the army beyond the 250-man force it had, because the finances of the Republic were incapable of bearing a larger burden. This has been interpreted as a "blow towards the progress to a stable Government." Olympio's successor Nicolas Grunitzky has dissolved Parliament and taken over the Government under his sole control.

A great deal of speculion has followed the arbitrary action of President Charles de

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Gaulle by attempting to slam the doors of the European Common Market in the face of Britain. At a press interview held before 900 news men in the Elysee palace at Paris, De Gaulle said that Britain should be kept out of the Common Market. He recalled Britain's refusal to participate in the Common Market at its inception and accused Britain of even trying to destroy the organization by setting up a rival, the Outer Seven. He declared that England was insular, maritime, linked by its trade, its markets and its food supply to the most diverse and often the most distant countries. He further said "England has very pronounced and unusual customs. How can England be brought in with such a system ?"

President De Gaulle is regarded as being the outstanding personage amongst those few statesmen of this century who specialized in infuriating friends and delighting enemies and so this action is nothing extraordinary where **le Grand Charles** is concerned. But it is having serious repercussions not only amongst the other member-nations of the Common Market, but outside the European sphere as well.

The U.S. has also been administered a snub for good measure. At the same Press interview he declared that France had no interest in the U.S. proposal for a European nuclear force.

Red China has received another rebuff at the last, and most important, Communist Party Congress at East Berlin. Peking's Spokesman, Wu Hsiu-Chuan, was bowled down with jeers whistles and rubbing and stamping of shoes when he tried to voice his country's dicta about the behaviour of the Soviet-led groups of Communists. Premier Khrushchev deliberately ignored the Chinese by absenting himself on that day.

A Chinese Lesson

The "Statesman" of January 24 carried a despatch from the pen of Mr. Desmond Doig which contained some interesting items of information. Giving a report of the tour of Mr. N. K. Rustomji, Chief Adviser to the Governor of Assam in the Kameng division of the NEFA, he says :

Mr. Rustomji said he had jeeped [illegible] Towang almost to the Bumla, a distance of [illegible] 21 miles. There had been no signs of the Chi[illegible] anywhere and local intelligence supported [illegible] view that they had withdrawn over the Bumla [illegible]

The road on which Mr. Rustomji jeeped [illegible] constructed by the Chinese within the incred[illegible] short period of 13 days—an average of two m[illegible] a day. Those who have travelled on roads in [illegible] Himalays will appreciate what this means.

Apparently the Chinese imported over [illegible] Tibetan labourers to build this road, 25 m[illegible] long, at altitudes ranging from 10,000 to [illegible] 14,000 ft. During the months of their build[illegible] along the Kameng border with Tibet the Chi[illegible] had completed 40 miles of road linking [illegible] Bumla and Tsona Dzong in Tibet one of t[illegible] important military bases.

I remember how surprised everyone wa[illegible] the time to hear that the Chinese were us[illegible] motor vehicles in Towang. It was thought th[illegible] jeeps and trucks had been carried across [illegible] Bumla, a surprising feat. The construction o[illegible] road is none the less surprising and should b[illegible] lesson to all, of Chinese determination and c[illegible] bility.

Mr. Desmond Doig is quite right [illegible] saying that Chinese determination a[illegible] capability should be a lesson to all. T[illegible] Chinese have demonstrated their capabili[illegible] for road building under tremendous di[illegible] culties where terrain and working con[illegible] tions were against them before now. T[illegible] Burma Road which temporarily served a[illegible] 750-mile long life-line to the hard-pres[illegible] China of those days and the roads they h[illegible] constructed in the Tibet-China link up, [illegible] well-known examples.

But it is not merely "determinati[illegible] and "capability" that has enabled [illegible] Chinese to carry out this surprising fe[illegible] surprising both in the matter of time [illegible] terrain. They have the added advant[illegible] of not being burdened with a Constitu[illegible] that provides a thousand escape routes [illegible] the corrupt and the criminally slack [illegible] cumbents of high offices and nor again[illegible] their supreme executives foster pot-bel[illegible] pets, political and financial, who [illegible] allowed to play havoc with the coun[illegible] administration and maintenance of [illegible] ways, transport, communications and

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public utility services. In a Chinese set-up a few hundreds of specimens like some of those who are "adorning" high offices in the Indian Union would have been summarily translated into an underground position and forced to push-up root crops, after due conversion into phosphates and nitrates.

There would have no "promise of an enquiry" into serious lapses and/or criminal misuse of funds, with the inevitable escape of all the guilty, after a farcical enquiry taking place after adequate periods of time had been allowed to lapse, thereby providing the long suffering public a chance to forget the wrongs inflicted on it.

We have seen a report wherein the news of an official "promise for an enquiry in the matter of the "Tusker Project" was set forth. Let us see what follows.

Pioneers and engineers of the Indian Army built a hundred miles of rail roads, complete with tracks, culverts, etc., over the hills and trackless deserts of Iraq in about a hundred days and they cut and built roads for heavy motor traction from Bushive to Shiraz over terrific mountain gradients and waterless, treeless areas, as far back as in 1915-16, during World War I, before the days of bull-dozers and dragline excavators. So the capability is there in our men, what is grievously wanting is the coordination of experience, efficiency, the capacity for recognition of service **and repugnance to servile flattery and nepotism,** at the top.

The lesson, therefore, should be read to our legislators at the centre and in the States, and recorded in the memory of the public for use during the next election.

The Repercussions of Gold Control

We do not know that the gold control orders have produced any tangible effects in the shape of an enforced disgorging of illicit gold hidden away by black-marketeers, smugglers and evaders of taxes, who hoard their ill-gotten wealth in that form. What gold has reached the State-coffers—and let us hope all that was given by the patriotic good citizen has reached the State reservoirs—is but a minor fractional percentage of the total hoarded away. The way gold control has been worked, there could be no other result.

Incidentally the order limiting the fineness of gold used in the manufacture of ornaments to 14 carats has thrown out of work tens of thousands of gold artisans. This we know to be a fact.

We have seen newspaper reports of a meeting at the Bombay offices of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, where Mr. G. B. Kotak, the Chairman of the Gold Control Board addressed the members of the Chamber and answered questions.

Mr. Kotak said, the Government will come to the aid of those who are adversely affected by this order, as it has done in the past under other circumstances. But he emphsaised that none of the numerous jewellers and gold smiths that had met the Board in the past could put forward any concrete schemes or suggestions as to in what way the Government could assist them.

Mr. Kotak should remember that, artisans and craftsmen seldom know anything beyond their arts and crafts. It is for the Government to provide expert planners to devise ways and means for the utilization of their skills in a remunerative way.

THE EDITOR

The State and "Dharma"

The idea of government, when evolved out of the people's desire to live and exist according higher human principles, as against when imposed upon slaves by a conqueror or upon cowardly followers by a ruthless chieftain, will always be found to be based on ethics and religion. "The Varna system in ancient India was not some **ad hoc** class-hierachy of the type prevalent in feudal Europe foisted on society by political adventurers out to establish their own begemony by taking advantage of a troubled revolutionary interregnum, but a product of a deliberate discovery by the most reputed leaders of society of a fundamental and universal principle of social justice, namely that each should discharge one's function in and for society and that one for which he is best fitted by

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nature—therein lay **dharma** the promotion of which was the duty, nay, the **raison d'etre** of the State."[1] We would feel that Plato was influenced by Hindu Political Thought when he said "That each citizen shall do his own work, and not meddle with others in their work....each section recognizing and discharging its legitimate function.... that for which each individual was best fitted by nature and that each person shall enjoy his own property as well as his own work—that is true justice.....so injustice occurs when a person undertakes the work of another instead of his own.... The mischief is not great.... in the subordinate functions. But the mischief becomes grave and deplorable when a man from the subordinate functions meddles with the higher . . . when a craftsman . . . thrust himself in the position of a soldier ...or usurps the position of a chief.... Herein consists the true injustice . . . with ruin following in its train."[2]

Interference with the work of others, upstartism and pushing men into power, position and functions by political parties are everyday affairs now a days. That has certainly been felt by the people to be contrary to justice and has brought ruin at least to many, but the political parties have thrived, if society has not. In the circumstances, society has, time and again, been forced to overthrow this or that regime of particular political parties. Government based on justice, therefore, had greater continuity and society had tolerated that continuity without complaining. Injustice, that is, a general atmosphere of interference, obstruction, meddling with individual irghts and attempts at impositions of various kinds, has usually provoked antagonistic reactions in the people and brought about violent changes in the forum and personnel of government. In a subtle manner the agents of Government (now a days called the bureaucrats) always try to usurp the powers of Government and thereby deprive the people of their sovereignty. For, though, the people's representatives are appo to govern the people in the name of people, the fact of the agents of Gov ment taking over powers in excess of is required for maintaining a just gov ment which upholds **dharma** soon turn democracy into a tyranny, an oligarchy any other form of dictatorial rule w takes away from the people their rig possessions and sovereignty. In fact, as we find many cases in history of gene appointed by the kings turning traitors dethroning the kings, and of elected Pr dents or Premiers abolishing popular ernments in order to become dictators also, we have to face the possibility of de cracies slowly degenerating into other based forms of government, in which people's will or even well being soon beg have no force or significance. That is the ancients insisted on **dharma** being basis of all government and on maintain **dharma** at any cost no matter what f of government was set up. "The fact is the laws were provided for by the Dhar **shastra** (whose authors were saints law-givers having the requisite learning moral integrity for the purpose) and king's duty lay in administering according to the **Smriti** and well blished usages and traditions (acha . . . . Sukracharya gives a list of which could have been issued by the some of which are listed below: Proh ing people from (1) the use of abu language to their slave, servant, son, or pupil, (ii) the practice of deceit in pect of measures, weights and c (iii) taking and giving bribes, (iv) ing disrespect towards learned men parents, (v) sowing dissension be husband and wife, master and ser father and son, (vi) publication of sla (vii) committing adultery with a ma woman, etc. Apart from this the duty the king was not to make laws but to **out the laws** in relevant cases from **Vedas,** usages of trade guilds, and opinions delivered by the assembl learned men (the **Parishad**)"[3]

1. *Ancient Political Experiences* : Krishna Prasanna Mukherji.

2. *Republic.*

3. *Ancient Political Experiences* ; K.

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In modern democracies we find a general tendency to disregard the teaching of dharma. Men and women get themselves elected, by fair means or foul, into assemblies which were open only to the good and the learned in ancient times and, thereafter, they allow their leaders to violate all laws of ethics or good sense in the name of their policies which may have nothing to do with **dharma** in any sense. All modern laws are fundamentally related to and derived from the laws made by saints and learned men in the past. The idea that votes can lend quality to legislation is born of **policy** and not of any deep-rooted principle of human progress. Plato did not believe in law-making by the assemblies but wanted law making powers to vest in Chiefs (or Archons) alone at the end of their long term of study, having ascended gradually from the phenomena of sense to intellectual contemplation and familiarity with the unchangeable 'Ideas—(who can) come to discern and embrace the highest of all Ideas—the Form of Good'."[4]

So that law making for the purpose of achieving ends which are not part and parcel of the "Form of Good" would be mere policy and as such could not be integrated into the fundamental idea of justice and **dharma**. Such law making by unqualified persons at the command of their ring-leaders will no doubt lead to no social good in the end and the people should try always to divert government into the paths of justice and dharma. In ancient India as also in Greece, the State was only an instrument which helped maintain justice and dharma, that is, the fundamental values upon which humanity rested. In the urban and rural areas the artisans, traders, cultivators and producers of goods were consulted about the methods of taxation and the "fiscal policy" of the State; for they were the persons who paid the taxes and on whom the well being of the State depended. In modern times the pseudo **Brahmanas** and **Khastriyas** viz., those who made laws and governed the country usually thought of the tax payers as their dumb supporter who could be treated in any manner thought convenient by the rulers from time to time. The recent orders of the Government of India, regarding Gold, for instance, have shown that thousands of gold smiths have thought those orders as gravely injurious to their well being. The users of gold have thought those orders as interference with their rights of property and freedom to effect savings in any form they liked. The government, however, have taken into account only two factors to make their decision. Firstly the fact of gold smuggling which they have not been able to stop and, secondly, their needs of foreign exchange which they cannot earn on account of their special economic policy. Time will show whether their orders are in keeping with the fundamental human conceptions of justice and **dharma**. This aspect of the present day methods of Government is important in so far as, right down to **Mahatma Gandhi**, the ideas of justice and **dharma** have been held high in Indian politics by our political thinkers. Before him all India's great men have approached politics by reference to **Niti** and **Dharma** and the so-called modern "pragmatism" may be thought of as deviation from **nyaya** and **dharma** by the people. If that happened then "the logic of the fish world" would only be round the corner. For what is good for the political party, the government or the agents of government, will be found not so good for the clans, the families and the individuals; and if the alleged representatives of the people could ignore the good of some people or most people in order to achieve the good of some other people or even a great number of some other people, then the fever of practical considerations may infect every one in the country leading to a **Matsya-nyaya** State in which the old law of the jungle may set in. For "the great respect shown to **danda** or the law enforcing authority of the State" may wane; for the State has no "absolute sovereignty but only a conditional supremacy in the legal sphere over the rest of the society, the condition being the subservience of the State to the moral order represented by society and to the

4. *Ancient Political Experiences* : K. P. M.

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society's conception of morality or justice, which was above the ruler (monarchical or republican). In the Hindu view of the State the ruler's authority was definitely dependent upon his readiness to follow the **dharma** or the value-structure (or social ideology) of the people."[5]

We may say that we are a secular and socialist republic; but the value-structure will dominate the psychological atmosphere of society as that is ingrained in the mental fibre of our people. **Adharma** (lack of ethics) and Anyaya (illogical or unlawful) cannot be turned into **dharma** and **nyaya** by a show of hands in assemblies packed with nominees of the principal agents of Government. The people would slowly begin to realise what was happening and things might begin to happen which would surely injure the social solidarity of the Indian people. And a weak Government may not be able to hold back the strong tide of popular feeling. No doubt the State will cite from its book of achievements and say to the people that it has built factories, laid roads, railways and canals and has generally advanced the welfare of the people. But the ancients, whose laws are built into our moral outlook mentioned many things which were the duty of the **danda** to perform. "Agriculture, cattle breeding, trade" go hand in hand with "fortifications, defence of territory, prevention of adversities, collection of State dues and punishment of criminals and evil doers."[6] People may, complain about our fortifications, defences and the rest of it. For more adversities are often created than removed by the thoughtless and opinionated action of unwise rulers. Criminals, evil doers, tax evaders, bribe takers and givers may abound and thrive while inexpert persons engage in sanctimonious talk without reference to their actual deeds. **Kautilya** mentions "support of the students and learned men, maintenance of the aged, the destitute, the cripple, the lunatic, the orphan, the widow, pregnant women by giving them food, medicine, lodging and clothing, protecting and honouring chaste women, securing employment for unemployed artisans and craftsmen."[7] In a State in which the unemployed far exceed in number the employed, and in which craftsmen and artisans progressively lose employment on account of rules and regulations imposed by the agents of Government, a feeling must also grow that **dharma** and **nyaya** were not being maintained. It will be unwise to pooh pooh the words of the sages in this country in the name of science and progress for the masses of this coountry are more attuned to ancient thoughts and preferences and not ifluenced so much by modern thought. More people read the **Ramayana** and the **Mahabharata** in India than the Constitution of India or Nehru's Discovery of India. The crowds at **Kumbh** Mela exceed the numbers at the All India Congress sessions by a hundred times. More people go to Temples and Mosques than schools and colleges. More money is given by the people to the great temples of India every year than they have given to the National Defence Fund. These are syptoms which should not be ignored by our rulers. Modernism comes with education and raising of the standard of living. In India these are at a primitive stage and the people of India think and feel in the manner of their ancestors, no matter what the newspapers spread or the radios broadcast. Too much interference with these elementary thoughts and feelings may bring about elemental reactions.

A. C.

5. *Ancient Political Experiences* · K.P.M.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*

The Genius of India

Every race has a special genius which finds full expression in its history and achievements. The people of the United States have always been democratic and have disdained to introduce any class distinctions in their own society. The Russians have followed their recognised natural heads of government (king or comrade) with unflinching devotion which men usually show only for God. The Chinese have collected in huge masses round their generals throughout history and have never refused to carry out orders

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die miserably for a sordid purpose. The Japanese have excelled in supreme self-sacrifice in order to uphold their personal code. The Latins of Europe and America have espoused violent and sudden changes while the British have resisted change. What is the genius of India ? Let us quote from the French savant Romain Rolland whose perspective has been true and insight unique. "If there is one place on the face of the earth where all the dreams of living men have found a home from the very earliest days when man began the dream of existence, it is India . . . For more than thirty centuries the tree of Vision, with all its thousand branches and their millions of twigs, has sprung from that torrid land, the burning womb of the gods. It renews itself tirelessly, showing no signs of decay ; all kinds of fruits ripen upon its boughs at the same time ; side by side are found all kinds of gods from the most savage to the highest—To the formless God, the Innamable, the Boundless One . . . Always the same Tree.[1]

"And the substance and thought of its interlaced branches, through which the same sap runs, have been so closely knit together, that from root to topmost twig the whole tree is vibrant, like the mast of the great ship of the earth, and it sings one great symphony composed of the thousand voices and the thousand faiths of mankind. Its polyphony, discordant and confused at first to unaccustomed ears, discovers to the trained ear its secret hierarchy and great hidden form. Moreover, those who have once heard it can no longer be satisfied with the rude and artificial order imposed amid desolation by Western reason and its faith or faiths, all equally tyrannical and mutually contradictory. What doth it profit a man to reign over a world for the most part enslaved, debased or destroyed ? Better to reign over life, comprehended, reverenced and embraced as one great whole, wherein we must learn to co-ordinate its opposing forces in an exact equilibrium."

Romain Rolland had not found in India any genius for getting rich, for exploitation of other races for a money gain, for military conquests or for discovering newer ways of man-slaughter. So that, those who have learnt to look deep into the soul of nations in order to find out what each nation is best fitted to achieve, will never have found in India a great industrial potential. Persons with a profound insight into national character and capabilities will have recommended quality production to Indian craftsmen rather than mass production of cheap articles. For Indians have great individuality and discernment ; and they are, therefore, capable of following their craft for personal satisfaction and honour of craftsmanship, rather than for unqualified gain. The genius of India will oppose any attempts at turning Indians into automatons of production. Yet our leaders, who have been led in their turn by persons excelling in abstract logic, have let loose upon India an era of forced industrialisation which has done heardly any good to the masses and has helped to create socio-economic problems, which will not be compensated for by the increased output of industrial commodities. Indian crafts died out largely due to the British interference with their free development. The presnt policy of the "Gandhian" Party will give our craftsmen the *coup de grace* and what will be left will have to be reborn out of its own ashes sphinx-wise in order to survive. We cannot visualise India flooding the markets of the world with cheap mass produced articles in competition with Germany or Japan. The Afro-Asian market that Indian textiles now sell in will slowly and progressively cease to accept our produce for the reason that the people of those lands will sooner or later set up their own mills. Steel or machinery, bicycles, motor cars, type-writers or other factory made goods will also meet with difficulties of export. So that India should only put up factories for her own requirements. This might have been carried out smoothly and over a long peroid without destroying India's crafts by imposition of restrictions and controls all over the economic sphere. The emplyment of 100 million workers in large-scale industry require an industrial set-up as big as the U. S. A. and Russia have got jointly. The money value of the plant required would be about 10 to 20 lakh crores. One hundred times more than what India can invest in 5 or 10 years. And which country or countries can buy the produce of the factories of such a super industrial mammoth ? A better and more successful method of finding employment for 150 million persons would have been to mechanize cultivation and other food producing

1. *The Life of Ramakrishna* : Romain Rolland.

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work as far as possible for the production of cheap food in large enough quantities and to make all villages the cenetres of quality production of other consumer goods. Exports should have been restricted to commodities which India could produce best and cheapest. Instead of following this natural path of economic growth the Congress economists have chosen the path of "planned" industrial development which has landed India in a very hard position in the matter of earning foreign exchange as well as in balancing the national budget. The imitation of the West from which the Congress politicians suffer not only pervades their economic outlook but also their policy of concocting a national language, introducing the metric system (also the centigrade scale for measuring heat though that is not a part of the metric system), introducing foreign ideas and institutions all along the line and taking a leading part in international politics. Foreign missions, foreign loans and aids, foreign experts and, now, even foreign military assistance, are colouring the mental horizon and vision of the Indian Government and the Congress "intellectuals" to an extent which makes the true genius of India assume the role of a relic of the past. Dressing up Western thoughts and ideas to lend them a semblance of something national, cannot make those ideas any less alien to our national preferences. India had produced great engineers and financiers in the past. Otherwise Indians could not have built great roads, bridges, canals, ports, ships and war equipment for an army which Alexander the Great did not choose to fight and which chased the White Huns out of India. India made a cultural conquest of the greater part of Asia and that was not carried out by dressing up Greco-Iranian or Egyptian thought as India's message to the world. There is no doubt that India has a special genius which is spiritual, moral and intellectual. Disarmament and world peace are foreign ideas for the benefit of those nations which trust in aggression for their existence and progress. The Congress have copied this from the West, even if we concede that they have taken it from Count Leo Tolstoy. The idea that the portals of death have to be crossed by a study of physical knowledge and after that immortality can be attained through true knowledge, comes from the inspiration of the *Rishis ;* not as an expedient for preserving things material, but for the ultimate good of the human soul which is an imperfect fragment of the Divine.

Romain Rolland thought deeply about [illegible] and the message that India has given to world through the ages. He found some men modern India who carried within them that [illegible] of India which inspired the composition of *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*. About Ram Mo Roy, Rolland said, "This man of gigantic per ality, whose name to our shame is not inscr in the Pantheon of Europe as well as of sank his plough-share in the soil of India sixty years of labour left her transformed gerat writer of Sanskrit, Bengali, Arabic, Pe and English, the father of modern Bengali p the author of celebrated hymns, poems, serm philosophic treatises and political controv writings of all kinds, he sowed his thoughts his passion broadcast. And out of the earth Bengal has come forth the harvest—a ha of words and men.

"And from his inspiration (a fact supreme importance) sprang the Tagores."

Rolland describes the persons who m modern India. He chooses Devendra Nath Ta Keshub Chunder Sen, Dayanand Saraswati, Ra Krishna Paramhansa, Vivekananda, Aravi Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Ga among those who built modern India. Deven nath "had the physical and spiritual beauty high intellect, the moral purity, the aristoc perfection" and also a "warm poetic sensibi Keshub was "restless but at the same time pired." He tried to bring about a synthesis Western and Eastern spiritual outlook but conflict between the two was too strong eve an inspired person of Keshub's stature. Of D nanda, Rolland says, "This man with the m of a lion is one of those, whom Europe is to forget when she judges India, but whom will probably be forced to remember to her for he was that rare combination, a thinke action with a genius for leadership, like V nanda after him." Of Gandhi and Vivekan Romain Rolland says in *The Life of Vivekan* "But this difference will always remain be the thought of Gandhi and that of Vivekan that the latter, being a great intellectual— Gandhi is not in the slightest degree—cou detach himself as Gandhi has done from s of thought. While both recognised the va of all religions, Vivekananda made this re

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tion an article of doctrine and a subject of instruction. And that was one of the reasons for the existence of the order he founded. He meant in all sincerity to abstain from any kind of spiritual domination whatsoever. But the sun cannot moderate his rays. His burning thought was operative from the very fact that it existed. And although Vivekananda's Advaitism might revolt from the annexationist propaganda of faith, it was sufficient for him to appear as a great flaming fire for other wandering souls to gather round it. It is not given to all to renounce command. Even when they speak to themselves, the Vivekananda's speak to humanity. They cannot whisper if they would, and he did not attempt to do so. A great voice is made to fill the sky. The whole earth is its sounding-box. That is why, unlike Gandhi whose natural ideal is in proportion to his nature, free, equitable, average, and measured, tending in the realm of faith as in politics to a federation of men of good will,—Vivekananda appeared in spite of himself as an emperor, whose aim was to discipline the independent but, co-ordinate kingdoms of the spirit under the sceptre of the One."

The genius of India demands that politicians should take their lesson from moral preceptors and not try to lecture the teachers. For politicians have not that purity of the soul which would give them a true and good-for-ever outlook. That is why the people of India feel no reverence for their political leaders. They only expect them to give them peace and security and to create an environment in which they can prosper. If these are not found, the people have nothing for which they would require or even tolerate those leaders. The politicians, however, have a sort of superstitious respect for the great teachers that India has produced. This should be converted to an active and scientific faith in their teaching. For then the value-structure of India in the socio-economic field would develop a moral and spiritual side to it, which it lacks to-day.

A. C.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Contributions accepted for publication in **The Modern Review** shall be paid for only by previous arrangement. Each contribution which **The Modern Review** will agree to pay for, shall be valued by the Editor and the amount of the honorarium offered shall be intimated to the contributor concerned. It is only when he accepts such offer in writing that it will be published.

Editor, The Modern Review.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FISCAL MOBILIZATION FOR DEFENCE REINFORCEMENT

Although the picture of our defence needs is yet far from complete a certain measure of assessment is now possible. If, what the prime Minister has been saying, that present Sino-Indian armed conflict may take as long as the next five years to arrive at a level of satisfactory resolution and that the strength of our armed forces will have to be doubled annually during the next few years to enable the country to arrive at a somewhat satisfactory defence potential is true, then this will give us some idea of what the size of our defence budget will have to be like during the coming years. India has, so far spent roughly only about 2.5 per cent of the national income on defence. China, which has more or less a comparable living level with India and in the stage of her economic development has, however, been spending, it is estimated, approximately Rs. 1,000 crores every year during the last twelve years on the same account. India's expenditure on defence during the ten years between 1951 and 1961 has aggregated some Rs. 2,093 crores on revenue account and an additional Rs. 195 crores only on capital account. It has only been during the last two years, that our appropriations on this account have been somewhat raised, the budgeted figure for 1962-63 being Rs. 343 crores on revenue account and Rs. 33 crores only on capital account.

If, as the prime Minister now says, our armed forces have to be doubled in strength, approximately some Rs. 200 crores additionally every year from this year will have to be provided for on account of salaries and allowances of the defence personnel alone. For the time being modern arms and other defence equipments may be supplied by friendly countries as they

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are currently doing as either free gifts or on lend-lease basis which may not put any immediate additional strain upon our resources, but in the meanwhile India will naturally have to gear her industries to "defence production" which will also call for new outlays, or atleast diversion from already projected Third Plan outlays to then approximately have gifts outlays, to enable the country to provide the nesesary equipments on a long-term basis for strengthening her national defence.

The question would, naturally arise as to the level of our preparation, fiscally, for meeting these urgent and very substantially widening needs of national defence. It has already become somewhat clearer, that both in terms of Plan outlays as well as outlays on direct defence targets, the call upon our national resources will have to be very substantially larger than could be estimated earlier. In fact the pressure upon resources already felt has left the Union Budget for 1962-63 with an uncovered deficit of the order of some Rs. 190 crores. There has, so far, been no attempt on the part of the Union Finance Ministry to provide for this on the plea that as the next budget year was only two to three months away, it was not necessary to formulate any immediate tax budget. This has, naturally, been viewed with very grave apprehension by us, as well as by an eminent school of economists and fiscal experts who later came out with a joint public statement on the matter exhorting the Government to devise immediate measures of taxation to prevent the pressures of "excess demand" from jeopardising prospects of raising necessary resources in the measure required later. Apparently, our apprehensions and the exhortations of these eminent economists have left the Government so far completely unmoved.

It is true that we, in this country, have practically no experience, so far, of the management of what may, loosely, be termed "war finance." Our experiences of World War II, somewhat remote as it necessarily was on account of our the then political status, are understandably inadequate for present needs. Our experience of development planning during the last ten-twelve years also may not have equipped us to gear the machinary for attaining the targets and objectives of peace-time development planning to the needs of the inescapable fiscal measures that would be imperative for the management "war finance." But the experiences of ther countries, of which ar records are available, in the matter of maintain necessary fiscal balances in times of an o whelming war, are there for our guidance if o we are able to take our lessons from them. outstanding example in this behalf, may be t of the United Kingdom from which very valua and practical guidance might be drawn. It is of course, suggested that the British economy at more or less the same stage of underdeve ment at the commencement of the Second W War as ours is at the present moment, and ne sary modifications and adaptations would na ally be inevitable in suiting methods to our particular conditions as they obtain at moment.

But the pivotal task in the manageme and control of what may be termed a w economy, is the one of mobilizing resources a maintaining productive dynamics at a high le This would inevitably call for the extremely dif cult, even delicate, task of transferment of all sources from less immediately important needs those of urgent significance, especially those t are related to defence. It is ncessary that t economy as a whole should be able to develop dynamics in a manner that the maximum p ductive use of the mobilized resources is possibl Fiscal policies have to be so devised that goo and services as are only available abroad but a urgently needed for active defence purposes, c be imported. Again the very large spendings defence that would become inevitable in the p sent circumstances, are so channeled that purposes of defence needs may be served with causing any avoidable hardships to the people the country in general

Some idea of the magnitude of the proble of war-time defence in terms of financial reso ces can be gathered from the fact that Brit who spent only about 6 per cen of the t national expenditure on defence in 1938, the pre-Second World War year, her expenditure the same head in 1943, the middle period of War, rose to as high a per centage of the nati expenditure as 46. It is significant that at same time, the British peoples' consumption exp diture which in 1938 comprised some 73 per c was steeply brought down to only about 47 p cent by 1943. This restriction on consump was brought about in various ways,—partly war-time borrowings from the public, by he

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tax-imposts upon luxury goods, by voluntary co-operation by the people, the trade unions, business and other organizations. The results obtained would be revealing. The additional goods and services that it was, thus, possible to move into the war effort during the period 1938-1943, were valued at over £3,216 millions. The Government took over as large a proportion of the resources of the community as possible and, thus, the Government's share of the total national expenditure went up from about 13.5 per cent in 1938 to over 51 per cent in 1943. Direct expenditure on defence, likewise, rose steeply and whereas the Government's spendings on this head was only about £19 millions a week in 1938, it went up to as high a figure as £115 millions per week by 1944. Numerous measures were taken to make this possible ; financial sacrifices by the people were, altogether, on an immeasurably higher scale ; all pockets were dipped into, the more affluent being naturally made to share a heavier burden, to raising funds for defence.

Broadly, the financial measures adopted by Britain during the War had the aims, firstly, of restraining consumption of non-essential goods, tapping all sources of voluntary as well as forced savings, mopping up increased purchasing power flowing from heavy Government spendings, and keeping up as rigorous a check as possible on inflation and a rise in the cost of living. But in doing so, a long-term view was taken of the effects of heavy Government borrowings from the public, so that the burden on posterity did not become unduly high, and care was taken to ensure that the interest offered on Government loans were kept at a moderate level. It was, in fact, no more than the prevailing bank rate.

But the principal measures devised for raising the overwhelming proportion of the resources needed for the War was by taxation. As Prof. John Maynard Keynes so appropriately observed, 'every generation must bear the burden of its own war', it was necessary to ensure that as little of it should be passed on to posterity as circumstances would permit. The taxation measures devised on this consideration would be both interesting and illuminating. The rate of income tax, for instance, which was 5s. 6d. in the £ in 1938-39, was progressively raised to 10s. in the £ by 1942-43 ; the exemption limit was reduced from £125 in 1938-39 to £110 in 1942-43 and the reduced rate on the first portion of the taxable income was raised from 1s. 8d. in the £ on £135 to 6s. 6d. in the £ on £165. There was also a considerable increase in sur-tax and in the rate of the death duty. The "Excess Profits Tax" devised for the first time in 1939 to mop up additional profits accruing from War-time business opportunities which was pitched at the level of 60 per cent initially, was later raised to a full 100 per cent in April, 1940, with the provision that 20 per cent of this "excess profit" would be later refunded after the War was over. The standards devised to measure this "excess" of profits are far too well known to need detailing here, but that this was able to inhibit inflationary pressures upon the price structure to a measurable extent, was undeniable. The most important innovation in the field of taxation, was the introduction of the 'purchase tax' on a double-decker system. A very high rate of imposts was levied on all luxury and non-essential consumer goods, while only a nominal burden of taxation was placed upon those which were essential for maintaining the peoples' living levels without burding them too heavily, mainly for the purpose of restricting consumption and preventing hoarding. Other measures devised to reach all pockets, rich and poor, not merely for the sake of finding necessary resources, but what was most important, to give all the people a sense of direct participation in and responsibility for the war effort, included indirect levies such as taxes on beer, tobacco, entertainments and a host of other items.

The effect of these measures upon the British economy, was both significant and revealing. The individual citizen in Britain was estimated to spend 76 per cent of his income, pay 21 per cent in taxes and save only about 3 per cent in 1939. At the end of the War, it was computed, he had reduced his spendings to only about 54 per cent, or by very nearly a third of what it used to be before, pay 27 per cent in taxes and save as much as 19 per cent, that is, the rate of his savings had increased by more than six times its previous level.

This would seem to be especially significant in view of the fact that in spite of all measures for raising resources, the gap between defence expenditure and revenue from all sources was inevitably very large and which had to be covered by the only remaining resource of resorting to 'created money.' The increase in the British national

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income has been estimated to have been of the order of 89 per cent between the years 1938 to 1947, whereas the increase in the supply of money in the U.K. during the corresponding period was of the order of 160 per cent. A certain measure of inflation, therefore, was inescapable, with its inevitable effect upon the price structure. The objectives of war time financial policy as summed up in his famous budget speech by the then U.K. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Kingsley Wood, in 1943, as, first, to assist the defence effort by ensuring that defence production suffered no hindrance from unsound economic conditions; secondly, to assure the people that their standard of living would not be filched by rising prices and, finally, to so order the economy that the inevitable consequences of the war would not prejudice the financial and economic abiltiy of the people to engage themselves in the progressive developments that the country desired to attain and upon which it was already engaged, to any more than a minimum unavoidable extent, notwithstanding which there was quite a significant rise, inevitably, in the cost of living of the people. This, however, did not prevent, obviously on account of the sound economic policies pursued by the Government of the country, from evincing a significant improvement in the peoples' financial strength by way of a very substantially accelerated savings and reduced expenditure.

'Total' defence effort, as is now called for in the country, should naturally, mean an effort to absorb into employment all available resources of the country in men and material and to attract as large a proportion of these resources to direct defence effort, leaving far less than a normal proportion of these for civilian consumption or employment. The tide of Government expenditure will inevitably have to swell substantially, not merely immediately but over a number of years in the measurable future, even if, as already warned by the Prime Minister, the border situation may ease in the meanwhle. Our recent experiences have proved how totally unprepared and ill-equipped we are to meet armed encroachments upon our soil, and conditions will have to be remedied to prevent such eventualities again in the future. The transfer of resources into defence effort, therefore, cannot be just a once-for-all process. It may be inevitable, therefore, that neither heroic taxation nor forced savings or skilled borrowing may altogether restrain the possible influences of inflation. It is necessary, however, that every effort should be made to keep inflationary pressures as rigorously under check as possible without which the mobilization of necessary resources may, itself, be in serious jeopardy. Indications, unfortunately, seem to be totally absent that there is any awareness of the problem in its true significance in the appropriate Government quarters.

Immediate and comprehensive measures of taxation, would therefore, seem to be an inescapable condition of the present situation. But the greatest care must be taken to ensure that the measures of taxation devised, do not seek to take short-cuts into the peoples' pockets without due consideration being given to their possible effects upon the already heavily burdened price structure to more than merely a nominal extent so far, atleast as the prices of essential consumption commodities are concerned. It is necessary to emphasize this for, even without a war emergency to goad them to take whatever measures would the most easily bring forth required resources, our Ministry of Finance has, in the past, been used to finding the way to required resources through excise imposts upon essential commodities. These already constitute quite a sizeable proportion of the Government's revenue-raising measures and their further exploitation should be avoided as far as possible. There is ample scope for taxation, direct taxation in other directions, which should be exploited first, before dipping into the people's essential consumption commodities.

KARUNA K. NANDY

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INDO-INDONESIAN RELATIONS

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

India and Indonesia have known each other for centuries. Their contacts date back to the first millennium of the Christian era. Tagore referred to these contacts in his own inimitable way—"In a dim distant unrecorded age we had met, thou and I (Java and India),—when my speech became tangled in thine and my life in thy life." According to a very well-known Javanese scholar, Dr. Poerbatjoroko, between seventy and eighty per cent of the words of the old Javanese language are either pure Sanskrit or of Sanskritic origin. The old Javanese script looks very much like a South Indian script. Indonesian music, dance, sculpture and architecture bear distinct traces of Indian influence. Hindu-Buddhist beliefs and customs are still held and practised by Indonesians of whom more than 90% are Muslims (Indonesia has a total population of 96,000,000 in round numbers according to the 1961 census). But political upheavals, long years of foreign rule and the conversion of Indonesia to Islam choked the path of Indo-Indonesian amity and friendship with "weeds of forgetfulness."

India and Indonesia discovered each other for a second time in the current century. The Indian National Congress, particularly Gandhi and Nehru, and more specially Nehru, was a source of inspiration to nationalists all over South-East Asia. President Soekarno in particular was a serious student and admiring observer of the course of events in India. The present writer has been told by friends that the works of Swami Vivekananda once adorned the book-shelves in the President's library. India extended the fullest moral support to Indonesia in that country's struggle against Dutch colonialism (1946-1949). Indonesia had no greater champion in those critical days when she was passing through the birth-pang of a new order. Time and again did India take the cudgel for Indonesia in the United Nations.

After the first Dutch police action (1947) against the infant Republic of Indonesia ushered into existence on August 17, 1945, India banned K.L.M. flights via India. Landing and fuelling facilities to all K.L.M. planes were withdrawn. After the second Dutch police action against Indonesia in December, 1948, Prime Minister Nehru convened the first Afro-Asian-Australasian conference attended by delegates and observers from eighteen nations. The conference met at New Delhi on January 20, 1949. Nehru told the assembled delegates and observers in course of his inaugural address—"We meet today because the independence of a sister country of ours has been imperilled and a dying colonialism of the past has raised its head again and challenged all the forces that are struggling to build up a new structure of the world. That challenge.....is a challenge to a newly awakened Asia which has so long suffered under various forms of colonialism. It is also a challenge to the spirit of man and to all the progressive forces of a divided and distracted world.....

"Any person who is acquainted with the spirit of the Indonesian people or of Asia today knows that this attempt to suppress Indonesian nationalism and the deep urge for freedom of the Indonesian people must fail. But if open and unabashed aggression is not checked and is condoned by other powers, then hope will vanish and people will resort to other ways and other means even though these might involve the utmost catastrophe. One thing is certain: there can be, and will be, no surrender to aggression and no acceptance or re-imposition of colonial control." (India's Foreign Policy—Jawaharlal Nehru, pp. 407-09).

India has been a consistent supporter of Indonesia's claim to West New Guinea (Irian Barat), which the Dutch refused, till the other day, to transfer to the successor-state Indonesia though they had recognised

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Indonesia by the Hague Agreement (December, 1949). Nehru told a Jakarta press conference during his Indonesian tour in June 1951, "Generally it seems to me that historical and geographical approaches give weight to Indonesia's claim to include West New Guinea in Indonesia." Referring to the dispute in the Rajya Sabha later in the year (December 1951), he observed, "We have been of the opinion and we have expressed it clearly in the United Nations and elsewhere that the claim of Indonesia to West Iranian is a legitimate one. The claim flows from the circumstances of the case and even from the various treaties between Indonesia and the Government of the Netherlands.....Our sympathy is with the Government of Indonesia and the people of Indonesia in this matter, but we do hope earnestly that the problem will not be allowed to drift in a way that a peaceful settlement is ruled out. The approach to this problem has been one of conciliation, but unfortunately it has failed so far." (Ibid, pp. 412-13).

Since their independence, India and Indonesia have followed the same line in international affairs. Both have steered clear of Power Blocs and military pacts and have followed the policy of non-alignment. Generally, they have acted together in the United Nations. A notable case in which Indonesia did not fall in line with India is the Japanese (San Francisco) Peace Treaty, 1951, which has been signed and ratified by Indonesia, India's refusal to do so notwithstanding.

Free India has been helping Indonesia in various ways since her own independence by awarding scholarships to Indonesian students for studies in India and by providing training facilities for Indonesian naval, air force and technical personnel. An Indian Air Force training mission has been at Jakarta for a number of years. Indonesians in general speak well of the standard of training in India. Lecturers have been sent from time to time to Indonesia and other South-East Asian countries by the Government of India to lecture on Indian culture and on Indo-South-East Asian cultural affinity. All these certainly played their part in drawing India and Indonesia close to each other. The dynamic personality of Nehru and President Soekarno, the former's world-vision, his dream of building a new order based on the "Four Freedoms" and the latter's refusal to mix religion with politics—he rejected the idea of making Indonesia an Islamic state—also did much to prepare the ground for a real heart unity between India and Indonesia.

But unfortunately much of the initial warmth of the relations between India and Indonesia is already a memory of the past. Some of the "red rose tinting" has worn off from the "diplomatic glasses" through which New Delhi examines its relations with Jakarta. The first signs were noticed at the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference (1955). The non-aligned Summit Conference at Belgrade (1961) revealed that India and Indonesia had begun to move away from each other, that the "India Indonesia saudara sama" (India and Indonesia are the same and equal) feeling of earlier days had evaporated. The shameful anti-Indian incidents at Jakarta, the venue of the so-called Fourth Afro-Asian Games (They are not officially recognized as such by the International Amateur Athletic Federation) in August-September 1962, during and after these Games including the wrecking of the Indian Embassy and the looting of its property, demonstrations before houses occupied by Indian Embassy officials of non-diplomatic rank, alleged assaults on solitary Indians in the streets of Jakarta, booing, cat-calls and stone-throwings at the unfortunate Indian sportsmen for their victories and these last during the victory parade when the Indian Tricolour had been unfurled and the band was playing the Indian national anthem, showed that Indo-Indonesian relations had entered definitely dangerous waters. Indonesia's non-committal attitude to China's treacherous aggression against India, the almost vulgar jubilation of the P.K.I. (Partai Komunis Indonesia—the Indonesian Communist Party) boss Aidit over the shameless invasion of India by China and his moral support to the aggressor can lead to one and only one conclusion—something must be very wrong somewhere in Indo-Indonesian relations. Finally, Indonesia's refusal to support

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U.A.R. proposal at the recent (December 1962) six-nation Afro-Asian Colombo Conference leaves no room for doubt that Indonesia cares more for Chinese friendship and good-will than for the Indian.

A post-mortem is useless by itself. But it gives sometimes very valuable clues as to what led to a particular tragedy and how to prevent repetitions. Prevention becomes easier if the causes are known.

Red China's hands have been suspected, and rightly at that, behind the shameful episodes during the so-called Fourth Asian Games. But they all took place literally under the nose of the Government of Indonesia at Jakarta, the seat of their authority. Even a moron would not, perhaps, believe that they could take place without the connivance, if not actual support—moral and otherwise—of that government. Besides, the participants in the ugly outbursts were almost all, if not all, Indonesians. It is no good trying to explain away the whole thing as having been organized and stage-managed by the Chinese with the help of the local rowdies and anti-social elements. It would be in the interest of all concerned to face facts and to admit that Indonesia—the Government as well as the people—have some grievances—real or imaginary—against India. A Calcutta daily pin-points the issue and rightly points out that the unfortunate Indian sportsmen "were victims of a feeling the roots of which go back a long way beyond the Asian Games."

Much has been made of the long historical link between India and Indonesia, so often proclaimed as a guarantee of amity and friendship between India and Indonesia. It must be remembered, however, that the relationship between the two countries has been wholly a one-way traffic, Indonesia being "exclusively at the receiving end" of art, epics, culture and religious thought from India. Like the rest of South-East Asia, Indonesia has been always a "low-pressure" area from ethnological, socio-religious, cultural, political and economic points of view. Throughout its long history influences have poured into it from China, India, Arabia, Japan, Europe and America. No influence has ever emanated from the vast South-East Asian region straddling the Equator with an area of 1,647,116 square miles and a population of 200,312,000 in round numbers. New Indonesia does not relish the incontrovertible fact of her history that she has been always a receiver from India, among others, that she has never given anything in return. An Indonesian diplomat frankly told the present reviewer some years ago that young Indonesians did not like being reminded of their indebtedness to India. It was further suggested that he should be particularly careful while addressing an Indonesian audience on Indo-Indonesian cultural contacts. Political indebtedness was added in recent years to the cultural in the distant past and we have seen how Prime Minister Nehru has been always an outspoken champion of Indonesian national aspirations.

The memory of benefits received generates a prickly sentiment and not, unoften, a sense of inferiority on the part of the beneficiary to the benefactor. The more so when no return is possible. The inevitable has happened in Indo-Indonesian relations. Gratitude is out of place in international relations. Benefits received are quickly forgotten and instances of beneficiaries turning against benefactors are by no means rare.

Least of all does a nation appreciate reminders from representatives of nations from which benefits have been received. Most unfortunately some of the first Indian diplomatists posted in Indonesia used to remind her rather frequently of India's contribution to the Indonesian nationalist cause. Indonesia, naturally enough, claims for herself all the credit for her liberation. But India's contribution is an incontrovertible fact and there is no escape from it. Indonesia's own inability to deny it honestly annoys and irritates and her reaction to "a feeling of irritating indebtedness" to India for her (Indonesi's) independence has been quite characteristic. The eighteen-nation conference at New Delhi, 1949, which threw the weight of resurgent Africa and Asia and of a none too friendly Australasia on the side of Indonesian nationalism, and did so much to focus the

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attention of the world on the Indonesian struggle, has been played down in official Indonesian histories. In fairness to President Soekarno it must be admitted, however, that he is one of the very few Indonesian leaders to admit frankly and without bitterness India's contribution to Indonesia in the past.

India and Indonesia are non-aligned countries. They have refused so far to join either Power Bloc. But there are definite differences of tone in their basically similar foreign policy. These differences led to sharp exchanges at the 1961 Belgrade Conference. History might repeat itself at a get-together of non-aligned or Afro-Asian nations in the near future and might further damage inter-non-aligned or inter-Afro-Asian relations. Such a possibility explains in part India's lack of enthusiasm for a second Bandung so dear to the heart of President Soekarno. Nehru has been also consistently unenthusiastic about some other pet ideas of the Indonesian President including dramatic peace-appeals to the Great Powers of the world.

India's progress and development since independence has been quite remarkable. Many at home and abroad believe that given peace and honest and capable leadership she is sure to rise to greatness. India's progress is certainly not comparable with that of the advanced countries of the world. But compared with other countries of the underdeveloped world, she has nothing to be ashamed of her record during the last fifteen years. The Chinese invasion of India has also convinced the world at large that India is one of the very few nations with a sincere belief in the ideals of peace and of the indivisibility of peace, in the ideals of one world and of peaceful and honourable co-existence. The faith in these ideals led her to neglect her own defences. The prompt and spontaneous aid and promises of aid from all over the world are a recognition of, a tribute to, India's sincerity.

What has been Indonesia's record since independence? Richer natural resources notwithstanding, she lags leagues behind India in the march towards national development. The living standards of her masses have gone down considerably since ind- pendence. The supply of food, clothes a- medicine has shrunk alarmingly. Most the plans and progress are only on pap- and the blue-prints are in the pigeon-hol- of the Propaganda Directorate. Foreign a- has been misused. It has led to the creati- of large vested interests. Let it not b- thought for a moment that conditions a- ideal in India in these respects. But wh- freedom of thought and expression there has, however, counter-acted these evils an extent in India's case, freedom of thoug- and its expression does not simply exist Indonesia. Indonesia's comparatively po- performance is no doubt due primarily the policy of her erstwhile rulers. Th- had done "practically nothing to leave b- hind them cadres of administrators, techn- cians or professional men" and when t- nationalists took over, they were confronte- with the stupendous and almost baffli- task of building a modern state-structu- from scratch. The confusion was wor- confounded by regional rivalries culmina- ing in civil war, by political rivalries an- last, but not least, by poor leadership. Whatever the causes, Indonesia has bee- understandably unhappy about the fa- that while India has been forging ahe- slowly but surely, she herself has been fal- ing back actually in the march towar- progress. Many foreign economists belie- that Indonesia may revert to the primiti- 'kampong' (Indonesian village) economy which everyone produces enough for hims- and a little more and in which large-sca- manufactures and currency are unknow- barter being the only medium of excha- It is characterised, in other words, by p- duction for consumption, cottage industr- and barter. The fact of India's progress is the more unpalatable to Indonesian nati- alists because both joined the family of f- nations at about the same time—India 1947 and Indonesia in 1950. Many of nationalists do not believe or pretend not that India has made any progress (".....a modest display of light indus- manufactures in the Indian pavilion at trade fair at Djakarta a few years ago p- duced patronizing and wholly disbeliev-

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smiles from the Indonesian visitors—they knew that the wireless sets, for instatnce, were **not really made in India, but in Holland**"—The Statesman, Calcutta, October 18, 1962).

Indonesia is more inclined to China than to India. The pro-Chinese bias of Indonesia, it must be admitted in all fairness to her, is, perhaps, due more to her knowledge of past history and to the presence of a sizable Chinese minority—about three million (more or less three per cent of the total population of Indonesia)—in Indonesia than to anything else. In the past a strong China has aggrandized itself again and again at the expense of its weak South-East Asian neighbours. Chinese conquest of Vietnam, Kublai Khan's (13th century) attacks on Burma, Cambodia and Champa (in Vietnam), his punitive expedition to Java and Emperor Yun Lo's (1403-1424) occupation of the greater part of Vietnam, his subjugation of Upper Burma and his tribute-seeking naval expeditions to the south to induce local rulers to accept Chinese overlordship, are well-known to students of Far Eastern and South-East Asian history. China has never been so strong as she is today. A nation of about seven hundred million is regimented. It has been fed by its rulers on fear and hatred of those with whom they (the rulers) do not see eye to eye. All human values have been discarded. Man has been reduced to the sub-human level. New China has been following a policy of ruthless, unscrupuluos expansion almost from the beginning of its career. Part of South-East Asia is already in the vicious grip of China. South-East Asian patriots and statesmen feel nervous. Tungku Abdul Rahman's Malaysian plan comprising the Malayan peninsula, Singapore, Brunei, to throw up an effective barricade against Peking's push to the South. President Soekarno's all-out moral support to the recent rebellion in Brunei and the participation by Indonesian "volunteers" therein are, perhaps, playing China's game to undo the Malayasian plan. The attitude of Indonesia (and also of Burma, Cambodia and Ceylon) in the recent Colombo Conference shows that she has moved dangerously close to the fringe of the Chinese orbit, if not actually into it. Human nature being what it is, we should not be surprised. "Self-preservation is the first law of nature" and one's own skin is one's primary concern. Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon and Indonesia with their knowledge of ancient history stare and tremble under the lengthening shadow of the Northern colossus. China's naked demonstration of brute force against India and the latter's reverses in the initial round must have influenced their decision. For Indonesia, the attitude taken by her was also a diplomatic revenge for the stand taken by the Indian representative, G. D. Sondhi, at the Asian Games Conference (Jakarta, August 1962).

Nor can Indonesia be unmindful of Peking's potential fifth column in that country. The Chinese minority in Indonesia, small as it is, is a very important sociological factor. It is strongly entrenched in the economic life of Indonesia and controls a very large section of her trade, finance and industry. The Chinese maintain their own schools, churches and cemetries throughout Indonesia. They provide a direct link between their home-country and the country of their adoption. They may not be liked. But they cannot be ignored. On occasions the Government has found itself almost impotent and helpless against Chinese intransigence aided and abetted by Red China's diplomatic representatives in Indonesia. Indonesia's policy in an all-out showdown between India and China is, therefore, anybody's guess.

Ours is an era of struggle for the minds of nations and individuals. The Great Powers are waging this battle with a grim determination. Propaganda and material aid are the weapons used by them. Circumstanced as India is, she is not in a position to give much material aid to others. But we live in a world where friendship, like everything else, is assessed by the quality and the quantity of the aid the friend can and is willing to give. We suffer in comparison with the massive aid given by some of the Great Powers to Indonesia. So does our

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friendship with Indonesia. The complaint against our propaganda machinery is an old one. The author can say from his personal experience that our propaganda in South-East Asia is utterly inadequte and ineffective. Many of our Information services abroad are under-staffed. There is a colossal ignorance about India in South-East Asia. The author has been asked by South-East Asian friends in all seriousness if there are Muslims in India. Are all Indians Hindus ? Are Zakir Hussain and Humayun Kabir really Muslims ? Why does India refuse to hand over Kashmir to Pakistan which should go to the latter morally legally ?—are some of the character questions he had to answer. The re did not convince the questioners i cases. Many refused to believe that I is not a **Hindu** state.

The Indians in Indonesia—a micros minority—not more than thirty thou in all—cannot esape their share of res sibility for irritating and antagon Indonesians against Indians.

The factors narrated above should plain why Indo-Indonesian relations reached a new low.

NATIONAL INTEGRATION

(Diagnosis and Treatment)

By V. S. SHARMA

The appointment of the National Integration Committee has raised a very live and intriguing issue in the country and has brought before the Indian citizens a question which had arisen before this country several times in its long long history. "Is India a single-nation-country" is the question, and it is popularly stated that if it was, then there would not have arisen any need for the slogan of national integration. The appointment of the committee, it would seem, sets at rest any controversy on the point and one should come to the conclusion as if India was not a single-nation-country. This confusion has arisen as we are rather over-swayed by Western concepts, whereas a national philosophy for India has to be found out from the traditions and thought-trends of this country.

What is a Nation

A Nation according to the Europeans means in effect a group of people living in a country united by racial bonds. It is nothing more or nothing less than the projection of a tribe. This tribal concepts of a nation in Western countries, in due course, got a religious complex, which concept of a nation would be evident from the history of Catholics and Protestant Christians and Jews and the anim between Christians and Muslims revealed b Crusades. When people espousing more than religion lived in a country, it was generally that such a country was a multi-nation With the advancement of society, the advent the industrial revolution and coming into of the secular forces, the national concept, in the Western countries is under-going a change and it is now difficult to distinguis tween a Portuguese, a Spaniard, a French, man, a Quaker or a Catholic when we talk Americans as a nation. Thus what has been ised or is being realised in the national conce the new world to-day, applies very aptly national concept of ancient as well as pr day India.

A study of the history of this sub-con right from the days of the Vedas down to the caust of the post-partition period, would one singular fact that all the races and re that entered India, irrespective of their differences, their black or white complexion their different religions, had begun, not o own India as their motherland but, to be of being called Indian nationals. They sacrifices and rendered unflinching and sincere services to the defence and the de

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ment of the country. This interesting phenomenon is a subject for study by the social historians.

Horizontal and Vertical Trends

Such a study would reveal that in India social development had been advancing along two directions, namely, the horizontal and the vertical. The horizontal movement started with the advent of agriculture in very early times of human history, bringing in the institution of an autonomous village, wherein different races and communities represented by joint families, and castes lived together with the utmost confidence in each other. A village in India became a formidable fort which has remained impregnable till the present day.

Equally strong was the vertical movement. The tribal affinity represented by castes and tribes spread vertically throughout the length and breadth of the country and this affinity was so great that a person belonging to the same caste or tribe, whether living in the north, south, east or the west of the country, forgot the regional barriers and for him the whole country was his own home.

Indianism

A third movement of country-wide cohesion also grew alongside. The multi-tribed village co-operation gave birth to a social code and a spiritual concept which under the name 'Dharma', evolved a compromise between different sections and tribes having common beliefs, traditions, customs, religious places, and a reciprocal respect for each other's places of reverence and worship. The vertical movement carried these concepts to the length and breadth of the country. So powerful was the impact that religious itinerant saints and faqirs of different faiths were mutually respected and after temporary differences the Vaishnavas, the Shaivas, the Jains, the Buddhists, the Sikhs, the Kabirpanthies, the Parsees and the Jews all blended into a harmonious whole with a mutual and common respect for each other. Even the Muslim saints, in spite of the fact that they were the last to enter India, began to command a similar mutual respect with other communities. The Hindu Malanga got the same affectionate love from the Muslims of North-West Frontier as a Muslim saint received from the Hindu public of Central India.

English Occupation and Operation of the Dictum of Divide and Rule

This process of blending of different cultures, religions and races went on un-hampered till the appearance of the British on the Indian scene. The British infiltration came with their colonial and imperialistic aims. After having recently fought the last of the Crusades they brought with them the Western concept of tribal-*cum*-religious nationalism and then they had a planned objective of making the country weak by following their acknowledged principle of 'divide and rule'. They, therefore, accentuated religious, tribal, racial, regional and caste differences.

The last of the communities, namely, Muslims, who were yet in the process of blending themselves into Indian culture, were found by them an easy prey to this vicious move. Though after the war of Independence of 1857 they considered Muslims as their worst enemies, which opinion they had to change soon, and they started placcating them to create an anti-Indian front in the country by inciting them to demand separate rights. They made similar efforts to divide the whole country by inciting communal feelings among Sikhs, untouchables, Christians, and the native princes, etc., so that the edifice of non-communal nationalism, cementing all the people of the country, may tumble down to disintegrate the mighty country into small and weak units always depending on the British for their existence. But all their efforts ultimately failed and all the inhabitants of the country rose against the British occupation as a single organic whole. The only section which fell a prey to these tactics were the small section of Muslim-leaguers who succumbed to the machinations of the British and demanded the partition of the country on the basis of communal nationalism of the Western concept.

Partition and It's Aftermath

This rise of the serpent of communal nationalism had its reactions also and cries of Hindu Raj, Sikh State, Rajput State, Achhutistan, etc., arose

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But the broad-based and selfless leadership of the country liquidated such anti-Indian upsurges and on 15th August, 1947, we again emerged as a non-communal nation with, of course, the separation of the Muslim Leaguers, a section of Muslims.

In spite of all these achievements, when we sat down to reorganise the states, on the unfortunate incident of the death of the late Shri Sitaramulu, who fasted unto death for the attainment of the State of Andhra Pradesh, the demand for such regional autonomy began to rise and brought in its trail some black incidents of violence especially in Bombay and Assam. Dangerous agitations, for the creation of a Punjabi Suba by the Akalis, a Tamil-Nad by the Munnetra Kazhgam party, a Vidarbha and of separate Hill States in the North-East and North-West started. There also rose cries for further bifurcations of the country mainly on the basis of language controversies. The national cohesion and solidarity seemed to be endangered and it is with such a background that the leaders of the nation, belonging to different political parties, have put their heads together in the national Integration Committee to study the whole problem, diagnose it and find a solution for the same.

The attention of the intellectuals of the country has been drawn to the problem and several articles have appeared on the issue tracing the causes in casteism, in linguism, and in the federal structure of the Constitution. All these conclusions demand serious thought, but it is also very necessary to study the history of the trends of socio-national developments in this country from the hoary past, to which a brief reference has been made in the first few paragraphs.

Traditions and Their Effect

There are always certain traditions in a country which have gone deep into the very blood of its citizens and any solution divorced from such trends cannot be successful.

It has very rightly been pointed out by Shri Namboodripad in one of his articles that no serious and probing research has yet been made into the good and evil effects of the caste movement in India. I do not hold any brief in favour of casteism but an institution which has lasted so long and which had been adopted different communities which entered India out any caste complex in them, must have some basis in logic.

Similar is the case of casteless regio having its origin in the 'Rashtra' of the and the 'Janapada' of the Ramayana and bharata, which had held its sway for ce and centuries.

Indian Aspirations

These vertical and horizontal move have been slowly creating a common spi thought, a mutual tolerance and a common for the country as a whole and, since da ancient history, an urgent need to evolve tical order which could sustain a strong integrated country-wide administrative mac and which could fit in with these trends been felt.

The institution of Chakravartis, which brought about by the performances of eit Rajsuya or an Ashwamedha yajna, to bring padas under the suzerainty of the Chakra was achieved either by agreement or by a of force. Such a Chakravartin used to be combining force for the purpose of defence, rally allowing full internal autonomy to the padas which were ruled under different sy like enlightened anarchy (Arajaka Rajya republic (Gana Tantra), Monarchies elect hereditary rule (Rajya), or rule under a system (Viruddha Rajya), etc. Such a sys centralisation, however, was never lon though it was considered to be a better s as compared to the single centralised mo cal government, as that of Jarasandha time of Mahabharata.

Process of Democratic Centraliza

In fact, the village was a democratic nomous small republic, and a number of combined together to form a Janapada. Thi into being by a process of democratic ce tion, and the country wanted to evolve a government for the whole country in a de manner deriving power and strength fro political units of a village and a Janapad country became a single entity culturally,

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and politically. Everybody was proud of India but still no suitable political machinery fulfilling the aspirations of horizontal and vertical trends could be evolved. In known history the dangers of foreign onslaughts increased which demanded a strong defence and the most effective attempt in the direction of a country-wide solidarity was made by Chandragupta Maurya under the able guidance of Chanakya. It sustained for a pretty long time, but, there being no organic link between the autonomous village and the centre, the country again relapsed into regional autonomy when sustained peace was attained. This process repeated several times again till it was stifled permanently with the occupation of the country by the Mughals. The truth that 'the country was one and continues to be one' is established by our war of Independence. A seeming danger of disintegration is again hovering because we have failed to meet the latent aspirations of the country.

In order to dispel all fears of disintegration we shall have to properly assess the values of the horizontal and vertical trends, their good and bad points, discover the soul of India—a spiritual culture with a non-communal and human complex which alone can awaken the country's basic unity which is now being temporarily covered under the clouds of linguism, regionalism and communalism, etc.

Abolish States and Connect Zilla Parishads with Parliament

Now with the acceptance of the Panchayati Raj as a political concept we have picked up the thread and with the acceptance of the Zilla as a unit after the village as in Maharashtra, we have caught the concept of Janapada built on the foundation of village panchayats. In Mahabharata times we had 240 Janapadas, now we have 312 districts. With slight adjustments we can reach back at the concept of our Janapadas which with limited autonomy will meet the regional aspirations of the people.* In between the districts and the country the formation of States is not warranted by the history of India for that has never been the latent aspiration of the people. The Central Government, if formed by a Parliament with the Lok Sabha as it is, and a Rajya Sabha constituted by indirect elections from the electoral colleges of villages and Zilla Panchayats then the country will have realised a system which will meet its age long aspirations of democratic decentralisation, which has been the dream of Mahatma Gandhi.

In order to create a rational concept even in the elections to Lok Sabha a most healthy convention can be set in vogue by making it compulsory for the members to contest elections from a constituency either than his home constituency. If people of south contest elections from North and *vice-versa*, a better and rational understanding of the country-wide problems can evolve.

The All-India Services

This constitutional structure will bring about a stable political integration but along with this a regular system of services and a reoriented cultural approach shall be necessary. None can doubt or underestimate the role played by the All-India Services, introduced by British rule in bringing about an all-India understanding and an Indian national concept. This institution shall have to be made use of and in order to achieve this end a most effective and practical approach would be to have all recruitments to Class I and Class II services on an All-India basis controlled by the Union Public Services Commission, having regional branches.

In this way it will be possible to re-establish the autonomous villages as units of administration according to the ancient Indian traditions which will unite into districts parallel to the Janapadas and which in turn will unite in a democratic government of the country as a whole achieving the ideal of democratic centralisation to the level of the country, for which it has been yearning for long, and the system of All-India Services partially meeting the requirements of vertical trends.

But, as has been briefly hinted at, even earlier, the unified Indian concept grew because of the gradual evolution of a common spiritual thought resulting in the establishment of Tirthas

* The idea is controversial and the disintegration of the States into Zillas and the formation of an uniform country through interconnection of Zilla Parishads seems impractical and difficult of administrative control under present conditions.—Ed., *M. R.*

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of All-India importance and the institution of Sadhus who carried this message from place to place functioning like mobile universities. These institutions cannot be adopted, as they are, especially because they neither aptly fit in with the present day scientifically developed social order nor have they been able to carry on the process of universal humanisation for the last few centuries. In fact, during the British rule this movement was put in the reverse gear and the catholicity with which Aryans, Dravidians, Saivites, Vaishnavites, Jains, Buddhists, Atheists, Parsees, Jews and Muslims had successfully blended or were being blended into one organic whole pulsating with one Indian heart and soul, was strangulated and the forces of division and regimentation were let loose, thus robbing the Indian spiritual thought of its catholicity and universal approach.

The truth, however, is that India has always been and shall continue to be a non-communal country, but the word 'secular', literally meaning 'spiritless', does not fit in with the spiritual heritage of the country. If India has lived as an honourable and robust country in spite of slavery and dependance, it has only been possible because of her spiritual heritage based upon the values of the human soul independent of caste and creed as finally depicted in its theory of *Vedanta*, which has captured the attention of the whole world, whether scientific or religious, and the seeds whereof are still to be found in the holy books of all the religions of the world. Therefore, while adopting a non-communal complex, we shall have to devise and fabricate such a spiritual approach which is independent of all caste, tribal and communal tinges. No doubt the country is developing such thought, but more systematic and scientific attempts in the direction are necessary at governmental level. An experiment in this direction was made by Advaitashrama which is persisting. The Gandhian prayer meetings indicated another path but it has to be admitted that these have met with partial success only.

All-India Institute of Social Education

In order to achieve this end the unity of the human soul has to be advocated in human language independent of all communal and secta terminology. This is a technique and dem research. Unless this vacuum is filled the so India cannot be awakened and without the kening of the country's soul the resu national Indianism shall not come into being order to achieve this end following steps co helpful :—

(1) Establishment of a research institu the country level in which eminent tellectuals of all religious and phi phical schools should be repres and this should evolve concrete ing and produce suitable literature the humanised, spiritual and ethical of life.

(2) Ethical and spiritual subjects shou introduced in educational courses school and university levels.

(3) An all-India department of Social cation with it itinerant staff shou created which should be respo for :—

(a) Adult literacy,

(b) National integration, and

(c) Spiritual renaissance.

This staff should, with advantage, be d from all States and should comprise of a set of persons who must be imbued with strong humanised national feelings and s be given proper education and training by nising special courses, which shall have to b vised by the All-India Institute. Care shou taken that persons belonging to the south deputed to the north and *vice versa*.

This project will overcome the sectari that has been injected into the catholic sp concept of India and finding its spiritua and a democratically centralised political m nery, this resurgent Indianism shall appear the world as a model human nation fulfillin age-long promise that the people born country will show light to the rest of the by their way of life, conduct and actions establishing a peaceful, progressive and co tive human order.

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SLUMS IN CALCUTTA

By TULSI SEN SHARMA

The history of slums is as old as the history of the oldest urban complex in the world. In those days the area of concentration of slum-dwellers was outside the city limits, unlike its conglomeration, today, within the city. They were socially backward people and economically depressed groups. Exponents of the caste system kept them away as the "Shudras" or usually the non-Aryans from the city in the Indus Valley region. In the western counterparts, the slaves were forced to lead lives of complete segregation off the city. They were destined to serve the privileged classes within the city but were forced to live in the underdeveloped and unhygienic homestead lands outside the city limits.

As a result of the Great Industrial Revolution in the West, the miserable condition of slums did not change although the venue shifted inside the urban area. Deterioration in the social stratification, economic position and physical patterning of the hovels became rather more acute. But belated activities of industrialization in India, development of wartime industries, post-war reconstruction, influx of refugees due to partition, development during independence, particularly in times of the Plan periods, which occurred in close intervals, further aggravated the existing appalling conditions of the slums in Calcutta.

Industrial development attracts multitudes of labouring population to the city. They being earners of low incomes, try to find shelter very near their places of occupation, preferably within walking distance. These unfortunate citizens cannot afford to pay for conveyance nor necessary for hygienic housing and comfortable living at a distance from the place of employment. The result is the creation of new slums and further deterioration of existing slums as housing expansion does not cope with the increasing density. The pathological zones adjacent to the unhygienic working areas give them shelter in shanty structures. The attendants of prosperous house-holds who used to live at the city precincts in older days do not liquidate as a socio-economic group but jostle together in the slums of new origin within the city. In spite of the introduction of mass transport vehicles and cheap cost of travelling, we have not been able to remove congestion from the pathological zones.

Inability to defray economic rent, is the direct cause of the malignant growth of slums. Factual data relating to rent worked out by the Calcutta Improvement Trust on 5% return basis, varies from Rs. 35|- to Rs. 60|- for a single-room tenement. We can, therefore, imagine the living condition of 77% of the City's slum-dwellers who pay rent at as low a rate as Rs. 6|- to Rs. 10|-, the average being Rs. 7.47 per month. Yet the "thika" lessee of the waste and underdeveloped lands would earn a profit of 90% from their capital investment on these shanties. This extra profit could obviously be pocketed only by on reducing living conditions to sub-human levels.

The state of affair in these bustees in actuality is worse still. Kuchha bustees, i.e., the structures which are constructed of mud, bamboo or old tin scraps, rejected plywood and thatching or tile, with corrugated tin or khola roofs overhead, are kept grossly defective all through for the purpose of allowing natural light and ventilation. The roof hardly protects the tenant from rains or resists the nor'wester. Further it is not impervious to heat and cold. Installation of ventilators and windows in the phenomenally weak structure is practically impossible. Ventilation and daylight cannot enter into these jerry-built structures as these are so close to each other that "eaves touching eaves" are just the normal arrangement.

Here privacy of living from other

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neighbouring families and adults of the opposite sex even within the family is an impracticability. The narrow space lying between the two back walls of these hutments is almost inaccessible to rays and light of the sun and very often is used as urinals for the entire bustee population. The plinth is too low and almost level with the road-bed. Non-permeable damp-proof materials are neglectfully avoided. Walls do not serve the purposes of a screen either against nature's unwanted penetration of heat, rains and sound, nor can these offer privacy. A single room very often serves all the purposes of a family. It is used as the only bedroom at night and sometimes in mid-day, turned into a kitchen, a living room, a study for the wards, a nursing room for the ailing persons, however contageous the disease might be, and a permanent store. The different articles of quite dissimilar functions of daily life assembled together, creates confusion and obstruction to easy movement and functioning of life within the room. Scarcely would any receptacle be available to throw the refuse of decomposable vegetables and other waste matter at the narrow exit of every household. Soon after a heavy downpour or two the decomposed and obnoxious waste matter melt away in the rain water. The fluid nuisance that could not be drained away for absolute lack of either surface drainage or a sewerage system would pollute the atmosphere of the neighbouring region.

As regards density, where the standard per room is only two to three persons and the standard floor space requirement calls for 40 sq. ft., per capita, bustee apartments accommodate 6-9 persons on a floor space of 100 sq. ft. The social hygiene, not to say anything about physiological hygiene, in these single-room hutments occupied by persons of opposite sexes of different relations and age groups, will obviously undergo various complexities. The most appalling condition as revealed in the findings of an investigation undertaken by the University of Calcutta at the instance of the Planning Commission, shows that 17% of Calcutta's total population have no bedrooms at all.

Over-crowding is the usual feature of the entire slum area, pockets in the City ... The density figure in some specific ... shoots upto 1,690 per acre in this City, ... its counterpart in Bombay it rises ... 1,175 persons.

In 1898.11 acres out of the aggre... area of 18,136 acres of Calcutta, live 6,17... persons (assumed to be above 7,00,0... 1961 census) against a population of 25,4... (29,26,498 in 1961). The occupancy are... slum-dwellers, therefore, comes to ... per cent of the total area wherein live ... per cent of the City's population. ... occupancy of slum-areas in Bombay rec... only 877 sq. acres out of 16,755.20 acre... the City's total area. The ratio of sl... dwellers in the city of Bombay and D... is almost similar to that of Calcutta ... slum population in Bombay and Delhi ... 4,15,875 and 2,25,000 respectively. But i... a mistake to infer that only big cities ... India or underdeveloped countries su... from the urban ills of slum habitation. ... New York, the wealthiest city of the r... prosperous State of the U.S.A., there ... 13,20,000 slum-dwellers blighting a vast a... of 17 sq. miles.

While turning our attention to ancill... arrangements of domestic living in Calcu... slum areas, such as separate kitchens, ba... and/or tap connections, privies, elec... installations, the short-falls according to ... standard requirements are of grave conc... The survey conducted by the Departm... of Economics of the Calcutta University ... the housing condition of Calcutta rev... that 49% of dwellers in semi-kuchha ... all-kuchha houses are deprived of wate... connections altogether. A population c... prising 8% have to share one tap with o... 99 families.

There is no privy whatsoever here ... 14% of the families living in slums; w... families depending on one privy per 10 ... the population represent only 5%; 14% ... one privy for 50-99 families and 62% of t... have one privy for 10-49 families.

We should further note that 73% dw... ers of shanty structures have no bath-r... at all.

Of all these slum-dwellers as much ... 61% cook their food within the living r... 29% use separate kitchens. Very oft... portion of the passage or verandah is co...

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ed for that purpose, thereby blocking the room altogether.

It may seem paradoxical to learn that 45% of all the families residing in Calcutta go without electricity, while the percentage of slum-dwellers who cannot enjoy the privilege is 82.

Classification of Slums

Although the general characterists of the slums in Calcutta appear to be of the kuchha type, these are not absolutely kuchha structures. The structures may primarily be subdivided into three ctaegories —(i) all-kuchha, (ii) kuchha wall and kuchha roof and pucca floor, (iii) pucca wall, kuchha roof and pucca floor. The second type is a class by itself; it is the shop-dwelling. The functional use of these dwellings are primarily and principally for the sale of merchandise during the working hours of the day. Premises of small-producing concerns, also turned into dwelling abodes for the workers and proprietors during the night, should be counted in the third division. Although these structures under the second and the third group—are generally of pucca construction, they lack essential ventilation and day-light, tap connections, water closets, baths and kitchens and, no less important, the environments of a residence.

The fourth group which we will delineate as 'pucca slums' would seem to be, on the face of it, a contradiction in terms. It is only the character of living conditions and environmental hygiene and not the structural components which attribute 'pucca structures' as slums. These pucca slums are now being widely constructed in Delhi and Bombay. In Clalcutta, pucca slums are available, though not in abundance, in areas dominated and owned by people of Western India. A few specimens which are found in some parts of Calcutta are invariably owned by these people. The "Katras" of Old Delhi, providing one room tenements with provisions for openings at one side only and that too alongside the common passage for adjoining tenements, numbering sometimes a score or even more, are nothing but pucca slums of a special type. Basic amenities of living, excepting the materials used for the construction of the structure, most unscrupulously of course, are not provided for. The "Katras" and the pucca slums, also with their multistoreyed structures providing for a much greater population than in any kuchha bustee area of equal size, may cause great harm to the city's hygiene. These "Katras" essentially suffer from acute shortage of ventilation, open space and drainage. Out of 616 'katras' brought under the fold of a survey, it is found that 128 are more than 100 years old, 367 fall in the age group of 51 years to 100 years.

The fifth major division of slums is the ill-provided shelter to milching cows, buffaloes, and horses constructed in pre-automobile days. Shed for milching cows, are called 'khatals'. Although these 'khatals' are a deterrent to the City's sanitation and public health, they used to be approved structures of the Calcutta Corporation. Specific building laws for the purpose are in force. Yet the conditions of the 'khatals' are so bad and unhygienic that the cattle become invariably sick here. Consequently much of the milk that the City population consume as a health-giving beverage is not a wholesome drink. Disregarding all public health rules these khatals are sometimes placed alongside bustees or they are sometimes located within a bustee constructed for human habitation.

In the sixth category, a residential area may sometimes degenerate into a slum-like condition by the presence of obnoxious trades or by new entries thereof. Obnoxious trades mean tanning, timber sawing, washing of clothes, chemical processing, bone-milling or the production of its raw components and the finished product therefrom, 'shurki'-making and stone-crushing, etc.

Though in a separate category in point of physical condition, the "pavement population" numbering 30,000 in Calcutta, is in actuality a significant type of slum population in much of its characteristics. The non-existence of any physical dwelling automatically segregates this type. The pavement-dwellers are exposed to forces of nature without a patch of shelter overhead. They derive the benefit of the essential services or civic amenities from wayside

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service centres made available for pedestrians only or they use the open street disregarding minimum hygienic standards and decency. Their presence as such makes the spot itself and the neighbouring area unhygienic and unfit for the movement of pedestrians. It is also true that the adult male and his feminine partner sleep on the bare pavement even during the night amidst several other unknown males.

In the break-up of this category we find the permanent pavement-dwellers and the temporary dwellers or the nomads. These nomads may further be classified into gypsies and those who have been forced to live on the pavement during migration and secondarily, either for non-availability of suitable accommodation or for incapacity to pay any rent. In Bombay also they are large in number. They live on open footpaths under a balcony, a staircase, public bridges, cornices or horizontal fins of buildings, etc. Thus, there can be said to be seven different categories of slum-dwellers.

Only physical short-falls cannot make slums unfit for normal and healthy living. Economic condition of slum-dwellers is responsible for increase in dirt and miseries. Their average income is as low as Rs. 78.80 only per mensem. It is, therefore, evident that they cannot think of hygienic accommodation on payment of Rs. 35|- to Rs. 60|- for a one room tenement for standard living after defraying the cost of the basic family requirements consisting, generally, of food only. They are forced to reside in these insanitary hovels and try to meet other obligations as far as practicable. The average monthly earning of slum-dwellers in Delhi is lower still. It is Rs. 75|- only per mensem. Out of this paltry sum the City takes away Rs. 6.22 on an average towards the cost of transport from the pay packets of 81% of the slum-dwellers.

The miseries of social life in slums run concurrently with their economic insolvency. People here cannot afford to pay for the children's education, not to speak of affording reasonable quantity of clothing and minimum calories of food for their healthy upbringing. Besides, forced employment of the female population results in jeopardising social life in the family. Tender habtis of the feminine sex and cultural pursuits die out in them. They become addicted to many a vice. The behaviour-trend of the children on the other hand who are not engaged in any healthy preoccupation like study and games, is even more demoralising. They freely witness the behaviour of their parents within the single-room dwelling and prematurely feel the urge for sexual acts. It leads to their early sexual growth, sex-perversion and various sex diseases. The adolescent wards observe their parents gambling, indulging in narcotics and hear them speak to their concubines and witness them visiting brothels. We may evaluate the extent of such social calamities in Calcutta where the density standard is much above norm and heterogeneity exists in socio-economic stratification, from a study among 100 family cases in Lucknow. It was found that among children 15 are drunks, 64 represented as smokers, 10 are gamblers and 14 belong to the group of those with loose morals. Among the mothers 34, 61, 1 and 19 were found to be drunks, smokers, gamblers and with loose morals respectively. The state of demoralisation among men would obviously be of a greater degree.

The way of livelihood in the slum area attracts all anti-social elements. Here they can abscond quite safely, conspire for unlawful raiding, share stealthily the loot properties and market unlicensed narcotics. Usually all illegal distilleries are located here. Private prostitution, which is, however, encouraged by the miscreants of the slum area, is practised amidst the residential family hutments. These people of the underworld give latitude to the juveniles to accept delinquent behaviour as games. They even remunerate these juvenile offenders and induce them to "form gangs, commit mischiefs, use profane, filthy and abusive language," and to adopt crime as their profession finally. If the survey of their behaviour pattern even at the preformative age, as made in an important Indian city, shows that 88% are truants from home, 89% committed thefts at home, 17% practise petty thefts outside, 6% are addicts and 63% are vagrants, the

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tion in Calcutta can, therefore, be not better in any case.

Remedy

Complete destruction of slums is the only remedy of the evil. But it will create further congestion in the marginal non-blighted buildings and transform them into pucca bustees actually. The least resourceful and less adventurous may unfortunately turn to become even pavement-dwellers. In any case they will not leave the City. They cannot withdraw from their place of occupation and employment. Extinction of slums would, therefore, require alternative accommodation, preferably within a one mile radius from the structure proposed for demolition. But financial involvement will shoot up to Rs. 190.56 crores at the lowest estimate for the development of the City's total bustee area of 1898.11 acres and constructing thereon 71,520 double-room and 2,01,648 single-room tenements in blocks of 6 tenements in either case. This would absorb a major portion of our projected financial outlay in West Bengal's Development Programme. Phasing of the programme over a much longer period, say—twenty-five years, though in five integrated five-year plans, will be helpful to clean the City from the bustee blight. The amount of expenditure may progressively increase with the increasing potentiality of the City. Thus we may spend Rs. 12 crores in the City's first five-year plan, Rs. 18 crores in the second, Rs. 30 crores in the third, Rs. 50 crores in the fourth and Rs. 80 crores in the fifth to achieve the envisaged target.

In this estimate we have not taken into account the financial hazard for temporary loss of occupation, cost of removal, cost of dismantling and re-erecting all machineries and tools of conforming industry and commerce.

In staggering the clearance programme, suggestions made by the Regional Conference of the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning, 1954, held in Delhi for the demolition of those structures which prove to be of the worst type, should be adopted forthwith. Improvement of the environmental hygiene and sanitation as well as of structural defects of the slums which are not demolished, becomes the City fathers' foremost duty for uplifting the population from substandard living conditions. The programme includes straightening and widening of too-narrow and zig-zag lanes, thorough repairs to them if possible, macadamizing the kuchha transits, arrangement for lighting these streets and lanes, provision of pucca surface drainage as an alternative to sewerage, supply of treated water through tap connections or sinking of tube-wells of medium depth, etc. Other determinants are introduction of community baths and community privies to be constructed in conformity with the number of families and the heads thereof and also their distribution in relation to the two sexes.

Structural reconditioning which is the most important of all, will need heightening of floor from ground level to 2′ feet at the minimum and preferably 3′, metalling or cementing of floors to keep the house free from damp and making the wall strong enough to resist storm and heavy downpours. But it would not matter much if the walls are kuchha; but the walls should have the strength to carry windows, skylights and other ventilators. The shed overhead should preferably be 8′ feet high. We should avoid heat-conducting materials for the roofs. If, however, use of it becomes essential for economising the cost ratio, introduction of some insulator material as a ceiling may in that case reduce the room temperature.

Without effective withdrawl of population, the alternative housing programme and improvement of existing slums cannot be made hygienic. In addition to these, a portion of the total area, approved according to hygienic standards, will need complete evacuation of the population living therein, for extension of community facilities. We should, however, rehabilitate this excess and evicted population on the fringe area where density of population would be less than that of the City core.

But all financial programming should be commensurate with our resources. Apparently, though the Corporation concerned should undertake the development

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programme, the nation at large is no less benefited by the service of the slum population. But in return, these slum-dwellers are not assured of living accommodation of a minimum standard. The Government of India has thus in its recent policy accepted the principle of extending subvensions for the provision of alternative accommodation for those who have been evicted as a result of slum clearance. In the Third Five Year Plan, housing subsidy for the purpose amounts to 62½ per cent out of which 37½ per cent is to be contributed by the Central Government. Even a fraction of the total requirement cannot be expected as the total envisaged sum for the entire housing is too insignificant for the estimated need. Participation of the State Government, the Corporation of Calcutta and Calcutta Improvement Trust in a joint venture in collaboration with the Government of India will e fail to successfully implement this stupe ous work. They may, at best, spend money earmarked for the purpose thro a single organisation and thus diminish cost of supervision. But they cannot d other projects and divert all the budge amounts to this end. An entirely separ body like the Metropolitan Planning Orga sation which is expected to receive financial assistance from the World Hea Organisation, Internatioonl Developm Association and countries who are will to offer aid for India's development p gramme without any political strings, in operation with the local and central bod might more successfully combat the bigg evil of the City.

THE RENAISSANCE AND NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI

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In the long line of numerous colourful personalities that history of political thought presents to us, there is hardly anyone as enigmatic as Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) of Florence. There are few thinkers who have been so much maligned by some or equally eulogised and idealised by others. Even those who supported him took no trouble to study all his writings. Only "The Prince" among the writings of Machiavelli came to be known to contain the true message of one of the best flowers of the Renaissance in Italy. The existing abnormal conditions of the time and the ignorance on the part of most of the people, blackened the name of Machiavelli for nearly three centuries till the 19th century when efforts were made by scholars to re-estimate his thought in his favour. For a very long time, he was considered as mysterious as the Sphinx. Some depicted him as a monster incarnate and others upheld him as the best and purest example of a patriot. He was considered by some as the dangerous witch who showed openly how to sink down to the depths of inhumanity and commit the crime most revolting. On the other hand, s have maintained that his "The Prince" wa satire upon the despots meant to excite the p to rebellion so that the tyranny could be e and the old republicanism of Rome could restored. On the whole, Machiavelli's doctr were considered erroneous, dangerous and fo and his "name became in popular parlance term of opprobrium."[1]

It is unfortunate that Machiavelli was esti ed mainly from a study of "The Prince". Th the "Discourses on Livy" were occasionally sidered yet, generally speaking, the ideas of Prince" predominated the minds of the critic the general readers. But when we recollect "The Prince" is by far the most incisive of Ma velli's works, that it is also the most brilliant it commands attention as a wonderful lit feat and that all the maxims are put in a pithy and pointed form in comparison with works, we can understand this tendency o part of the critics to isolate it and pi Machiavelli. Many great writers have had

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same fate. Dante has been criticised very often on a consideration of the Inferno alone. But this over-emphasis, it has been argued, on one aspect only of a man's principles has done greater damage to Machiavelli than has been in case of other master minds ; for Machiavelli's ideas do not admit of detached estimates. It is further held that Machiavelli was so shocked and appalled seeing the unfathomable degeneration of the Italian people, great and small, that he had to give up the lofty ideal of republicanism, so nicely expressed in the Discourses to the despotism of "The Prince".

It is, however, true that Machiavelli wrote a thesis to cope with a particular situation and when that situation existed no more, his ideas appeared the more abominable. Machiavelli might have been exonerated of the charge of villainy had he asserted only the point that the methods he described were meant for a "new prince" ruling an unruly people as they were in Italy in the 16th Century. But he made the mistake when he said that people generally were always narrow and selfish and that human character was not so changeable. The people of a particular area retain the same character through all ages.[2] But actually there is a vital change of condition in which we live today from what existed in the 16th century. That was an age of bastards and brigands and very much justified Aristotle's comment that man "when separated from law and justice, is the worst of all" animals.[2a] Therefore, the system of administration meant to curb these barbarians who were masquerading in the guise of men and who were accustomed to live under unspeakable tyrannies would naturally be repugnant to our mind trained by the system of a humane democracy and developed for long in that atmosphere.

The dark days of the Middle Ages were brought to an end by two new movements called the Renaissance and the Reformation. The Middle Ages experienced, with rare exceptions, almost complete obliteration of the independent spirit of man in every branch of life. Stagnation and slow death were the characteristic features of the medieval intellectual life. Prejudice, bigotry and prohibition in every walk of life, stunted and checked the natural growth of thoughts, ideas and the spirit of man. With the sack of Rome by the barbarians in the 5th century A.D., the force that was responsible for the blooming of the finest specimen of civilisation of ancient Greece and Rome remained subjugated for nearly one thousand years and darkness prevailed everywhere on the continent of Europe. But in the 15th century A.D. a new life, a new faith, a new spirit came into existence. It revived the old pagan spirit of Greece and Rome and adjusted it to the demands of a swiftly changing life which had remained at a standstill for a thousand years.

The renaissance or the rebirth of this new life is distinguished by two facts : (i) it emancipated the reason of man ; (ii) it created respect and faith in human dignity and personality. In Florence in 16th century Italy, the first factor reached an astounding zenith of development within a very short period. But unfortunately, the second factor of love and respect for the human personality was not so much prominent just at that time. Being free from the bondage of a thousand years, the Italians began to test the new, varied and rich life by questioning each and everything in art, science, culture, religion, politics and so on and created wonderful things for which the entire civilised world would remain indebted to Italy for ever. The Renaissance also signified a revival of pagan sentiment in European peoples, which remained dormant but not dead due to the impact of the Christian faith and culture of the mediaeval times. The spirit of this age was to find out new, untrodden roads and make all experiments in every field with new unexplored ideas. The old faiths and beliefs, the frown of religion, all were cast away and men began to behave like "Prometheus Unbound". They were full of confidence in their own strength and reason defying everything. This spirit resulted in what may be called adventurism in the political arena. In Italy these were the days of the Sforzas, the Medicis, the Borgias, who cared little about principles. Many of these had come from the lowest ranks of society. Some were not even legitimate sons. Yet by sheer force and craft they became rulers of their respective states. They rose like a meteor ; but they vanished too like a meteor. To the men of Machiavelli's generation, drastic action was kindness because it caused the bloodshed and misery to end sooner. Caesar Borgia, the hero of Machiavelli, may have put the cities to the sack and slain thousands but to Machiavelli all these acts were not bad because they had put an end to the acts of other tyrants. In that age, then, the greater the success the

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higher was the esteem of the man. The means that he adopted were out of consideration.

The Reformation was a movement within the church itself. It wanted to purify the Christian faith from alien elements by which it had become contaminated. The Renaissance and the Reformation were the two forces which transformed the mediaeval times into the modern. It was during the Renaissance that unlimited faith in the omnipotence of reason first arose and led to the belief that society, human nature, history and the mystery of life, could be successfully explained without the slightest reference to religion, tradition or conscience. There were efforts to explain all these problems, while taking for granted that neither the eternal, the supernatural nor the divine, need be even hypothetically admitted. Then for the first time it was asserted, as the English utilitarians did later in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, that it was within human reach to construct and destroy human society at our own pleasure. This vain pretence proved fatal when it was put to test by the makers of the French Revolution. The English utilitarians were also pathetically disillusioned when their dreamt utopia remained as unrealised as ever in spite of passing various Parliamentary Reform Acts based on the utilitarian principles.

Regarding this overconfidence in the Italians of shaping their destiny according to their sweet will, Prof. Villari has remarked that "we see the spectacle of a great people who founded the grand institutions of the Universal Church and the Free Communes, struggled victoriously against the Empire, created Christian Art, poetry, the Divina Commedia—and then note how that same people changing its course, emancipated human reason, initiated a new science, a new literature, modern civilisation, yet simultaneously destroyed its political institutions and its liberty, corrupted the Church, fell to the lowest depths of immorality, and became a prey to foreign conquest."[3] In the renascent Italy, scholastic method yielded place to philosophy, the principle of authority fell before the onslaught of free reason and examination. The study of natural science began and Leon Battista Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci began to experiment. With the Discovery of America by Columbus, a whole new world of wonder and adventure was flung open. Classical learning revived, political science and the art of war were created. Machiavelli and Guicciardini began to write a new political history in place of chronicles. "Brunelleschi created a new architecture, Donatello restored sculpture, Masaccio ... a myriad of Tuscan and Umbrian pointers ... pared the way, by the study of nature, for Raphael and Michel Angelo."[4]

It was at the same time a period of consc... change and transition and was beset with nu... ous dangers. Old institutions and faiths co... hold the ground no more, but no new and st... one had by that time arisen. Each individual, ... to his own guidance, was solely ruled by pers... interest, so moral corruption became inevitab...

The Italian tyrants of this period had cer... specialities which also helped to make a very ... based form of life and politics at that time. ... was not necessarily of noble descent, nor even ... first born of his house. He might be a tradesm... He was very often a bastard, an adventurer ... any kind, sometimes the commander of the ar... The most important thing was that he must h... the guts and audacity to face any situation, h... ever, odd it might be. The fifteenth century, ... which Machiavelli was born, saw great tyr... like Borso d'Este at Ferrara, Sigismondo M... testa at Rimini, Francesco Sforza at Milan, F... dinand of Aragon at Naples, and many oth... lords and princes who were all illegitimates ... adventurers. The tyrants who were mo... usurpers lived in a perpetual state of warfare ... licence. Death was sudden and violent. Con... racies, treacheries and constant fear of repri... and of the loss of life and kingdom, made ... tyrants behave like beasts let loose for a s... while. Wrong-doing had no limits except exp... ency for personal interest. But though they ... not hesitate to stoop to any meanness to a... their end, yet when they got what they wan... they could not consider them safe in their p... tion even for a single day. They, therefore, ... dulged in the most horrible forms of crime ... terrify the intending rivals who were in m... cases friends and members of the family of ... tyrant. The tyrant had no peace of mind ... could trust no one. He had to reconquer ... kingdom and his life every moment.

In such a background, it is futile to e... personal courage, military valour or cons... ation for morality. The tyrant managed pe... ally all the details of the administration a... arts and sciences as well as all laws of the ... ernment were born with him. This idea

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paved the way for the artificial creation of law by the statesmen for ruling the state instead of its (law's) being the product of historical and social forces. During the Middle Ages state, government, institutions, were considered to be the work of the Providence in which human will and reason played no part. But during the Renaissance everything was thought to be the work of man who, if foiled, could blame none but himself and fortune. This fortune was considered a very significant force in shaping man's destiny.

Tyrants were to be found everywhere, among popes, republicans and Neapolitan kings. Because of numerous intrigues and mutual distrust among the states, one state called for the aid of a foreign country to thwart the rising power and fortune of another state. Thus the concept of the balance of power which played a very important part in later international dealings, was created out of this unstable condition of Italy during the Renaissance.

The Italian of the Renaissance is a puzzle to us. In thought and intellectual development, he belongs to our times. He could appreciate and create the finest specimens of art and always get disgusted at a coarse attitude or to a curb that was not elegant or of the most finished kind. But such a man, when it came to the question of politics, could easily slip to a state which may be aptly described in the words of Hobbes as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." Bands of adventurers began to be formed and they sold their swords to the highest bidder. But these soon became insolent bullies, dictating terms to the master and became a greater menace to the state which provided for them, than the enemy who was to be resisted by them. In such a condition, the aim of the hired soldiers who should better be called ruffians, was not fighting and victory, but the spoils of the war, the lure of the unprotected women and gold. It should also be noted that these were mercenaries who came from outside Italy and the Italians themselves remained away from the hazards of war, thinking themselves well protected under the arms of these mercenaries. Valour, strength and self-confidence began to die down totally. The great personal courage and strength as also the brilliant military genius of the Romans by which they became masters of the world in ancient times, were completely lost before and during the time of Machiavelli. The lion had been reduced to a sly fox.

The Middle Ages had no idea of the modern state, of which the Renaissance laid the first stone. The Middle Ages admitted no difference between the conduct of the individual and of the public life, between private and public morality, although the difference was then more distinct that at any other time. The Renaissance, on the contrary recognised, even exaggerated, this difference. In Machiavelli we find an effort to formulate it scientifically and he, by the force of his own method, created a science of politics. But in doing so he pushed the difference to extreme conclusions without caring if some common features and connections could be found between the two ; whether both public and private conduct might not proceed from a common and more elevated principle. This is the main reason why Machiavelli was so much down-graded in the moral estimate of different ages.

But this problem of double standard between private and public morality has not been solved even to-day. Though theoretically we do not admit that hypocrisy should guide foreign of internal policies of the state, yet in practice, mainly in international affairs and to a certain extent in domestic affairs too, the statesmen responsible for the formulation of state policy seldom follow the dictates of private virtue. In the so-called free democracies or in the socialist peoples' democracies of the twentieth century, the most destructive weapons are being manufactured and sharpened every day with the sole intention of obliterating all the traces of life and its achievements in a few hours, though everybody professes at the top of his voice that he and his government want nothing but peace and fraternity. This hypocritic tragedy is being enacted in the capitals of various countries, in the majestic hall of the U.N., on the charming lake sides of Geneva. There are very few consciencious citizens—Bertrand Russel is a notable example,—who decry the crime of their national government in international relations.

Machiavelli is the representative of the Renaissance in political theory. He was born in Italy in 1469. Italy at that time was divided into five states : Neples, Milan, Venice, Florence and the Papal state. Some of these states like Venice and Florence were republics ; others

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were governed by despots and in some two forms of government alternated rapidly. In their relations with one another they were involved in constant struggles carried on by diplomacy and war, the latter waged largely by mercenary armies.

Because of this political division and weakness of Italy she was always a tempting object to the larger political units that existed in Germany, France and Spain. The various weak Italian states or parties invited the foreigners to assist them against their rivals. Spain, specially, was the power on which the Popes continually relied for the support of their temporal dominion in Italy.

Machiavelli was born a citizen of Florence, where he entered public life at the age of twenty-nine. In 1498, he became secretary to the second chancery, a body which by the constitution of Florence at that time had the general direction of the department of war and of the interior. He was in this post upto 1512 and this period forms the active part of his political life. During this time he was engaged in conducting official correspondence to diplomatic missions in other Italian states and to powers elsewhere in Europe. He was also engaged in the reorganisation of the Florentine militia.

After the battle of Ravena in 1509, Spain became victorious over France and with this the Medici power which was subdued during the French hegemony was again on the ascendency in Italy and Florence though she took no direct part in the battle that deposed her existing republican government in favour of the Medicis in 1512. Machiavelli lost his employment on ground of his republican faith and was exiled from Florence. His name was involved in an unsuccessful conspiracy against the then government and he was put to prison where he was tortured by the rope and the pulley to extort confession. The charge against him could not be proved and so he was finally released. He then retired to his parental farm in the country-side where he passed his days with the rustics in the day-time and during the night he produced those monumental works for which the whole world remembers him. He wrote the "Discourse on the First Decade of Titus Livius" and "The Prince." "The Prince" was began a little later than the "Discourses" but it was finished in 1513 while the "Discourses" were finished later. Machiavelli dedicated the book to Lorenzo de Medici with hope of getting an employment but he was to disappointed by him. He wrote other works the "Art of War" and the "History of Flore etc. In 1521, he was given some minor poli employment by the Medicis. He died in 152 broken-hearted man.

The time during which Machiavelli was full of difficulties all of which are f and multiplied in the ideas and life of Florentine Secretary. It is naturally perpl to behold the same man who in some sounds the praises of liberty and virtue in a rently genuine sentiments and frank expres teaching elsewhere the principle of treachery deceit ; how to oppress the people and s the impunity of the tyrants. It appears s times, when we go through the pages of Prince," that Machiavelli is deriving a delight in giving graphic descriptions of ho do away totally with all the qualities for human beings are distinguished from the b This is a part of his nature and his letters t diplomat friend Vettori about his amourous tures when he was nearly fifty and father few children prove that he was the typical of the age of might-is-right and of almost disappearance of personal and public mor as we understand it normally. "The s truth", Said Pulver, "shorn of all casuistry sophistry and anachronistic reasoning, is he enjoyed the learning of his age and ap it to the problems created by the existing and temporal conditions, that he was misle many of the errors common to his generation that, he was deeply influenced—as a true ch the Renaissance—by the examples of Greek Roman antiquity."[5] But it must be conceded though he was influenced by these factors foundly, his own original genius was not shadowed by them. A great genius like M velli is not moulded only by circumstances, moulds the shape of things.

He was a republican for fifteen years sustaining misery and persecution for his fessed love for liberty he begged to be em in the service of the Medicis were it bu turn a stone",[6] forgetting that he would ha eat his words in favour of republicanism w bread that might be provided by the Medicis. But it should be remembered when we are studying the ideas of Mac

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we should not keep ourselves limited simply to ascertaining the fact whether, "The Prince" and the "Discourses" were written by an honest or a dishonest man, by a republican or a courtier. We should also measure how far his ideas can stand the scrutiny of scientific criticism, for he is called the first modern political scientist.

If in real life we recognise a difference between public and private morality (and we must note that everyone professes to be honest) then it becomes necessary to define the limits of this difference and investigate the true principles of political integrity. But if we deny this difference as it has been done by some—it follows that in practice everything must be left to chance. That would give all the powers to the politicians who would feign the highest and most immaculate virtues but at the same time would commit the crimes condemnable by both public and private morality. Formerly the states were run by aristocrats who were guided by education and tradition. But in modern times any and everyone can become the ruler of the state whether he is properly educated or not and the background of many democratic rulers is not always healthy. The importance of certain moral standards and basic principles is essential in modern politics to check the evil designs of the party system which adopt almost similar Machiavellian means to gain their ends.

It has been argued that to understand "The Prince" it is not only necessary to go to the age of Machiavelli but also necessary to go to his country. It was meant for Italy when she was in a very abnormal situation. Even then it may be doubted if it was meant for all Italy. For after a study of the book it appears to be an esoteric treatise. But his book did not remain limited within Italy. Its ideas travelled far and wide throughout Europe and all the designing rulers and statesmen to fulfil their questionable desires exploited Machiavelli's study of a particular situation and its remedies. But they did not forsee the fact that Machiavelli's prescriptions cannot be applicable equally when there would be a vital change of circumstances. It was forgotten that the "Discourses" also contain important teachings of Machiavelli. In other words, the various rulers for their own advantage gave prominence to "The Prince" and Machiavelli's republicanism was deliberately ignored because till the eighteenth century the democratic movement was not so significant. The sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries were periods of the despots, autocrats and absolute rulers who took from Machiavelli those lessons which could perpetuate their iron grip on the people. "The Prince" was translated in diverse languages but the translation sometimes stood in the way of the appreciation of the original.

"The Prince" and the "Discourses" contain almost the whole of Machiavelli's ideas regarding the role of the lawgiver. The two books are not completely separate or distinct as argued by some. Not only that, both contain references to each other but also each contains ideas which have been developed in the other.[7] In a sense the two supplement each other to form a complete view of Machiavelli's political thought.

From the very beginning it seems that he did not care at all for the questions like the form of government. Guicciardini and Giannotti were concerned with the composition of the Senate, the Great Council, the qualifications of the Gonfalonier, the Signory, etc. Machiavelli on the other hand was interested in the study of the causes for the rise and fall of nations or the states, how they ought to be governed and in what way they might be made strong and durable.

The men of the Renaissance were rescued from the arena of total anarchy and corruption by two important movements : the Reformation and the nation state. Both of them considered man as bad and incapable of doing good. Both wanted to make men honest and create a reconstituted moral and material world to live in. Martin Luther in Germany was the leader of the movement of religious reform.

But Machiavelli never bothered about the religious question in that light. He was interested in religion to make it an instrument for the ruler to secure obedience of the subjects. He engaged himself in the research of the ancient history of Greece and Rome and in the study of his own time with a view to bringing about a reconstitution of social and political unity by ensuring the victory of public good over private egotism. It seemed to Machiavelli that this rebirth of a sense of public good could not come from the old institution which the Renaissance had destroyed. This was furhter complicated because of the uncommon wickedness and degeneration of men who crowded Machiavelli's world. It was then clear to him that this task could be accomplished by an

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absolute sovereign, a tyrant who, while trying to achieve his personal ascendency, would establish indirectly the unity and order in the territory he would acquire. These examples can be found in France in Louis XI and his successors and in Spain in Ferdinand and Isabella who trampled unscrupulously upon local and individual rights, but in this process founded together with their own power, the power of the nation by establishing unity and discipline.

In "The Prince" Machiavelli has eliminated sentiment and morality though the interest to him was not merely scientific, but practical too. His method was consistent and logical. To develop his own theory and to serve the end he set before him, he based it on the perversion of human character. Even in the Discourses where the tendency is to admire a republican government, he felt enthusiastic about the shrewd methods applied by the Roman rulers. This aspect was fully developed in the pages of "The Prince." Machiavelli had over-confidence in the capacity of man as he was imbued with the true spirit of the Renaissance. Failure was the seal of Divine disapproval to him and to the Italians in general of that period. "It was almost a sin. Sufficient versatility of character, thus understood, would imply a perpetual adjustment of means to the needs of the moment, the ability to reverse a policy or a principle, at the call of expediency, and a readiness to compromise or renounce the ideal."[8] There is failure because there is unwillingness to change with the wind. External forces are too strong to be regulated by the individual's own inner principles. Therefore, he who is versatile and wise enough to realise the need of the moment would act accordingly and would command the "stars and fate". Needless to say that such reasoning led to dangerous doctrines in political thought and action. Morality as a concept independent of all worldly success and failure lost all its importance. A ruler was to remember that he was living in a world which he had not made and he could not be held responsible for what was existing. He, therefore, need not be alarmed by the possibility of departing from a particular principle if it were imperative. Which meant that any fixed notion of right and wrong was outside the art of Government.

Machiavelli's admiration for antiquity, his indifference to Christianity and his hatred for Papacy, clearly prove that he was influenced by paganism. He always advised his prince to be virtuous and to him virtue meant the courage and energy to do both good and evil. It is altogether different from the Christian concept of goodness and virtue. He cannot be wholly blamed if he has failed to show respect to the church. Apart from the fact that most despicable crimes were committed in the most sacred terms of God in Rome, the view expressed by Machiavelli in "The Prince" that faith need not be kept with the wicked or the heretic, was practised by the church itself when it violated the safe conduct of Huss at Constance and of Alfonso of Ferrara in Rome.

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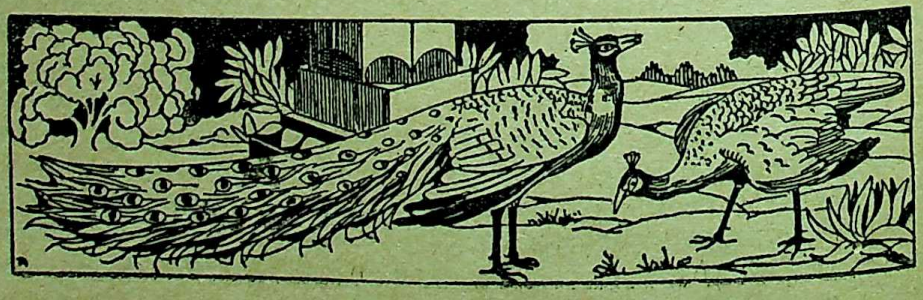

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MARY PARKER FOLLETT : PIONEER IN MANAGEMENT THEORY

By NARENDRA K. SETHI

In the historical development of management literature, Mary Parker Follett belongs to that ardent group of thinkers who have identified themselves with the study of "organisational university" and human relationships rather than with closely-defined administrative techniques or narrow business policies. As such, she appears both as a social philosopher and as a business institutionalist. The first trait reveals itself in her repeated assertions about "the problems of establishing and maintaining human co-operation in the conduct of an enterprise."[1] And, the second element is clear in her emphasis on the "experimental nature of business"[2] and the "significance of industry in the field of human activity."[3] But, being a great believer in the all-embracing virtue of co-ordination and integration, she avoided rigidity in her management thinking. To her, business represented a great institution and the sociological system of individual co-operation a great structure of managerial importance. Collaborating on this framework, she developed her theory of human action which expounded "the basic human emotions and forces that underlie the process of organization."[4]

As a matter of fact, Mary Parker Follett was not a "business woman."[5] She was initially interested in political institutions and the organism of the governmental machinery. She had written on various political ideologies and had gained acclaim as a "distinguished political scientist."[6] It was, indeed, rather late in her creative years that she turned her attention toward business writings and industrial lectures. This phenomenon might lead one to perceive a good deal of contradiction and paradox in her writings. But, fortunately enough, such is not the case. She had developed a broad perspective in her socio-economic and political statements and as Urwick says, "a life-time's contact with practical social work and a profound interest in modern psychology had given her mind a practical simplicity."[7] Thus, both by practical erudition and by an intuitive state of mind, she was well-equipped to analyze modern business situations even while she was engaged in her political writings. Further, it can also be shown that her acute philosophical grasp of business administration was present in an embryo form at this stage of her creative life.[8]

The Inner-Organic Continuity

Her initial pre-occupation with political subjects and doctrines did not distort her vision because she did not allow her political overtones to get the better of her objective analysis. We do, however, find enough instances in her later business writings that show beyond doubt the writer's initial love and devotion for political topics, but the politics there is not that of groups or of a particular time, but, it is of mankind, and for all times.[9] She greatly extended her interests and energies and her managerial writings take the entire mankind and the whole universe as their action-centres.[10]

Though her writings are marked by an inborn simplicity of approach and a common frame of reference, she was by no means a believer in the accepted and the overly traditional modes of managerial behaviour. She took her illustrations from everyday common occurences and adapted the same to business situations.[11] She breathed a new vigor into these common incidents and translated these into something of sustained importance to business. It was this experimental character of her writings that symbolized her "social experiments."[12] And, again, she was a pioneer in her emphasis on the "human factor" in management. The traditional mode of thinking up to her day was more in tune with a limited, technique-oriented management. She opened up the field and broadened its dimensions to a certain extent. Her strong upholding of the individual behaviour-pattern, group thinking, continuous decision-making, etc., are some of the salient aspects of her anti-traditional beliefs.[13]

It is, indeed, an irony of modern management scholarship that relatively little critical attention has been paid to her writings. In spite

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of the almost prophetic viewpoints that she developed and in spite of the advanced state of her thinking,[14] modern critics have on the whole, paid scant attention to her rather limited output. It seems that management writers have paid greater attention to less creative persons than Follett. And, it is we, indeed, who are the losers for it. A study of her writings, analyzed in a two-dimensional sequence of historical importance and modern application, can perhaps reveal not only the greatness of her approach but bring us nearer to a clear perception of some of our own follies and drawbacks in our management themes.

Essential Themes

Merrill has remarked about the profundity of Follett's writings and has indicated the extreme directness characterizing her approach that makes "making selections from it a major problem."[15] Yet there were certain recurrent themes which she emphasized in her writings. Here, we will present some of her original viewpoints and essential themes.

Co-ordination

Follett's intense belief in co-ordination and integration led her to emphasize the following four main principles of organization :

1. Co-ordination by direct contact of the responsible people concerned.
2. Co-ordination in the early stages.
3. Co-ordination as the reciprocal relating of all the factors in a situation.
4. Co-ordination as a continuing process.[16]

Urwick has studied these four principles at length and devoted a great deal of attention to various outer forces that led Follett to establish this frame.[17] However, he has called these as the "four *kinds* of co-ordination"[18] while they, in fact, constitute only four *degrees* of co-ordination. Conceptual and internal differences between these do not exist ; they only reveal the four different stages that co-ordination can achieve in "a scheme of self-adjusting interests."[19] Follett has also distinguished between collective control and collective self-control.[20] Self-control implies the generation of control from within, rather than imposed by an outer body. To her, the process of co-ordination is one of "interpenetration" which cannot be enforced by an outside body.[21] The very aim of "organizational engineering" is to achieve control through effective unity. The nature of this unity is also termed as "total reativity" by Follett in a later study.[23] Follett conceptualized the process of control through ordination as an all-integrating organism which fuses the various aspects and components in single unified entity. The concept of total reativity or effective unity, which occurs rather often in her writings is a major contribution the advancement of our thinking about the organizational processes.

Secondly, Follett believed very strongly the ever-changing and revolving aspect of life. To her, the dynamic process of change the sole reality and everything was subject this phenomenon of change. She emphatically says, "Decision is only a moment in a process. It is in this interpretation of decision-making and the impact of "change" on it that the psychological character of her writings becomes at clear.[25] She carried this thought consistently and adapted it well to her later industrial writings and lectures.

Conflict

Though she gave a great deal of attention the integrative unity of business institution, did not ignore the paradoxical nature of *conflict*. Her thesis is that the role of conflict can functionalized by positive measures and that negative implications can be minimized by "using it to work for us."[26] She suggests three main ways of dealing with conflict ; domination, compromise and integration.[27] She examines the pathological issues arising out of flict and its anti-dote namely integration. theme of "progressive differings"[28] that she gests has a great managerial potential. Not on the social level, but also on an international level, the concept of non-aggressive, peaceful progressive differings provides us with a significant tool for human relationship and management. She also examines the relevance of psychology in conflict and adjustment and in this, anticipates much of the present work this area.[29] Follett's contribution in the of "constructive conflict"[30] merits special tion both in its social dimensions as well as its industrial implications. The apparent issues emanating from conflict are organiza-

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disharmony, ill-defined communicational pattern and disintegration of the information-flow. And, the obvious industrial aspects are the increased hostility between power groups, authoritative direction and overly zealous reliance on control. By her conscious emphasis on the constructive aspects of conflict, she has enabled the business administrators to view these socio-industrial factors in a process of "revaluation,"[31] whereby the managerial values underlying these issues can be fully examined. Follett stresses *the significant rather than the dramatic features*[32] of the issues and thus comes very close to a clear perception of the so-called "industrial paradox."[33]

Consent

Thirdly, she offers a striking insight into the realm of human relations by exploring in depth the concept of "organization engineering"[34] especially in its consent-oriented overtones. What is consent and how does it differ from passive participation? Is it the sole answer to the dilemma of conflict? She conceptualizes consent as an inactive statement of faith and says that, "consent of the governed (is) not an adequate expression of democracy."[35] On the other hand, she defines participation as a process "relating the parts so that you have a working unit"[36] and then goes on to distinguish more vividly between consent and participation.[37] This is an important contribution to the modern behavioral science of "consent engineering"[38] and the allied fields of communication theory and human relations in management.

Another of Follett's major contributions to the study of modern administrative behavior is that she presented a strikingly original concept of power and its relationship to authority.[39] By the very nature of its meaning and rather dubious semantical implications, *power* creates disturbing illusions in the minds of most students. Is power a destructive phenomenon or is it a fundamental concept in administration? Follett believes that power is "simply the abiity to make things happen, to be casual agents, to initiate change."[40] A significant point is made when she makes a distinction between power and strength.[41] Power need not necessarily be the sole function of strength; it might generate even from one's weakness. In other words, power as a functional concept is not relative to or dependent on one's strong points and high position. She makes it clear when she identifies the "urge to power" with the satisfaction of being alive.[42] Power, in Follett's perspective, becomes an accompaniment of our very existence; both the strong and the weak can exercise it and thus benefit from its application. This wide approach to power opens up newer dimensions and bigger aspects of this concept which might prove to be advantageous in a business society.[43]

Control and Authority

The question of control and authority, too, has been treated in an experimental nature in her writings.[44] The idea of a supreme control or a final authority is foreign to her thinking. Her faith in functional authority and functional responsibility leads her to appraise the environment where "each individual has final authority for his own allotted task."[45] She emphasizes the weaknesses inherent in a process where "the president delegates authority."[46] The phrase "delegated authority" would imply that "your chief executive has the 'right' to all the authority, but that it is useful to delegate some of it."[47] In her concept, authority belongs to the job and stays with the job.[48] And then, she expresses in clear terms that "delegation of authority should be an obsolete expression."[49] What did she actually mean by this? Did she stand for a centralized mode of enterprise?[50] No. She suggests a functional break-down of authority whereby each person doing a particular operation would command full authority over the phase of the job. She brings the point to its logical rationale by terming authority as "a matter of interweaving"[51] in keeping with the essence of organization which is the interweaving of functions. She suggests two significant points of departure by introducing the concept of "cumulative authority"[52] and, "the system of cross functioning."[53] In this framework, her analysis of power, control and authority reaches deeply into the realms of sociology, psychology and poitical disciplines which, in turn, impart new dimensions to the knowledge of management.

Leadership

Follett has treated the process of leadership at length in her various papers.[54] Leadership constitutes an area of inquiry where the various

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of the almost prophetic viewpoints that she developed and in spite of the advanced state of her thinking,[14] modern critics have on the whole, paid scant attention to her rather limited output. It seems that management writers have paid greater attention to less creative persons than Follett. And, it is we, indeed, who are the losers for it. A study of her writings, analyzed in a two-dimensional sequence of historical importance and modern application, can perhaps reveal not only the greatness of her approach but bring us nearer to a clear perception of some of our own follies and drawbacks in our management themes.

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Consent

Thirdly, she offers a striking insight into the realm of human relations by exploring in depth the concept of "organization engineering"[34] especially in its consent-oriented overtones. What is consent and how does it differ from passive participation? Is it the sole answer to the dilemma of conflict? She conceptualizes consent as an inactive statement of faith and says that, "consent of the governed (is) not an adequate expression of democracy."[35] On the other hand, she defines participation as a process "relating the parts so that you have a working unit"[36] and then goes on to distinguish more vividly between consent and participation.[37] This is an important contribution to the modern behavioral science of "consent engineering"[38] and the allied fields of communication theory and human relations in management.

Another of Follett's major contributions to the study of modern administrative behavior is that she presented a strikingly original concept of power and its relationship to authority.[39] By the very nature of its meaning and rather dubious semantical implications, *power* creates disturbing illusions in the minds of most students. Is power a destructive phenomenon or is it a fundamental concept in administration? Follett believes that power is "simply the abiity to make things happen, to be casual agents, to initiate change."[40] A significant point is made when she makes a distinction between power and strength.[41] Power need not necessarily be the sole function of strength; it might generate even from one's weakness. In other words, power as a functional concept is not relative to or dependent on one's strong points and high position. She makes it clear when she identifies the "urge to power" with the satisfaction of being alive.[42] Power, in Follett's perspective, becomes an accompaniment of our very existence; both the strong and the weak can exercise it and thus benefit from its application. This wide approach to power opens up newer dimensions and bigger aspects of this concept which might prove to be advantageous in a business society.[43]

Control and Authority

The question of control and authority, too, has been treated in an experimental nature in her writings.[44] The idea of a supreme control or a final authority is foreign to her thinking. Her faith in functional authority and functional responsibility leads her to appraise the environment where "each individual has final authority for his own allotted task."[45] She emphasizes the weaknesses inherent in a process where "the president delegates authority."[46] The phrase "delegated authority" would imply that "your chief executive has the 'right' to all the authority, but that it is useful to delegate some of it."[47] In her concept, authority belongs to the job and stays with the job.[48] And then, she expresses in clear terms that "delegation of authority should be an obsolete expression."[49] What did she actually mean by this? Did she stand for a centralized mode of enterprise?[50] No. She suggests a functional break-down of authority whereby each person doing a particular operation would command full authority over the phase of the job. She brings the point to its logical rationale by terming authority as "a matter of interweaving"[51] in keeping with the essence of organization which is the interweaving of functions. She suggests two significant points of departure by introducing the concept of "cumulative authority"[52] and, "the system of cross functioning."[53] In this framework, her analysis of power, control and authority reaches deeply into the realms of sociology, psychology and poitical disciplines which, in turn, impart new dimensions to the knowledge of management.

Leadership

Follett has treated the process of leadership at length in her various papers.[54] Leadership constitutes an area of inquiry where the various

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disciplines of human learning come together in a unified concept. Follett's analysis of leadership offers an eclectic approach to the study of this idea. She invalidates most of then current thinking about the functions of the chief executive and a leader.[55] . Her definition of a leader as "the man who can show that the order is integral to the situation" merits great attention. Her emphasis on the "law of the situation" makes leadership a functional concept and not an authoritative dogma. Her idea of a leader is one who "can see it whole" and "to whom the total interrelatedness is most clear" and this is one more valid extension of her theory of business integration.[57]

She distinguishes between the three positive aspects of leadership, namly, the leadership of function, the leadership of personality and the leadership of position.[58] The visionary aspects of sound functional leadership are paramount in her concept when she says that, "the most successful leader of all is one who sees another picture not yet actualized."[59] In a later paper, she introduces a new aspect of leadership entitled "multiple leadership"[60] by which she refers to the role of lesser leaders in the industrial perspective. Intertwined with her detailed exposition of the various forces comprising the concept of leadership is the thread of "the common purpose"[61] which runs throughout her writings. Follett carried her point of co-odination and integrative unity in almost every phase of business operation and her statements on leadership too, are no exception to this rule.[62]

We have examined the essential themes of Follett's writings in this section of the study. Her ideas on co-ordination, conflict, consent engineering, power, authority, organization and leadership offer a striking consistency of thought and continuity of logic. In fact, her new rationale on social judgment and managerial values is so novel in its scope that Urwick has termed it a "mental revolution."[63] This opinion, however, is not shared by two critics Merrill and Hopf, respectively. The former concedes profound truth and convincing realism to her but still finds the "influence of Fayol, Taylor and Gantt"[64] in her papers. The latter, though willing to call her a "distinguished political student, philosopher, and student of business administration", is against assigning her a position as "a pioneer in scientific management."[65]

Conclusion

The earlier socio-political and the later ma... gerial themes, as reflected in the writings of M... Parker Follett, display a striking sequential ... lopment of her business ideologies. She rema... in essence, a statesman among business think... and a perceptive poitician among organizati... experts. Her pioneering ideas in the realm ... co-ordination, conflict, consent, control ... authority, and leadership, convince mod... scholarship about the validity and justificati... of the multi-dimensional focus of her univers... approach.

Her deep-seated theories of manage... organization, creative integration and circu... behavior are as much true today as they we... novel when they first appeared. The pres... age, with all its research-centred intellect... curiosity, psychological innovation and automa... wisdom, can still distill a good amount of pra... cal thinking and sound conceptual business a... vice from Mary Parker Follett's writings. Th... may lack the modern overly anxious "parti... laristic" notions, but they abound in visiona... judgment and universal concepts—the real in... gral management view.

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1. Metcalf, Henry C. and Urwick, L. (Editors), *Dynamic Administration : The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett,* New York : Harper and Brothers, 1942 ; Introduction, p. 9.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19 "one of the most interesting things about business to me is that I find so many businessmen who are willing to try experiments."

3. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

4. Urwick, L. and Brech, E. F. L., *The Making of Scientific Management, Volume I., Thirteen Pioneers.* London, Management Publications Trust, 1949, p. 48.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

6. Hopf, Harry Arthur, *Historical Perspectives in Management,* Publication Number 7, *tives in Management,* Publication Number 7., Ossining, N. Y., Hopf Institute of Management, Inc., 1947, p. 6.

7. Urwick and Brech, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

8. For example, even in her first two published works, *The Speaker of the House of Representatives* (London : Longman, Green and Co., 1909), and *The New State* (New York : Longman, Green and Co., 1920), she often cites analogies from the business world and the industrial community to validate her propositions about the political behaviour of human society.

9. Perhaps, this may be one of her weaknesses. Her emphasis on the broad, on the universal, and on the all-embracing concepts might take away somewhat from her 'focus'. Only subsequent research can examine this important point.

10. Metcalf and Urwick, *Dynamic Administration, op. cit.*, p. 24-25 :

"Simply put, Mary Parker Follett's universal principle means that business management is not something which is of significance only to those who seek a competence in the conduct of some competitive, profit-making enterprise. It is a part, and a significant part of the wider field of human government."

11. Cf. Urwick, Lyndall F., *The Pattern of Management,* Minneapolis ; University of Minnesota Press, 1956, p. 49.

"Her intense interest in human beings, coupled with what amounted to a genius for relating individuals experience, however, humble and obscure, to general principles, made her an all-together exceptional research worker."

12. Metcalf and Unwick, *Dynamic Administration, op. cit.*, p. 14.

13. An illuminating insight into this aspect of Follett's pioneer thinking can be had by studying some of her major beliefs in conjunction with the then accepted theories of managerial organization held, for example, by Oliver Sheldon and others. A subtle comparison of Follett's ideas with most of her contemporaries can provide us with an added testimony to the underlying originality of her viewpoints.

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17. Cf. especially Urwick, *The Golden Book of Management, op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 133 ; see also, Urwick, L., *The Elements of Administration,* New York : Harper and Brothers, 1943, pp. 113-116. (Italics supplied).

19. Metcalf and Urwick, *Dynamic Administration, op. cit.*, p. 296.

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21. *Ibid.*, p. 301.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

23. Follett, Mary Parker, *Freedom and Co-ordination—Lectures in Business Organization,* (Edited by L. Urwick), London : Management Publications Trust, Ltd., 1949, p. 79.

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24. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

25. She brings out this point very well in her earlier book ; *Creative Experience*, New York : Longmans, Green and Company, 1924. See especially Part I (Experience as Self-Sustaining and Self-Renewing Process). Cf. also Metcalf and Urwick, *Dynamic Administration, op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 35. cf. "we become spiritually more and more developed as our conflicts rise to higher levels."

25. She brings out this point very well in her earlier book : *Creative Experience.*, New York : Longmans, Green and Company, 1924. See especially Part I (Experience as Self-Sustaining and Self-Renewing Process). Cf. also Metcalf and Urwick, *Dynamic Administration.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 35. cf. "we become spiritually more and more developed as our conflicts rise to higher levels" nP

29. *Ibid.*, p. 41. Symbology in Public Relations, Conflict-Solving, and Communication has become an advanced topic in the present management literature. See, for example, Sethi, Narendra K., *A Managerial Critique of Public Relations*, New York University Graduate School of Business Administration, Unpublished Master's Thesis, 1961, *Passim.*

30. Metcalf and Urwick, *Dynamic Administration, op. cit.*, Chapter 1, pp. 30-49.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 40. "*To Find the significant rather than the dramatic features* of industrial controversy, of a disagreement in regard to policy on board of directors or between managers, is essential to integrative business policies." (Italics are in the original study).

33. For a stimulating study on this point, see. for example—Ross Stagner, *Psychology of Industrial Conflict*, New York : John Wiley & Sons, Inc,. 1956, pp. 550.

34. This phrase is often used by Follett in her writings. Here, see especially, Metcalf and Urwick. *Dynamic Administration, op. cit.*, pp. 229.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 223. "One of the fundamental differences between consent and participation is that consent is not part of the process, it comes at the end of or after the process. Participation is not only part of the process ; it should be with the beginning of the process."

38. See for example, Bernays, Edward (Editor), *The Engineering of Consent.* Norman The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957.

39. Metcalf and Urwick, *Dynamic Administration, op. cit.*, Chapter IV, (pp. 95-116) also Follett, *Freedom and Co-ordination, op. cit.*, Chapter I, (pp. 1-15) and Chapter III, (pp. 46).

40. Metcalf and Urwick, *Dynamic Administration, op. cit.*, p. 99.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 99. "And we should remember in this study that power and strength are not always synonymous ; it is sometimes through weakness that we get control of a situation." She also makes a distinction between "power-with" and "power-over." *Ibid.*, p. 101.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

43. For a further discussion on power and other related socio-political themes having a conceptual impact on business, see Eell,s Richard and Clarence Walton, *Conceptual Foundations of Business—An Outline of the Major Ideas Sustaining Business Enterprise in the Western World*, Homewood, III., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 19 pp. 533 and also, Eells, Richard, *The Meaning of Modern Business—An Introduction to the Philosophy of Large Corporate Enterprise*, New York : Columbia University Press, 1960, pp. 4

44. *Ibid.*, Chapter IX, (pp. 183-209) also Follett, *Freedom and Co-ordination, op. cit.*, Chapter I, (1-15) ; Chapter III (34-46) Chapter VI, (pp. 77-89).

45. Urwick, *The Golden Book of Management, op. cit.*, p. 133.

46. Follett, *Freedom and Co-ordination, cit.*, p. 3.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 7., cf. "I say that the tendency is to decentralize. I have heard it said twice this conference that the tendency is to centralize. Both statements are true, for centralization decentralization are parts of exactly the same thing."

51. *Ibid.*, p. 4. Cf. "Legitimate authority flows from co-ordination, not co-ordination from authority." *Ibid.*, p. 5.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 7. Cf. "Instead then of superior control, ultimate authority, we might perhaps think of cumulative control, cumulative authority . . . . This phrase . . . seems to me to have

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plicated in it one of the most fundamental truths of organization."

53. *Ibid., pp.* 8-9. Cf. "And as it is the idea of pluralistic authority which is dominating progressive business organization today, so the crux of business organization is how to join these various authorities. . . . This problem is being solved in a number of plans by a system of cross-functioning."

54. *Ibid.*, Chapter IV, (pp. 47-60) and also, Metcalf and Urwick, *Dynamic Administration, op. cit.*, Chapter XII, (pp. 247-269) and Chapter XIII, (pp. 270-294) and also, Follett, *Creatvie Experience, op. cit.*, Chapter X, (pp. 179-194).

55. A few of these new theories can be mntioned here : "In a committee it may not be the one holding the highest official position who is a leader," p. 247 : "The leader (is) not . . . . the man in the group who is able to assert his individual will and get others to follow him, but . . . one who knows how to relate these different wills so that they will have a driving force." p. 248 ; "Another idea that is changing is that the leader must be one who can make quick decisions. The leader today is often one who thinks out his decisions very slowly." p. 252. All these quotations are from Metcalf and Urwick, *Dynamic Administration, op. cit.* See also, Sethi, Narendra K., "The Chief Executive—A Study of Management Apex," *Personnel Journal,* July-August, 1962, Vol. 41, No. 7, pp. 323-330, ff.

56. Metcalf and Urwick, *Dynamic Administration, op. cit.*, p. 275.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

60. Follett, *Freedom and Co-ordination, op. cit.*, p. 59.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 55. Cf. "Leader and followers are both following the invisible leader—the common purpose. . . . . Loyalty to the invisibe leader gives us the strongest possible bond of union, establishes a sympathy which is not a sentimental but a dynamic sympathy."

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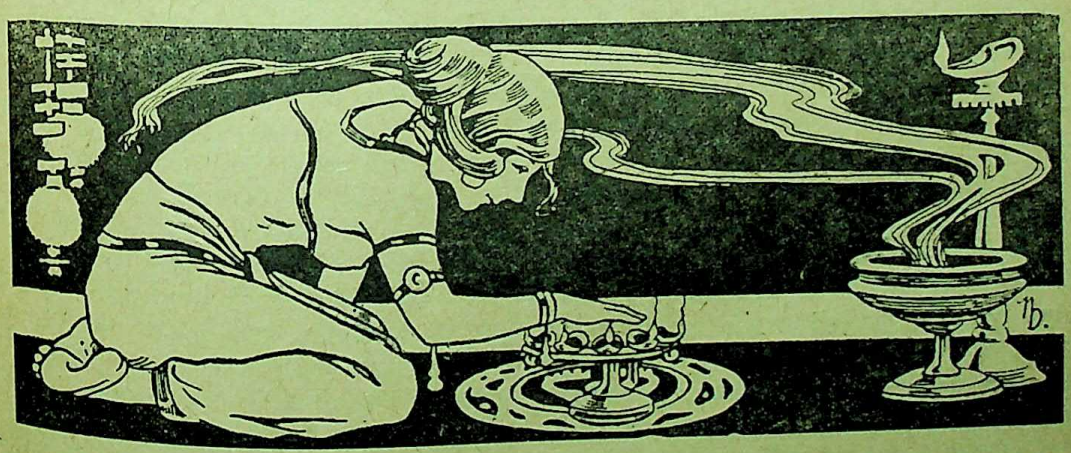
63. Urwick, *The Making of Scientific Management, Vol. I., Thirteen Pioneers., op. cit.*, p. 55.

64. Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Cf. "Fayol's influence is evident in the papers of Mary Parker Follett ; so is that of Taylor and of Gantt. She is, in fact, the point of convergence of the three broad channels of management philosophy which have been described here."

65. Hopf., *op. cit.*, p. 6-7.



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LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By MRS. DEVI PRASAD ROY CHOWDHURY

VII

Devi Prasad's work being so much in demand either in the form of art or literary enterprise, his name frequently daws the attention of the public. The desire to investigate this man is, as is to be expected, rather prolific. But the photographs of the artist which appear intermittently in the journals in connection with his work and the rumours that are woven around his name, do not present him as a very inviting personality. Yet irresistible curiosity brings many a stranger to the premises of the School and our residence.

Visitors come to our place at odd hours—not always to meet the artist but for the sake of sight seeing, if I may say so. The School of Arts is much talked of. It is a fashion to pay a visit to the place.

Once a gentleman from Bengal came to Madras in connection with some dance recitals. One evening he took it into his head to pay a visit to our artist. When the watchman announced his presence, he was immediately told to usher him in. My husband gave him a cordial reception which encouraged the stranger to repeat his visits. Though he looked rather dubious and funny at the outset, he gradually changed his attitude and became less reserved. One day he could not check himself any longer and came out with the thought that was disturbing his mind: "Why was Devi Prasad so easily accessible? Does he not know that it eliminates the awe which encircles his name so long as he remains unapproachable to the general public! His position demands a certain amount of isolation." To substantiate his view he cited the instance of another public figure who kept himself aloof from all social contacts. Though I was quite amused at the time, an after-thought made me wonder whether there was not some truth in what he said. For I have noticed on several occasions that men who came with trepidation before the stalwart figure of the artist with his severe expression, became bold enough to assert themselves, the moment they found that the veil of mystery had been lifted from his person.

Then there were the young tourists, and women, who came to meet Devi Prasad pay their respects to him. They had some of connection with Santiniketan, the place the great poet of our land—Rabindranath T —spent most of his life. Their loyalty the poet made them blind to the defects institution. To them all that was connected the name of Tagore was beyond criticism. enthusiasm in this respect was more pre among the women members of the party. my husband denied the existence of T music as such—according to him it wa mixture of old classical tunes with the folk in a crude form, on which the poet experim to popularize the songs written by him young ladies were shocked beyond words a their excitement tried to prove by argument falsity of his belief. But when the artist squa ed them at each point, one of them admi most pathetically that she was incapable of a ing with him and that she would bring ano who shared her conviction to do so. At my husband followed the only course left to and that was to withdraw from arguing and the trend of the conversation.

Mr. Waverley Nichols, author of the 'Ve on India' paid a visit to the artist's studio i School without the latter being aware of the Perhaps his motive was to give surprise to the places of importance in order to pr them to the public of the western countries their true colour. In his enthusiasm for mission he carried his experiment to the extr He recorded his impression about Devi Pr after seeing him at his workshop, if I may that name to his studio, and without even ing into the room where the artist's fini works were exhibited. We were, therefore, prised to learn from a friend that he had a page to Devi Prasad in his book 'descri him as a brilliant conversationalist and touching the subject for which he is throughout India and abroad. If all Mr. N

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verdicts were based on such inadequate inspections, one could not be blamed if one doubted whether his judgment was dependable.

On another occasion a judge of the Madras High Court, an Englishman, came to see the artist while he was busy modelling. Since the peon had definite orders not to disturb him on any account, he most politely explained his position to the gentleman. A judge to go back because the artist was busy, and a white man to boot! It was unthinkable. So he took the law into his own hands and knocked violently at the door of the studio. The door came slightly ajar and a mud-besmeared figure in khaki apron came out. He looked tired and preoccupied. That he was displeased at the disturbance was evident from his expression.

"Yes, what can I do for you?" said he. The judge retorted in a vexed tone: "Will you please tell Mr. Chowdhury that Justice B. is waiting to see him?"

When the man in the khaki apron declared himself to be the wanted individual, the Englishman was furious and went away with a threat to report him to the Principal for playing the fool! All probability he discovered the truth before he carried the threat into effect and cursed the Government which put at the head of an institution a man whose proper place should have been with those who were mentally deranged!

Being the wife of an artist, I have a few advantages to counter-balance my numerous difficulties. It is interesting to be present at the meetings of reputed personalities and undoubtedly I enjoy this privilege. Sri Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, a well-known poet of India, has the sporadic inspiration to visit our artist. Their ideas and attitude towards life are poles apart and yet they thoroughly enjoy each other's company when they meet. They have one common ground and that is, they are both in love with music. When the poet comes to our place, the rooms vibrate with the sound of classical Hindustani music. Harindranath was aware of my husband's love for the art but he had a pleasant surprise when he found how well the artist's ears were trained to respond to and take up the strains of any tune that he sang. Not having learnt scientifically Devi Prasad does not open his mouth in public but with a sympathetic listener by his side, he becomes completely oblivious of his drawbacks and throws his sonorous voice into the air. Then start exclamations of appreciative words such as *sabash, bahut achha, chalo bhai* from both sides. The little timepiece goes on tickling away the hours but who cares to listen to that? All work has to wait when artists are inspired.

We have occasional visits from yet another lover of music. This is Sri Dilip Kumar Roy of Pandicherry. These are very rare, of course, since in this case also nothing common exists between the two men except their zeal for music. Dilip Kumar is a believer in the theory of renunciation while Devi Prasad worships *Shakti*,—manifestation of power in any form. To him life is all real and every bit of it must be lived to the brim. Negation of life finds no place in his thoughts. Dilip Kumar usually sings *bhajan* songs in praise of God, whose tunes are in most cases of a lighter strain. Devi Prasad looks for pure classics, to be sung in the *thungri* style, which brings in his mind's eye the figure of a beautiful woman each of whose movements beguiles and inspires the man.

Another uncommon personality who pays annual visits to our bungalow is Sadhu Omkar from Nandi Hills, in Mysore State. He began his life as a revolutionary under the banner of Sri Aurobindo Ghose of Calcutta, the Sage of Pondicherry as he is called now. He was convicted while very young for complicity in some case of that period and spent a long span of his life in captivity. Twice he attempted to escape from prison and was recaptured. As a result his period of incarceration was enhanced. While in jail his outlook on life underwent a thorough change and he started what he called his life of *sadhana*. It is interesting to hear him repeat the story of his life's experiences. He is a thinker. When he comes we have animated discourses on philosophical subjects. I, as often is the case, remain in the background and try to amass as much wisdom as my receptive powers would permit me to do. Sadhuji is very accommodating, yet at times even he finds it difficult to accept all the views of the artist as gospel truth. But indomitable Devi Prasad asserts himself till the end.

I must now describe an incident connected with an unexpected personage. This was none other than the Countess of Willingdon, then Vicerene of India. She came to pay a visit to Madras, the place where she spent a considerable period of time when Lord Willingdon was the

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Governor, for which City, I presume, she had a soft corner in her heart.

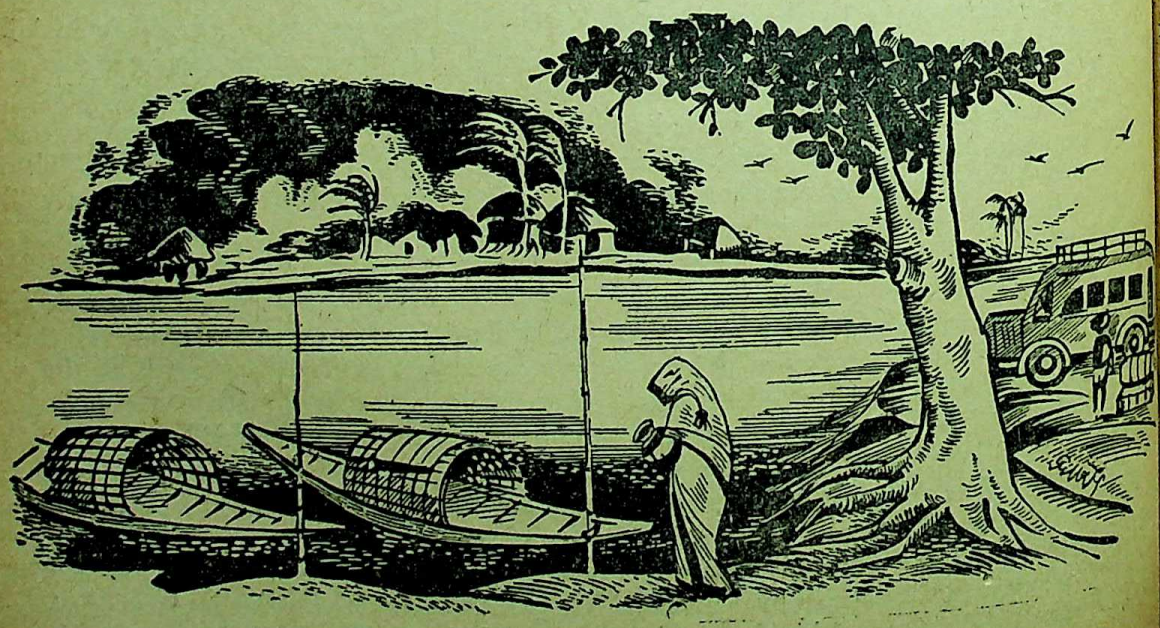
It was the month of December. The Christmas holidays were about to commence. My husband was packing up his things to go to Ootacamund to do some Government job. I had no intention to stay back. Since Ooty would be too cold I decided to go to Bangalore with our son.

My husband took a fancy to some Persian carpets and purchased a few for our drawing room. These I had no desire to leave at the mercy of the rats. Since we were not aware of a "Pied Piper" who could rid us of these pests, we had to take to the only course left. We rolled them up with napthalene balls after spraying them well with Flit, (D. D. T. still being an unfamiliar substance,) and then dumped them on the chairs.

I left for Bangalore a day or two before my husband, being quite satisfied with my precautionary measures. The morning of the day the School was to close the artist received a phone message from the Government House to say that the Viceriene was coming to see his work and the School. He was in a fix. Within an hour's time he had to arrange the classes which were in a disrupted condition, spread the carpets in his drawing room and bring it to its normal state, and last but not least, make himself presentable to receive the guest.

When he came down quite ready for the occasion, the students who passed by threw furtive glance at their *guru* to examine his den transformation. But no sooner had they ed their eyes on him than their expres changed into that of wonder mixed with a ment. In order to conceal an outburst of l ter, they turned their heads and hurried from the place. This disconcerted the artist he had no time to make enquiries and them to task for their funny and unmann behaviour. He looked daggers at them a his lips with suppressed anger. A doctor who was staying at the premises discovered root of all this trouble. He pointed out, perplexity of the artist, that one of his was white while the other was black! What to be done? There was no time to lose. came the inspiration of the artist. He bro his black pigment and instructed the friend to turn white into black by some bold to of the brush! It must have been a sight the doctor kneeling beside the artist and forming the task briskly. For the first time perhaps for the last, the hands which were tised in holding the surgical instruments the brush of an artist.

Peculiarities and abnormalities are the ba foundations of my home. While people hav move about from place to place in search variety and entertainment, change of scenes atmosphere is a normal event of my ever life.



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MODERN REVIEW FIFTY-THREE YEARS AGO

Individual And Collective Morality And Honour

(The Modern Review, July, 1909)

There are many things which are considered criminal in individuals but are said to be justifiable, even glorious in the case of nations. A man who commits murder and robbery is a criminal, but nations undertaking aggressive wars of conquest and their leaders are considered heroic. Lying is dishonourable in an individual, but diplomacy, which is often 'lying for the good of the State' is thought harmless and necessary. Backbiting and talebearing are considered mean, contemptible and dishonourable in individuals, but are encouraged by the State. Evesdropping and opening and reading other people's letters are dishonourable when private persons do these things, but it is allowable for the agents of a State to do them. But whatever the state of public opinion may be to-day, the men who do these criminal and dishonourable things, whether as private individuals or as agents of the State, certainly become degraded and corrupt. And those States which require such agents in large or increasing numbers, are rotten at the core and cannot long endure.

In society too, and in the commercial relations of nations, there are similar things calling for comment. For instance, unrestricted competition, the regulation of wages by the simple rule of supply and demand, are considered quite proper. But morally, how are these defensible? If your brother has to starve owing to these commercial and industrial methods of yours, are you not responsible? A commercial or industrial war may be as cut-throat an affair as actual warfare; and the payment of starvation wages by capitalists, is not far removed from robbery.

Official Threats

Lord Morley has, through his Under-Secretary, threatened to take drastic steps to punish "those who were exciting disloyalty while themselves keeping in the background." He was of opinion that it was necessary for the safety of the Empire that these rebellious agitations and waves of feeling should not be permitted to attain maturity. We are sorry we cannot congratulate his Lordship either on the sources of his information or on the wisdom of the steps he proposes to take. There is no rebellious movement in India that we know of. If there be any conspirators let them be punished by all means. But if, as His Honour Sir Edward Baker says, in the effort to secure the co-operation of the people, there is to be no nice discrimination between the guilty and the innocent, and if the drastic Calcutta Police Bill is meant to provide for the kind of punishment contemplated, then it is easy to understand what kind of movement or movements are meant. It is an irony of fate that while typically despotic orienal monarchies are growing more and more democratic, a democratic and liberty-loving people like the British are feeling compelled in increasing measure to curtial popular liberties in India. As for there being no nice discrimination between the guilty and the innocent we are afraid that has been the practice in many cases hitherto; this declaration may only embolden the police to make the practice more universal. In the absence of any emergency, the rushing through of the Police Bill before the birth of the enlarged councils has an ugly look.

Co-operation and Unrest

(The Modern Review, August, 1909)

The Advice to co-operate with the Government is a counsel of perfection. But it is difficult; to understand what is meant by the "Government." In India if that word means anything it means the local official, very often the District Magistrate. Moral support is to be given to him very often not in the interest of the people but to suit the convenience of that officer and of

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the foreign administrators and exploiters. If the Government stand really in need of the co-operation of the people, it should not ride rough-shod over their feelings, injure their susceptibilities and wound their sensibilities.

Mr. Gokhale has been playing the role of an apologist of the Government. We do not find him laying stress on those causes which have brought about the present undersirable state of affairs in this country. He has not condemned the attitude which Viscount Morley of Blackburn has assumed towards the question of the Partition of Bengal. We ask the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale if he sincerely believes that the present unrest at least in Bengal can be cured unless and until the Partition is done away with or greatly modified on lines suggested by the leaders of public opinion in that province? We ask him again if he thinks there can be produced rest in the country by breaking up all the beneficent organizations of the people on the flimsy pretext that they are unlawful associations, by deporting persons without trial or by transporting persons for life and confiscating their property for waging alleged war against the King by means of poems? Is this the way to secure co-operation? Mr. Gokhale deplores that 'the worst harm done by this propaganda was that it had unsettled the minds of the student population of the country.' But does he believe that the mind of the students has been settled by branding them as dacoits, by police surveillance, by the Risley Circular, the recommendations of the University Commission, and the attempts that are being made to stop the progress of high education in this country? Economic causes have contributed very largely to the production of the present unrest. Our old industries have been crushed; our trade has been destroyed; the land is very highly taxed. There is almost no avenue to distinction in any direction to ambitious men. The commissioned ranks of the army are closed against the children of the soil. Posts of responsibility and trust carrying high salary are almost monopolised by foreigners who have hardly any sympathy or community of interest with those out of whose taxes they are maintained. Famine desolate large tracts of the country alm every year and yet very little is done prevent their recurrence. Mr. Gokh should have laid stress on these causes the present unrest.

Christian Phillanthropy and Indian Factory Acts

(The Modern Review, November, 19

The English manufacturers having their hearts upon the destruction of Ind industries are trying to do this under guise of phillanthropy. The factory l which are enacted from time to time an instance in point. The manufactur compel the Indian authorities to make l which are certainly not called for in In and which do not benefit those in wh interests they are ostentatiously und taken. The repeal of a low duty on manufactured cotton goods of Manches the coercion of the Indian Government impose an import duty on the Americ long-stapled cotton which was necessa for the Indian spinners to mix with th short-fibred one, the forcing of the Hin and the Musalmans to observe the Chr tian Sabbath for the labourers of their tories, although the number of their festivals on which they stop work more than that of the Sundays observed Christian countries, are a few of the list of measures inflicted on India. The is, more factory acts are still to come.

Have those phillanthropists of Engl whose hearts bleed for the so-called lot of the Indian factory hands and are, therefore, leaving no stone untur to make them happy, ever turned t attention to the lot of the clerks and t servants who are on the ministerial menial establishments of the British In Government and done anything to rem their grievances and better their condi of existence? Why, the subordinate judi service—composed of Graduates who un stand and administer law and justice b than the members of the Indian Civil heaven-born-service as it is called, is

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badly paid and is overworked, with the result that many fall victims to various ailments—most notoriously diabetes, and yet nothing has been attempted so far to inquire into their state of affairs or ameliorate their condition. The employees of the subordinate medical, postal and telegraph departments are not treated so well as their comrades are in other civilized countries,—it would not be a strong expression to say that they are regularly sweated,—and yet the hearts of the phillanthropists are bleeding for the Indian factory hands and not for others.

The laws in operation in the tea gardens in Assam are such that even the late Babu Kristo Das Paul, C.I.E., was obliged to refer to them as legalising slavery. The coolies work under conditions which are hardly better than those of slaves. Yet because these gardens are mostly owned by Englishmen, therefore the phillanthropists of England will not raise their little finger to have those repealed or altered or make the lot of the coolies happy. It is an open secret that Sir Henry Cotton did not get the office of Lieutenant Governor that was his due because he tried to ameliorate the condition of these coolies.

In a country where millions have to thank their stars if they can get even one scanty meal a day, regulating the hours of labour in the case of the mill hands, whose long hours are voluntary, is entirely uncalled for and can by no stretch of language be called phillanthropic.

The Reform Scheme

(**The Modern Review,** December, 1909)

By the Indian Councils Act of this year and the Regulations issued in connection with it, educated non-Islamic Indians have been completely outwitted and nonplussed by the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy. As educated men, as graduates, as members of the learned professions, as payers of taxes, they are nowhere. If accidentally they be landholders of a certain standing or members of District Boards or Municipalities, they are the ablest, the most independent, and most influential men in the country, and therefore bureaucratic interests required that they should be kept at arm's length from the enlarged councils as far as practicable.

Mussalman graduates of at least 10 years' standing have been given the vote. But the generality of educated Mussalmans not having obtained that right, and many of their co-religionists of undoubtedly lower education having got it, there is discontent in the ranks of the educated Mahommedans.

In fact, the British rulers of India dislike nothing so much as the educated Indian, be he Hindu or Mussalman, Christian or Parsi, Sikh or Jain. And were it not for the exigencies of the Divide-and-Rule policy, and the rejuvenescence of Turkey, and to some extent of Persia also, as Islamic powers, and the presence of Afghanistan too, in close vicinity with India as a self-ruling country, the educated Mussalmans too, would not have got the slight recognition that they have received.

But it does not much matter who gets the vote or who does not. For though in the new councils there are to be more members, and more discussion than before, and though, as new features, there are to be supplementary questions following interpellations and also resolutions, the non-official majorities being shams (as they are not wholly elective and will comprise European members too) the officials will be quite as powerful as before. And of this we do not in the least complain. He is a fool who asks or expects his opponent to be generous or unselfish. A privileged class of aliens has never parted with an iota of power unless obliged to do so. And what proof is there of our strength to impel the rulers of India to conciliate us? Rather will they be justified in self-defence to seek to make us weaker still.

It may indeed be said, what does it matter though some Indian members of council be nominated? If they be patriotic, they will side with the elected members and make the popular cause victorious. And if they are not patriotic, whose fault is it? Certainly yours and theirs, but not of the Government. A plausible argument no

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doubt. But are not there in the freest countries plenty of men who seek their own interests rather than the interests of the country at large? England is a free country. But what are the Lords doing there now? Are they not going against the interests of the nation? So, however free or patriotic a nation may be, you can never obtain a partly-elected non-offical party of oppositionists quite as powerful and effective as if they were all elected men.

It has been said that the Regulations infringe the terms of the Queen's Proclamation and the King-Emperor's Message as regards religious neutrality. But when were these terms observed in the spirit or to the letter? In the matter of public appointments, particularly in the military line, and as regards admission to volunteer corps, and in the administration of criminal justice, there has always been discrimination against Indians. The only new departure is that a new favoured class has now been created.

It has been further said that the Regulations are guilty of favouritism. But this sort of criticism shows that we Indians are too simple-minded to be politicians and statesmen. When did the British rulers of India set their hearts upon unifying all Indian races and creeds,—upon building up an Indian nation? It is no easy task to govern a foreign people. Whatever weapon comes handy must be used. Favouritism will be resorted to so long as that is the safest method;—only the favourite of today must make room for the favourite of tomorrow, as the case with the wives of much-married fellows.

Many have wondered why Mussalmans alone must everywhere have the preference here because they are in a minority, there because they are politically important" and **therefore** unable to take care of themselves, and why Hindus even when in minority do not require any protection. Well, the blunt truth is the Mussalman a free citizen in some countries of the world, but will you point out in what country a Hindu is a born citizen? If he do not recognise the citizenship of the Mussalman in India, he may if so inclined migrate to Persia or Turkey. A helot and a helot and a citizen is a citizen; that is the long and short of it.

Of course the Regulations might have been made less deliberately insulting. There is no offence necessarily meant in giving Mussalman separate representation. If the same classes of men of the same standing as regards wealth or education had been given the vote or the right to stand as candidates, irrespective of creed, no one would have thought that there was any intention to insult or humiliate non-Muslims. But we should remember that we have been the sharpest critics of the British rulers in India. Why do we forget that every dog has his turn? If we apply the blister we should be prepared to receive pin-pricks.

"But why not make the best of it?" Of course it is worthwhile. People do not for the sake the Kolar Gold Fields and flock to the sandy river-beds where gold may be found in infinitesimal quantities. Men who can or may be otherwise usefully occupied should not plunge the country into political or personal strife for an empty honour. But those whose time hangs heavy on their hands, or who require some handle to their names, to acquire importance, may try the game of canvassing for votes, if they can do so without feeling any loss of self-respect. For we do not say that the enlarged councils are absolutely unmitigated sham

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GANDHIAN SOCIALISM—A STUDY

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Gandhi—A Socialist or A Bourgeois ?

Controversy has raged round the question as to whether Gandhi was a socialist or a bourgeois. Scholars and leaders with Marxist leanings have condemned him as "an agent of the capitalists,"[1] while others have maintained that the Gandhian doctrine of Sarvodaya was better socialism than Marxist Communism. In any case, two things can be stated with reasonable certainty. First that Gandhi was not a bourgeois thinker in the usual sense of the term. Even a prominent Communist has admitted that, "Gandhi in his life and teaching was the very anti-thesis of the bourgeois", and that, "it is silly to aver that Gandhi acted as the conscious and willing tool of the bourgeois."[2] Second is that he was not a socialist in the Marxist sense of the term as he had no faith in the doctrine of Class War.

Yet the whole spirit of Gandhian thought was socialistic. He had the same extreme concern for the suppressed and the oppressed as Marx had and the cause of the 'have-nots' is as much the basic sentiment of Gandhism as of Marxism. "I am working for winning Swaraj", he wrote, "for those toiling and unemployed millions, who do not get even a square meal a day and have to scratch along with a piece of a stale roti' and a pinch of salt."[3] He was also as much aware of the need of economic equality as Marx was. To him economic equality "it the master key to non-violent Independence. . . . A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persist."[4] In India of his dream "all the 'bhangis' doctors, lawyers, merchants and others would get the same wages for an honest day's work."[5] In face of such evidence it is clearly uncharitable to call Gandhi a stooge of capitalists. "Birla's outlay for Gandhian enterprises", says Louis Fischer, "ran into millions of rupees. . . . But had the occasion demanded, Gandhi might have led a strike of Birla's mill workers, as he did in the case of his friend and financial backer, Ambalal Sarabhai of Ahmedabad."[6] True, labour was not the central figure in his economic philosophy, but his place is taken not by capitalists but by peasants. He was against state-ownership, but his ideal was not private-ownership, but village ownership.[7] "Real socialism", he wrote, "has been handed down to us by our anscestors. 'All land belongs to Gopal, where is the boundary line ?' . . . Gopal . . . also means God. In modern language it means . . . the people . . . and all property is his who will work it."[8] His theory of Trusteeship has been wrongly criticized by communists as an "insidous weapon" for lulling the 'have-nots'.[9] In reality Gandhi's views about private property were more radical than that of communists. "He would like to dispossess every person of all kinds of belongings. If he tolerates the institution of private property it is not because he loves it or holds it to be necessary for the progress of humanity, but because he has yet to discover a truthful and non-violent method of abolishing that institution."[10] His ideal was complete renunciation. Trusteeship was only the second best. And when he found that the response of 'haves' was not encouraging he accepted the idea of nationalization of industries and dispossession of 'haves' through legislation. A tentative Constitution for free India, which had his approval, contained inter alia :—

> "Every citizen shall have the right to obtain a minimum living wage through honest work or employment."
>
> ". . . . . no servant of the State shall be paid more than Rs. 500 per month."
>
> "Inheritance Taxes on a graduated scale shall be levied on property above a fixed minimum."
>
> "The following types of wealth which are now owned by private capitalists shall become national property :
>
> (a) All the land shall belong to the State ; private landlords and Zamindari systems of land tenure will, therefore, cease to exist.

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The State shall grant long leases to those farmers who actually till the soil.

(b) All the key industries shall be owned by the Nation. . . . .

(c) Mines, rivers, forests, roads, railways, air transport, posts and telegraphs, shipping and other means of public transport, shall be National Property."[11]

In a way Gandhi's concern for the underdog was more genuine than that of avowed socialists and communists. He was not an arm-chair philosopher preaching socialism from Olympian heights but became a concrete incarnation of socialism by actually reducing himself "to the level of the poorest of the poor."[12] There is truth in his claim that, "All the socialists should learn socialism from me."[13] Rightly does Dr. Varma maintain, "It is a historical blasphemy to represent Gandhi as the protagonist of the Indian bourgeois."[14]

Thus Gandhian economics is essentially socialistic but this socialism is very different from that of Marx. Marxist socialism is materialistic, industrialistic, dictatorial and radical; Gandhi's moral, agrarian, democratic and conservative. The former is popularly known as Communism, the latter as Sarvodaya.

A Moral & Spiritual Socialism

Gandhi's socialism is moral and spiritual. Marx's ideal was the establishment of a classless society ultimately and the dictatorship of the proletariat immediately. He was prepared to adopt any kind of means for the realization of his goal, but Gandhi, who aimed at the establishment of a non-violent social order, believed "that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means."[15] "This socialism", he said, "is as pure as crystal. It requires crystal like means to achieve it."[16] His is "a non-violent communism."[17]

Yet as Mashruwala has maintained, the difference between Gandhism and Marxism cannot be stated by such simple equations as "Gandhism is Communism minus violence" or "Gandhism is Communism plus God." ". . . . the Gandhian way of looking at life and life's problems is basicaly different."[18] To Marx the basic principle was inert matters; to Gandhi life or *Atma*. To Gandhi matter has its being in and by life; it has no existence independent of life. Life or *Atma* aolne is *Satya*—Truth, the ever ab... principle. ". . . . all life is one", he says, "a... whole universe including myself is a mani... tion of God."[19] Marxists regard spiritual ... ties merely as the product of economic condi... but to Gandhi spiritual values are the very ess... of human existence. To Marx religion is ... "opium of the poor", but to Gandhi "the ... tence of the world in a broad sense depend... religion."[20]

Marx was a materialistic thinker. His ... a philosophy of attachment and he laid ... stress on a 'high standard of living', but Gan... is a philosophy of renunciation based on the ... ciple of 'simple living and high thinking'. ... lization in the real sense of the term", ... Gandhi, "consists not in the multiplication, ... in the deliberate and voluntary restriction ... wants. This alone promotes real happiness ... contentment, and increases the capacity for ... vice."[21]

Marxism is a philosophy of hate, Gandhi ... a philosophy of love. Gandhi rejects the Mar... theory of class war which envisaged perma... and irrevocable antagonism between haves ... have-nots especially between capital and lab... "Capital and Labour", he maintains, "need ... be antagonistic. . . ."[22] "A labourer's ski... his capital. Just as the capitalist cannot ... his capital fructify without the co-operation ... labour, even so the workingmen cannot make ... labour fructify without the co-operation of ... tal . . . . they would get to respect each oth... equal partners in a common enterpris... Gandhi had immense faith in the essential ... ness of human nature. He refused to believe ... there were only two ways of converting a ru... either by beheading him or by making him ... cate. His way was to make the ruler soc... through love—through Bread Labour and Tr... ship.

Bread Labour and Trusteeship

The theory of Bread Labour is based o... principle of the sanctity and dignity of la... It postulates that, "every healthy individual ... labour enough for his food and his intell... faculties must be exercised not in order to ... a living or amass a fortune but only in the ... vice of mankind.[24] Gandhi believed that, ... laboured for their bread and no more, than ...

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would be enough food and enough leisure for all. . . . There will then be no rich and no poor; none high none low; no touchable and no untouchable."[25]

According to the doctrine of Trusteeship the rich are to be left in possession of their wealth but they must regard themselves not as owners but trustees of their wealth and use it for the service of society, taking for themselves no more than a fair return for service rendered. Gandhi assumed honesty on the part of the trustee, but if the rich do not become trustees of their wealth, then Gandhi advises non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience as the right and infallible remedy, because "The rich cannot accummulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society."[26]

This theory of Trusteeship is the central point of the economic policy which Gandhi contemplated for the national Government in India. When in 1929, Gandhi propounded his theory, he expected generous response from Indian capitalists and Zamindars. But in actual practice the response was found to be utterly poor. Consequently Gandhi revised his views. He accepted the idea of Statutory Trusteeship[27] and while in the beginning he seemed to assume that the trusteeship would be inherited by the son, he declared in 1938 that, "A trustee has no heir but the public."[28]

An Agrarian Socialism

Marx's socialism was urban and industrial, Gandhi's peasant and agrarian. India is a peasant country where more than 85 per cent of the population depend on agriculture. It was natural, therefore, that peasants and not industrial labour occupied the central place in Gandhian philosophy which has also come to be known as Villagism or Gramism. A decentralized rural economy consisting of small self-sufficient village communities, was Gandhi's ideal. In his ideal society "nothing will be allowed to be produced by cities which can be equally well-produced by villages. The proper function of cities is to serve as clearing houses for village products."[29] He wanted "to resusciate the villages of India."[30] For this he evolved a detailed constructive programme of Khadi and Village Industries.

Village Reconstruction Through Khadi and Village Industries.

Gandhi's constructive programme was based on the principle of decentralization. Gandhi believed that centralization necessarily involved violence or exploitation either by the individual or the State.[31] Hence he worked out the blue print of a decentralized economy which envisaged the establishment of autonomous rural communities which were to attain economic self-sufficiency through an elaborate constructive programme of Khadi and Small-scale Cottage or Village Industries.

From 1908 till his death, the spinning wheel or khadi remained the central hub of Gandhi's constructive village industries programme, but its meaning and implications went on changing. From 1908 to 1920 he emphasized it as the most suitable subsidiary industry which could bring relief to poor peasants. During the Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements of the 1920s and 1930s, khadi assumed a political importance. Gandhi began to view it as an embodiment of *Ahimsa*, a necessary training and preparation for Satyagraha and a living link between the rich and the poor.[32] Gandhi also came to regard it as the foundation of non-violent socialism and tried to perfect its economics. He concerned himself with problems of production and distribution of wealth and endeavoured to popularize the spinning wheel with a view to prevent concentration of power and capital and to bring about equitable distribution. In 1925, he established the All-India Spinners' Association and in 1931 founded the All-India Village Industries' Association, first with the object of making the whole of India Khadi-clad and the second with the object of reviving the moribund cottage industries of India.

After 1935 Gandhi's views on khadi further underwent a new reorientation. He began to lay emphasis on the ethics rather than the commerce of khaddar. "The essential function of the A.I.S.A. was defined to be educative. Khadi Bhanders, under the new orientation, were to be centres for imparting instruction in the various processes of khadi production rather than depots for the sale of khadi for money."[33] Thus khadi became the symbol of a new civilization and to quote Gandhi:

"It (khadi) connotes the beginning of eco-

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nomic freedom and equality of all in the country. . . . . It means a wholesale Swadeshi mentality, a determination to find all the necessaries of life in India and that too through the labour and intellect of the villagers. That means a reversal of the existing process. That is to say that, instead of half a dozen cities of India and Great Britain living on the exploitation and the ruin of the 70,000 villages of India, the latter will be largely self-contained, and will voluntarily serve the cities and even the outside world in so far as it benefits both the parties."[34]

Machinery and Industrialization within Limits

Gandhi's faith in villagism and decentralization made him an opponent of machinery, industrialization and the modern materialistic civilization of the West. The "vast differences between the few rich and the poverty-stricken masses seemed to him due to two principal causes : foreign rule and the exploitation that accompanied it, and the capitalist industrial civilization of the west as embodied in the big machine. He reacted against both."[35] However, his attitude towards machinery and industrialization had a gradual evolution. In 1908, he denounced machinery and industrialization as symbols of modern civilisation,[36] but in the early twenties he slightly modified his attitude. He began to appreciate the distinction between machinery and industrialization and machinery of one kind and another. He continued to denounce industrialism, *i.e.*, centralized mass production with profit as the motive, but recognized that machinery in itself was not bad. He confessed that the spinning wheel itself was a piece of valuable machinery[37] and that some machinery could be used for human welfare, to relieve his drudgery and to lighten his burden.[38] His aim became not "eradication of all machinery but limitation"[39] and he began to favour the use of machinery and scientific discoveries, such as electricity, provided they ceased "to be mere instruments of greed" and were adopted for "honest humanitarian considerations."[40] His programme of khadi was aimed at restoring the machine to its proper place in the scheme of life.

Thus Gandhi made peace with machinery but his condemnation of industrialization became all the more severe and he declared :

"Our concern is to destroy industrialism at any cost."[41] He denounced industrialism not only the ground that it inevitably led to the exploitation of the villages[42] and made men subservient to machines but also on the ground that it was the real cause of international tensions and wars because it "enabled these (industrially advanced) nations to exploit others."[43] In place of centralized large-scale industries he advocated his programme of decentralized cottage industries. As a substitute to 'mass production' he raised the slogan of 'production by masses' and in 1934 established the All-India Village Industries' Association to put this slogan into practice. Yet he had to recognize the inevitability of some industrialization. He ultimately reconciled himself to the establishment of some 'key industries' or bigger factories, but only on certain conditions. These conditions were :[44]

(1) They do not cause unemployment ;
(2) They are owned or at least controlled by the State ;
(3) They are run in the spirit of public service ;
(4) Their labourers are given reasonable wages ;
(5) Their work is made attractive and pleasant ;
(6) Nothing is chosen as a 'key industry' that can be taken up by the villages with little organization.

Thus Gandhi modified his villagism to some extent, yet large-scale industry occupied only a subsidiary place in his schme of things and as Kumarappa says, "We (Gandhites) use centralized industries as physicians use poisons. Others hope to use centralized industries as staple food. The centralized methods are to be used with proper safeguards."[45]

Gandhi and Industrial Labour

As we have seen, in Gandhian economics the peasant occupies the central place, but it does not mean that he ignored industrial labour. Indeed, Gandhi was keenly alive of the misery of industrial labour and did so much for them that to quote a famous labour leader, "Gandhiji may be considered in a real sense as the first leader of the Indian labour movement."[46] Both in South Africa and India he took keen interest in their welfare and missed no opportunity of helping labour to remove its industrial and social handicaps.

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March, 1918, he successfully led the famous Ahmedabad Labour Satyagraha and on February 25th, 1920, he inaugurated the first regular union of the workers in the Indian Textile Industry, namely, Ahmedabad Textile Labour Union. From time to time he lent support to the legitimate demands of labour, but he was against indiscriminate strikes[47] and severely condemned the exploitation of labour for political purposes.[48]

A Democratic Socialism

Gandhi's socialism is not only moral and agrarian but also democratic. To him Marx's ideal of classless society was an impossible dream and he aimed not at the rule of any class or section of society but at Sarvodaya—'the welfare of all'. He was not prepared to sacrifice the individual at the altar of equality and was opposed to dictatorship of any kind—either of capitalists or of the proletariat. In his own words:

"I look upon an increase of the power of the State with the greatest fear, because, although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress. We know of so many cases where men have adopted trusteeship, but none where the State has really lived for the poor."[49]

"I cannot accept benevolent or any other dictatorship. Neither will the rich vanish nor will the poor be protected . . . The real remedy lies in non-violent democracy, otherwise spelt true education of all. The rich should be taught the doctrine of stewardship and the poor that of self help."[50]

"My Socialism means 'even unto this last'. I do not want to rise on the ashes of the blind, the deaf and the dumb. In their Socialism, probably these have no place."[51]

A Conservative Socialism

It may seem a contradiction in terms, yet it is true that Gandhi's socialism is at one and the same time revolutionary as well as conservative. While it visualized many revolutionary changes, it, instead of rejecting old terms and ideas and concepts which have been accepted and respected by the community, tried to retain them, give them broader meaning, evolve their forms and infuse new life into them. His doctrines of Bread Labour[52] and Trusteeship[53] were both based on ancient Hindu scriptures, and he accepted as the foundation of his socio-economic system not only the agrarian village community but also the ancient Indian concept of Varna Vyavastha (socio-economic order), though he modified it in such a way that on the one hand the danger of a theocratic society and excessive class rigidity could be avoided and, on the other hand, a bulwark against inter-class strife and disruptive social mobility could be provided. He accepted the functional division of society into four major classes, i.e., Brahmin (teacher and priest), Kshatriya (warrior), Vaishya (merchant), Shudra (worker), but he redefined Varna Vyavastha as "following, on the part of us all, the hereditary and traditional calling of our forefathers, in so far as the traditional calling is not inconsistent with fundamental ethics, and this only for the purpose of carrying one's livelihood."[54] He rejected all caste sub-divisions and also the Hindu orthodox idea that caste status is the result of divine reward and punishment. He made it absolutely clear that in his Varna Vyavastha "there is absolutely no idea of superiority or infeiority,"[55] and "all the 'bhangis,' doctors, lawyers, merchants and others would get the same wages for an honest day's work."[56] Thus he made Varna Vyavastha a system of healthy division of work based on birth, free from all the ugly features of the Hindu caste system.

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3. *Young India*, 26th March, 1931, p. 53.
4. *Constructive Programme—Its Meaning and Place*, pp. 20-21.
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6. Louis Fischer : *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 403.
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9. Refer, Hiren Mukherjee : *Gandhiji—A Study*, p. 111.
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17. *Ibid.*, 12th February, 1937.
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23. *Harijan*, 3rd July, 1937.
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28. *Harijan*, 13th April, 1938.
29. *Ibid.*, 28th January, 1939.
30. *Ibid.*, 9th October, 1937.
31. Refer, S. N. Agarwal : *Gandhian Constitution For Free India*, pp. 51-66.
32. Refer, *Harijan*, 25th August, 1946.
33. Pyarelal : "Khadi on Trial" in *Harijan*, 25th August, 1946.
34. M. K. Ghandhi : *Constructive Programme—Its Meaning and Place*, p. 11.
35. J. L. Nehru : *The Discovery of India*, p. 411.
36. Refer, M. K. Gandhi : *Hind Swaraj*, pp. 96-100.
37. *Young India*, 3rd November, 1921.
38. *Ibid.*, 13th November, 1924.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, 7th October, 1926.
42. *Harijan*, 29th August, 1936.
43. *Young India*, 22nd October, 1931.
44. *Young India*, 13th November, 1924; *Harijan*, 28th January, 1939.
45. Cited in *Ilami Markaz* (Ed.) : *Gandhiji Has Done For India*, p. 157.
46. G. L. Nanda in *Ilami Markaz* (Ed.) : *What Gandhiji Has Done For India*, p. 50.
47. Refer, M. K. Gandhi : *Economic Industrial Life and Relations*, Vol. III, pp. 15
48. Refer, *Young India*, 11th Feb 1920.
49. Nirmal Kumar Bose : "An Inte With Gandhiji" in *The Modern Review*, Oct 1935, p. 413.
50. *Harijan*, 8th June, 1940.
51. *Ibid.*, 4th August, 1946.
52. "In my view the same principle been set forth in the third chapter of the where we are told that he who eats wi offering sacrifice, eats stolen food. Sac here can only mean Bread labour." From *avda Mandir*, p. 35.

The verse referred to by Gandhi is follows :

इष्टभोगान्हि वो देवा दास्यन्ते भव भाविता।
वैर्दत्तानप्रदायैभ्यो यो भुंक्ते सेन एव सा ।गीता

53. Gandhi believed (refer, *Harijan*, June, 1939) that the doctrine of Trusteeship implicit in the first verse of Ishopanishad, is as follows :

ॐ ईशावास्यामिदं सर्वं यत्किंचित जगत्यां जगत्।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः मा गृधः कस्यचिद्धनम् ।ईशोपनिषद्

54. *Young India*, 20th October, 1927.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Harijan*, 15th January, 1938.

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SOCIAL CHANGE BY REVOLUTION

By MUKUL K. DEY, PH.D. (London)

Meaning of Revolution

Writers have widely differed in their understanding of the term revolution. The meanings in which the term has been used may be subsumed under three broad categories. One of these categories includes such interpretations which reduce revolution to a narrowly restricted phenomenon occasionally observable in a particular aspect of social life, namely the political aspect. Jean Bodin pioneered this viewpoint by describing revolution as a shift in the location of sovereignty, and this concept has since then been accepted in many quarters. A second category includes those ideas which emphasize that revolution may pertain to not only political but all other aspects of social life, *viz.*, religion, industry, technolgy, knowledge, education, economic system, etc. The principal proponents of these ideas are Le Bon and Allwood. Le Bon has explicityly stated in his *Psychology of Revolution* that revolution means any sudden transformation. On the other hand, according to the interpretations of the third category, any revolution is all-pervasive as it involves changes in all aspects of social life. Thus, in the course of a revolution, not only the sovereignty is translocated, but the entire social structure with all its important institutions is thrown into a state of flux. Summer and Parsons share this notion, while Hyndman has stated it most emphatically. He maintains that a revolution is incomplete unless it encompasses changes in all the spheres of social existence.

The third kind of explanation as observed above being the most acceptable, it may be stated that revolution is a popular movement whereby a significant change in the structure of a nation or society is effected. Usually, an overthrowal of the existing government and the substitution of a new one come early in such a movement, while significant social and economic changes appear afterwards. The palace coups which have no popular backing and the rebellions that produce no significant change are not revolutions.

As for counter-revolution which means the reverse of revolution, it invloves the same violent means and generally the same techniques, but its aim is to restore the interests originally dislocated by revolution. Franco's role in the Spanish revolution and Kornilov's in the bloody civil war that followed the Bolshevic revoution are typical examples of counter-revolution. The counter-revolutionary movement differs from the reactionary movement in that it appeals to those segments of the population which are out of sympathy with the new order but not necessarily agreeable to a return to the old regime and that it fabricates a revolutionary facade to attract those segments as well as the unseated interests.

National vs. Social Revolution

Whereas revolution is movement from the bottom of a social order, ending in a reversal or, in moderate cases, re-organization of the power relationships, two broad varieties of revolution can be discerned, namely national and social revolution. In social revolution, the struggle is limited to certain classes or interests within the same national entity. On the other hand, national revolution lays stress upon the overthrowal of a foreign power's rule and the establishment of a self-governing national state. The pattern of relationships among the classes or interests need not necessarily be transformed in the wake of a national revolution.

However, the distinction between these two forms of revolution is not so clear at the practical level. There are abundant instances in history of how revolutions of the national and social types could be superimposed. The French Revolution which greatly contributed to the spread of nationalism set off a series of revolutions in nineteenth-century Europe which were clear mixtures of both. Further, in its later phase, the French Revolution itself emphasized the nation more and more, while at the same time propagating a new social faith. In the late nineteenth century, the national and social fabrics of revolution broke away from their

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common structure, the former taking the shape of xenophobic reactions as it were and the latter assuming the form of international socialism.

Revolution vs. Reform

The phenomena of social change can be grouped into the mechanistic and voluntaristic types. The phenomena of the mechanistic type contain some kind of automatic processes which unfold themselves in time, whereas the voluntaristic social changes are dominated by human will and efforts. As both revolution and reform are voluntaristic changes, they may be considered to be somewhat similar. Furthermore, what follows the shift in sovereignty in the revolutionary process is much akin to reform. Such similarities have been magnified by certain authors to the extent of identifying reformation as a form of revolution. However, the differences between these two phenomena are too sharp to be mistaken. For one thing, reformation is a gradual process, but revolution necessarily implies cataclysm, *i.e.*, abrupt change. For another thing, whereas change is brought about in reformation by the ruling minority group as a sign of philanthropy or gesture of concession to the ruled majority, the interest of the hitherto suppressed group is looked after by its own members in the revolutionary change.

Monistic vs. Pluralistic Theories

Several unique monistic explanations of revolutionary change have been advanced so far. The most prominent one is that of the Marxists who claim that revolutionary change comes as a sequel to the conflict between the methods of production on the one hand and the legal and psychological institutions of property, *i.e.*, laws and thought patterns resulting from control by the propertied class, on the other. Such a conflict leads to class struggle which, in turn, engenders shifts of power from one class to another, and hence the revolutions. Another monistic theory which explains the facts of the French Revolution in particular is the *conspiracy theory*. According to this theory, revolutions have come about because some groups have persuaded the people for reasons of their own (selfish or neurotic) to follow along bad paths as it were. A third form of monistic explanation has been developed by Sorokin who believes all social changes—revolution included—from epistemological or ethical causes consist in the conflict of values.

Needless to say, there are merits in monistic theories. Howevr, the basic point makes it difficult to accept any of these as a plete account is that such a tremendously va and complex phenomenon as the revolution many social, economic, and intellectual in tions and can hardly be accounted for by a cause. For a more satisfactory explanatio social revolution, one should better look to tiple causation. A study of the causes of French Revolution and of the other recent lutions may lead to the suggestion that a wherein weightage might be given to causes would provide a more satisfactory exp tion of the processes of revolution. It has hinted at in several works dealing with the tical aspects of revolution, particularly Trotsky's *History of the Russian Evolution*, Edwards' *The Natural History of Revol* Crane Brenton's *The Anatomy of Revolutions*, P. Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics*.

Five Basic Determinants of Revolution

The author of this paper would delineate basic determinants for a pluralistic concept revolution. The first one among these is linked the demand for social change which in turn pends upon personal discontent or despair. ever, personal dissatisfaction is not a cause of the revolutionary phenomena, because personal dissatisfaction is magnified and re tionary change is pinpointed as a process h the prospects of alleviating dissatisfaction, revolution can hardly come about. Therefore first basic determinant of revolution is pro tion.

In association with provocation, there be widespread awareness of the fact that s dissatisfaction is experienced and the need similar social change is felt by many Therefore, a second condition essential for unleashing of a revolution is greatly crysta public opinion. The mere fact that one is contented would not commit one to revoluti participation, unless one is aware of simila periences, distressful feelings, and visualiz of means of relief in other individuals.

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The third determinant is the hopefulness about success. Hopefulness about revolutionary success is incumbent firstly upon the programme of action and secondly upon leadership. A popular programme does not by itself guarantee revolutionary success. It would not make people hopeful unless they felt that someone whom they trusted was going to lead them to the achievement of that programme.

Then, there is the factor of ideology or social myth with which both provocation and hopefulness are linked up. The facts and after-effects of the French Revolution have shown how forceful the role of ideology in social unrest could be. The necessity of ideology with regard to revolution is evidenced in many phases of revolution which include the laying out of provocative propaganda, construction of programme of action, and orientation of leadership qualities. Further, when the revolution is well in progress, it receives dynamism from the social myth which is precipitated by a blending of ideology with intensified emotions of the participants.

The last but the most important one among the five causes of revolution is the weakness of the conservative forces. This is the most precipitating cause of revolution. Despite the universal demand for revolutionary change and intense hopefulness about success, unless those who wish to maitain the *status quo* are so weak that they cannot keep themselves in power at ease, there is little likelihood of a successful revolution. This was particularly stressed by the world's master revolutionists and have been tested against the facts of revolutionary history.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN INDIA—AN APPRAISAL

By Shri PANNALAL DHAR, M.A.

OUR Constitution is based on universal franchise and provides equality before law for every citizen who can live, engage in any trade or profession and own property in any part of India. The fundamental rights give freedom of conscience, ensure free speech and free press, free association and exercise of religious faith. The Directive principles which enunciate the objectives of the State to be pursued are a source of inspiration to all executive and legislative acts. The legislatures are elected on the basis of universal adult franchise,—there is also independent judiciary to keep a check on the executive and the legislature. Thus all the democratic principles are embodied in the Constitution.

But it is now agitating the minds of eminent publicists as well as the minds of ordinary voters as to how far Parliamentary democracy has succeeded or is likely to succeed in its practical day-to-day working in India. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss their opinions.

In the series of Five-Year Plans which have been launched in India after Independence, some eminent men have found denial of the democratic principle. Thus Shri J. B. Kripalani feels that the Plans lay too much emphasis on the future neglecting the needs and comforts of those who have to live in the present. Shri Rajagopalachari thinks that these Plans have been drawing heavily on the internal resources of the country, and have also made the country heavily indebted to the foreign nations who have been advancing loans,—the cumulative effects of which, according to him, will have to be borne by future generations to come; but members of these generations have at present no say in this matter and to that extent he states, they are disenfranchised. According to Shri Kripalani, the situation is also very explosive. For, with universal adult franchise, there is large scale illiteracy and the voters who have no hope of good living in the present, are likely to fall an easy prey to the publicity and propaganda of political parties advocating totalitarianism either of the Left or of the Right or of the military type. He also ominously points out that neither in France, nor in Russia, the masses did have the patience to wait for a bright future when they could no longer carry on with the bleak present. Shri M. Masani sees in the highly centralised state planning the spectre of totalitarianism of the Russian variety. For in such planning, industrialists, businessmen, professional men, artisans, etc., will vanish and with them all the autonomous institutions which

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constitute organised opposition, so vital to the growth of democracy. In the rise of collectivisation of land under Co-operatives, Shri Masani also sees the death of peasant proprietorship and signs of totalitarian control. Shri H. V. Kamath mentions that in the role of a Welfare State the Government is gradually encroaching upon and taking over all economic functions of society, and as political powers are derived from or at least consolidated by economic powers, there has been gradual concentration of economic and political powers in the hands of a few. As these autonomous institutions are fast disappearing from the country, the autonomous social forces, according to Shri Masani and Shri Kamath, are also disappearing and with them all organised opposition to the Government in power, paving the way for totalitarianism of one party. Shri Shiva Rao also points out the ever-increasing powers assumed by the Planning Commission and the National Development Council both being headed by the Prime Minister. The Commission and the N.D.C. are sometimes encroaching upon the authority of Parliament and the State Legislatures and also on the authority of the Central Cabinet. The assumption of vast and ever-increasing powers by the Planning Commission and the N.D.C. in the name of economic and social progress manifests in their opinion authoritarian trends in administration.

Shri Kripalani points out that democracy is not merely a form of Government but a way of life based on principles of equality, justice and fair-play, and unless both political leaders and administrators follow the democratic way in their personal and official life, democracy will not succeed in practice in India. Without such moral foundation the Government will be dominated by political, social and economic pressures from vested interests with the result that people will have no respect for the rule of law and lawlessness will prevail and centrifugal forces let loose as at present giving rise to provincialism, linguisim, communalism, smuggling, black-marketing, etc. While Shri Kripalani lays stress on moral principles to follow, Shri Rajagopalachari advocates no-party coalition Government. He also advocates decentralised Government down to village level and appointment of elected bureaucracy at all levels, by indirect election. He further feels that no-party Government officials should pay house-to-house visits as in census operations and distribute voting cards without the mentality of political parties. These measures, his opinion, will eliminate corruption and tism from administrative and political life.

The form of Parliamentary democracy actually a copy borrowed from the West. illiterate masses understand the institutions hazily and have little emotional attachment them. Freedom of speech has got no signifi for the man who has little interest to attend meeting. Similarly, freedom of the press c interest most of the people 80 per cent of are illiterates. Appreciation of the right to requires a certain social and political cons ness amongst the people, but these people mostly uneducated, one form of government not appear very different from another, them. Thus in one word, there is absence public opinion to constitute effective oppos to the Government in power. There has been one major party and a very weak oppos from the others.

Some publicists like Shri B. Shiva maintain that while exercising emergency po the President should act independently of advice of his Council of Ministers. For, maintain, the members of the Council of Mi ters may belong to a party different from party of the ministers of the State in which Rule of the President may be proclaim which case the majority party at the Centre bring President's Rule in a State run by an party. The critics cite the example of Kera

Again, in some democratic countries critics point out, no amendments are made t Constitution without first obtaining a di mandate from the electorate through a Ge Election. In India however amendments to Constitution are made without any such man The ease with which some amendments have made, has impaired the sanctity of the Cons tion according to some.

In the Parliamentary form of Govern itself, critics point out, lurks the seed of own destruction. For the enemies of demo enter Parliament and use it as a forum which they practise their anti-democratic under the safety of the privilege of Parlia Further, behind the facade of constitutional tutions, the intelligentsia can work upon poverty and the despair of the masses; and intelligentsia itself may be inclined to

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communism because not enough jobs are open to it. In Kerala, the highest rate of literacy coupled with terrible poverty and unemployment, paved the way for Communist victory in the general elections. Moreover, as India becomes progressively industrialised, the town proletariat will grow, and it is an historical fact that discontent of a proletariat often increases with its growing prosperity.

With the advance in technology and the consequential "Big organisations," the "little man" disappears from the social and economic field. With the gradual expansion of the public sector, a small coterie of men, that is the bureaucracy, is likely to rule the economic and social field, though the old froms of election, Parliament, Supreme Court, etc., will still remain. The elementary Republics of the Wards, the County Republics, the State Republics and the Republic of the Union, forming a graded hierarchy of authorities so close to Jefferson's ideal of democracy, will thus gradually disappear.

It is true that the great expectations have not yet been realised in full. Thus poverty continues to be a great curse and unemployment stares in the face of adults. Price-levels show no sign of diminishing. Black-marketing and smuggling are still there. There are also complaints of corruption in high circles and nepotism in administration.

But then industrially we are in a better position today. It is true that in the Russian Plan, nationalisation of industries and collectivisation of land form integral parts and our public sector and farmer's proposed co-operatives are reminiscent of such plans. But there is nothing wrong if we benefit by the experience of other nations. Moreover, there is the private sector to run alongside the public sector, and, what is more, there is the mixed sector where both State and private concerns have concurrent jurisdiction to operate. There is, therefore, no stifling of private enterprise. Besides, improvement of cottage industries is encouraged and industrial finance Corporations are there to assist small-scale industries to grow.

It is true that the economic forces let loose by the series of Plans will be mutative in future years to come and to that extent future generations are to suffer. But every scheme and plan have an element of futurity. The only point is to fix limits of such futurity by preventing the authorities against indulging in spending a spree in the name of development.

In administration there is vast scope for decentralisation, and, for that reason, Village Panchayats are being organised. Though full separation of the Judiciary from the Executive is yet to materialise, the Judiciary has already stood up many times against encroachments by the Executive and Legislatures on fundamental rights of citizens. Social justice has been ensured by making untouchability a penal offence and by passing the Hindu Code Bill. A crusade against dowry is on. Ceilings in land holdings have been fixed and Land-lordism done away with. The farmers can now combine under co-operatives for better farming and better marketing.

It is true that workers are yet to have living wages, to have full protection against unemployment and old age though much ground has since been covered to insure against sickness and disability and towards ensurig maternity benefits.

It is true there is no sign of the growth of a strong opposition party so vital to the growth of democracy. But that is not due to any defect in the system of parliamentary democracy itself as due to lack of adequate awareness in the minds of the people themselves.

Till the emergence of a strong democratic opposition party, our Parliament and State Legislatures will continue to be dominated by one party caucus. Under the facade of parliamentary democracy, one party will continue to rule. Because of this absence of a strong opposition party, and the existence of a totalitarian political party in the country, which is more prone to subversive activities, coupled with the increasing acts of aggression against India by a totalitarian power, our Government is bound to take stringent measures to preserve the internal and external security of the country. In so doing if fundamental rights have got to be qualified, and if in such trends men like Shri K. M. Munshi see the rise of the Dictatorship of Democracy, it can not be helped.

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SWITCH TO ADULT EDUCATION

By S. C. DUBEY

Philip Klein, President (1958-59) of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., writes, "America in the last half of twentieth century contains ingredients which produced the Golden Age of Greece. In these two respects we are similar. Greece of the Fifth Century B.C. was a society of leisure and led by the elders. And in the Golden Age of Greece informal education of the young men occurred in the market-place, and in houses where groups met to discuss, as it is done today in America." In other words it may be said that a switch to adult education is going to bring about the Golden Age of America. Why?

Today America is spending twice as much money on adult education, as on the General School Education. Why?

Carnegie Corporation of America first of all realized the importance of adult education in the national welfare. In 1924, it took the first step towards financing adult education programmes. Between 1924 and 1941 Carnegie Corporation gave approximately 300,000 dollars per year towards adult education grants to the American Association for adult education. From 1941 it terminated its grant to the Association, and started financing the Teacher's College, Columbia University, for establishing an Institute of Adult Education with a total grant of 350,000 dollars within ten years. In 1951 Ford Foundation established the Fund for Adult Education. Between 1951 and 1957 the Ford Fund for adult education made grants of approximately 33,000,000 dollars for adult education projects. By 1961 Ford's expenditure for adult education averages 2,300,000 dollars per year. Besides these private Corporations, State governments and Federal Funds also support the programmes of adult education. This tremendous wave of enthusiasm for the spread of adult education has its root in the democratic culture of American life.

Adult education has become a conscious and differentiated function in an increasing number of educational institutions of America, be America has realized the importance of edu her adults who make up the society and kee going. The changing societal needs have impact upon the patterns of schools.

Educational sociologists agree that the 'cu of a country determines the form, the content the scope of its organized education.' It is that American culture has the following cha teristics, and they have their implications Adult Education : 1. Rapidity of cha 2. Dominance of Technology, 3. Intensi specialization, 4. Complexity of Human Rel ships and 5. Vastness of opportunity. T characteristics may be called the character of the World-Culture today, but with addition : 6. The feeling of distrust and ha for one another among the major nations the world. These characteristics of the Wor Culture make the spread of adult educat increasingly necessary.

1. *Rapidity of change*—In the old world pattern of living was stable. Change was s thing exceptional. Today change has bec normal. Stable patterns of living and thinkin not exist now. The result is that even when preparation in the schools is the best, when adult leaves school and enters life, he finds the world has changed and it is altoge different. It is not that world for which he prepared in the schools. Hence adults need temporary education. A rapidly changing w shows up lacks the knowledge and skill people. To fill these gaps, to keep people's e ment adequate for contemporary living, is pronounced purpose of Adult Education.

2. *Dominance of Technology*—Techno has dominated world-culture today. The gui principle of technological development is t man-power should not be dissipated in activ which machines can do, and hence it move the direction of automation, and creates tec logical unemployment. It throws many people of work and substitutes machines in their pl

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Jobs requiring lesser training are replaced by machines. Jobs requiring higher training need more workers, more skilled workers. Adult education must provide these workers with the required skill. Besides Adult education should develop understanding in the people as to why their vocational life cannot be stable in this ever-changing technological phenomenon of society. Adult education must develop attitudes in the peoples, and values related to flexibility and readiness to change. Adult education must provide vocational guidance to the adults to help them adapt to future occupations. Adult education must direct the adults to training programmes which will prepare them for rapid adjustment to real life situations. So long as technology brings changes in technological patterns of society, adult education has a most important function to perform.

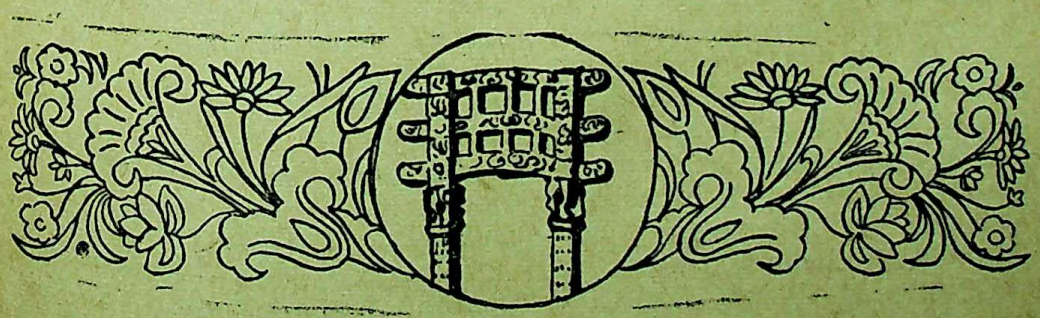
3. *Intensity of specialization*—Modern world-culture has produced specialized workers in every field. The more intense the specialization the better they are suited to their jobs. But specialization narrows the area of skill and understanding. Specialists lose contact and association with other specialists. They become isolated. Out of this isolation grows misunderstanding and inability to communicate. Intense specialization sinks into the background the concern for community life. To reform this state of affairs that part of adult education is needed which is called Community Development. Adult education must aim at motivating people to move out of their narrow grooves of specialization, to study and understand the current problems of their community, city, state, nation, and the world in which they are living. This is most essential for the growth of dynamic democracy. Adult education has to achieve this goal.

4. *Complexity of Human Relationships*—An inevitable concomittant of specialization is interdependence. If one is a specialist, he has to rely upon many others to provide him and his family the bare necessities of life, the comforts and luxuries of life. But in the world as it is today, these interdependencies are remote and impersonal, but real. Take an example. We purchase our necessities from a grocer's shop, but have no contact with them who have prepared the things for us. This is the function of adult education to establish constructive and happy relationship with everchanging masses of humanity. This is most essential for the success of democracy, and for the peace and happiness of the world.

5. *Vastness of Opportunity*—Now opportunities for vertical mobility are available to enable a judicious choice of things necessary for their comforts and advancement to be made. Adult education must open windows to new vistas of living.

6. *The feeling of distrust and hatred for one another*—This feeling of distrust and hatred towards one another, among the major powers of the world, is going to destroy our world. Atomic energy will spell destruction in the world of a magnitude hitherto unknown in the history of mankind. It should be the supreme task of adult education to promote international brotherhood to save mankind from annihilation.

Hence, a switch-over to adult education should be the order of the day. Under the guidance of Maulana Azad we preferred to call adult education, 'social education.' Now it is for us to consider a switch over to it.



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IN MEMORIUM : RADHANATH SICKDAR (1813—1870)

By PRAVASH CHANDRA KAR, B.Sc., Dip. S. Teach (C.U.)

"The after-taste of that what was sweetly enjoyed is double so sweet"—thus said Shakespear. The thought of the Himalayas re-creates the past in the future. The very idea of the Himalayas tends to ascribe godly attributes to this noble mountain range. The Himalayas, the **sanctum sanctorum** of the Hindu scriptures, are the abode of unusually beautiful and mighty places of pilgrimmage, too numerous to mention. Hymns have been and still are sung to the glory and the might of the Himalayas. Apart from being the source of life-giving rivers flowing through the length and breadth of ancient Hindusthan, the Himalayas have been, from time immemorial, the serene and chosen place of meditation to the mystics and sages, the source of inspiration to poets and scientists alike, the dream-land of scenic beauty to travellers and, above and beyond all, the natural bulwark of the sub-continent.

For aeons, the lure of the Himalayas has never been on the wane; contrarily and curiously enough it has always been on the increase. Man's thirst, intense and insatiable, for knowing the unknown, for seeing the unseen, for enjoying the virgin beauty of hill and dale, for probing into the romance and the underlying truth of the Himalayas with modern scientific parapharnelia, instead of falling into decadence, has been often augmented. In the late Radhanath Sikdar, whose sesqui-birth centenary is at hand, we come across such a realistic mathematician, whose depth of knownledge and achievements shine effulgently over the backdrop of the Himalayas. It was Radhanath's pioneering efforts that enabled the whole world to know of its higest peak,—Mount Everest. To a 'Bengalee, from whose native province Mount Everest can be seen'[1], this is likely to bear a special signifcance.

Early Life and Education

Eldest son of Jituram Sikdar, Radha... was born in October, 1813 in the Sikdar... (Jorasanko) area, the part of the metro... of Calcutta which was also famous as ancestral habitat of the the Tagores. caste the Sikdars were Brahmins. Du... the Muslim period one of Radhanath's f... fathers rose to the position of a princ... officer of high rank entrusted with maintenance of law and order in his ne... bourhood. It was an office which was h... enjoyed by the family hereditarily f... father to son, its functions being m... alike those of a present-day Commissi... of Police.

Radhanath, with his admittance int... **pathsala** (primary school), started on educational carreer. Later, when he ... ten years old (1824), he entered the Hi... College also known as the Anglo-In... Coll-ge. His studies in College foll... an eminently satisfactory tenor, Radha... having reached the First Class standar... 1829. Murray's Spelling, Grammar, His... of Greece, Gay's Fables, Geography, His... of Engnland, Virgil's Aeneid, Shakesp... Homer's Odyssey, Russel's Modern Eu... etc., constituted the curriculum. It here that Radhanath came into c... contact with Dr. Tytler, Mr. Ross others.

In 1830 it was that Radhanath privlieged to commence his studies mathematics under the able guidance Dr. Tytler. The year was a memorable in Radhanath's life because this really the starting point of his education in h... mathematics. It were his studies at stage that paved the ground-work for development of Radhanath's genius mathematician and his future fame

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unrivalled mathematician of his times. It is interesting to recall in this connection that just about two year before Radhanath's birth, Ram Mohun Roy (1774-1833), the father of 'Modern India', started fervently and eloquently moving for the introduction of English Education in this country. David Hare, the noble-hearted Scotch, was equally keen on the cause sponsored by Ram Mohun. It was as a direct outcome of this that two institutions, Hindu or Anglo-Indian College and the School Society, were founded almost simultaneously within less than a year of each other.

In College, Radhanath came under the inspiring and stimulating influence of Mr. Henry Louis Vivian De'Rozrio (1809-1831). Mr. De'Rozio, an enthusiast and a rationalist of imposing personality and poetic disposition, was the Fourth Teacher, but the chief guide of the students in the College. This young intellectual raised the standard of revolt against all the myriad superstitions of the day. To his pupils he was more than a teacher,—a reformer, a very doyen of a 'new rationalism.' He led them to the ways of free-thinking and inculcated in them a deep and abiding faith in such qualities as justice, patriotism, regard for truth etc. He introduced his young disciples to the treasure-troves of English literature, to Shakespeare, Milton, Byron etc., and imparted education 'on all subjects, social, moral and religious.' A verse by Pandit Jaygopal Tarkalankar names those, including Radhanath, who constantly sought De' Rozio's company, and all of whom later became famous.

In The Computing Department

The very high expectations that Radhanath's professor, Dr. Tytler, entertained about his pupil were not belied. Radhanath and Rajnarain Bysack 'were the first Hindus,[2]' who had the unique opportunity of studying higher mathematics under Dr. Tytler, including Newton's 'Principia' in which Newton expounded the laws of gravity. It was Dr. Tytler, who recommended Radhanath as a young mathematical prodigy to the then Surveyor General of India, Col. Everest[3], who had succeeded Col. Lambton to this office on the latter's death in 1823, and who had consulted Dr. Tytler for a suitable candidate. So Radhanath had to leave College, even before he was able to sit for his final examination, to take up this new job. He was, however, given a certificate of proficiency by the authorities of the College. Col. Everest, appreciative of the budding mathematician, appointed him as a Computor on a monthly salary of Rupees Thirty only. Radhanath fully justified the selection and, in course of time and in gradual stages, came to occupy the highest position in the Computing Department of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India drawing, in those days, the princely salary of rupees six hundred per mensem.

Radhanath's Various Assignments

It is difficult to piece together a consistent catalogue of Radhanath's career in the Surveyor General's Office, as very little information of a continuous nature is available. His activities are naturally, therefore, shrouded under a thick veil of obscurity and what little can be said has to be outlined by culling from occasional references in contemporary newspapers and periodicals mostly. Two of his outstanding achievements, which outshine his more obscure activities, stand out as indelible monuments to his genius; these were his cotributions to the **Manual of Surveying** and his determination of the altitude of the highest global peak,—Mount Everest. Radhanath, who had 'long been known as the first among the few natives whose scientific acquirements were no less than those of Europeans'[7] succeeded Mr. V. L. Rees as the Superintendent of the Government Observatory in Calcutta, which at that time was a sub-section of the Surveyor General's Office.[8]

Contributions to Manual and Compilation Tables

Radhanath's contributions,—authoritative, compendious, brilliantly scholarly, dexterous and precise,—to the treatise on surveying[9] bear testimony to some aspects of his talented genius. The treatise is divided into five parts e.g.,

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Part I: Geometry, Trigonometry etc.—Ch. I—VII, Pp. 1-100.

Part II: On Surveying Instruments—Ch. I—IX, Pp. 101-229.

Part III: On Surveying—Ch. I—XXVII, Pp. 230-573.

Part IV: On Khusrah or Native Field Measurements—Ch. I—VI, Pp. 574-644.

Part V: Practical Astronomy and its application to Surveying—Ch. I—IX, Pp. 645-718.

Excerpts from relevant portions of the 'Preface' in which Radhanath's name was reverentially mentioned along with other European workers and authors, bringing out the schematic plan and acknowledgements by the compilers, will facilitate the understanding of the reader in this context:

"The arrangement of the work is consequently in the first two parts elementary, the materials for which have of necessity been for the most part extracted from various authorities, chiefly from the well-know and useful works of Mr. Simms, the Civil Engineer and late consulting Engineer, to the Government of India," on Mathematical Instruments and "on Levelling" from Heather's "Treatise on Mathematical Instruments", "Jackson's and Forme's Surveying", Adam's "Geographical Essays", etc.; full extracts have also been made, the compilers duly acknowledge, from those authors which have been quoted in the text. In the remaining parts of the Book it has been the aim to render information generally useful not only to the Professional Surveyor, but to travellers and explorers of neighbouring countries, the Quarter Master General's Department, and to Revenue Officers and Civil Authorities of Districts where professional assistance cannot be obtained and every Collector must be his own surveyor.

Through the liberal and kind assistance of Lt. Col. Waugh, Surveyor General of India, in placing the records of his office at their disposal, the Editors have enjoyed great advantages, of which they had not failed to avail themselves to the fullest extent. For this as well as for much valuable advice, their thanks are due and most cordially offered.

In Parts III and V the compilers have been very largely assisted by Babu Radhanath Sikdar, the distinguished head of the Computing Department of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, a gentleman whose intimate acquaintance with the rigorous forms and mode of procedure adopted on the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India and great acquirements in knowledge of scientific subjects generally render his aid particularly valuable, in Chapters 15 and 17 upto 21 inclusive, and 26 of Part III and whole of Part V entirely his own, and it would be difficult for the compilers to express with sufficient force the obligations they thus feel under to him, not only for the portion of the work which they desire thus to publicly acknowledge, but for the advice so generously afforded on all subjects connected with his own Department."

Radhanath's next most important publication which deserves our attention, is **Tables** (which had undergone several editions) and in the preface to the 1887 edition by Col. C. T. Haig, R.E., Deputy Surveyor General, Trigonimetrical Surveys, which acknowledges thus "Thirtysix years have elapsed since the publication of the first edition..... in 1851 ..... computed and arranged by Babu Radhanath Sikdar.... In 1868 this was 'revised and extended under the direction of Lt. Col. J. T. Walker, R.E., F.R.S. &c.....and by J. B. Hennessey Esq., F.R.A.S.,.....and issued as a second edition."

Besides, 'an account of the Table used for reducing Barometrical Observations to 32°F, taken in the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, by Babu Radhanath Sikdar, Chief Computor, Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, communicated by the Deputy Surveyor General' finds place in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXI No. IV, 1852, Pp. 329-332.

The Highest Global Peak Discovered and Computed: Radhanath's Unique Achievement

The discovery of Mount Everest remains a long-debated story. Radhanath has

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described by some as the discoverer of Mount Everest, the world's highest point. Others are equally reluctant to ascribe this unique credit to Radhanath. Remarks passed in this connection by eminent and equally responsible authorities lead to a serious controversy.[10] But without entering into the details of the points of controversy, it can be safely asserted and inferred too, that in identifying and marking Mount Everest, Radhanath's mathematical artifice had gone a long and, indeed, a laudable way and his efforts were pioneering and stupendous. Probing under this surface of controversy and sensationalism, however, it will be well worth while to take soundings of really scientific depths.

Although it has been contradicted that 'a consideration of the circumstances of 1852 will show that no such words could have been uttered, Radhanath's important contributions can never be, indeed has not been ignored and has been acknowledged, although rather indirectly. The computation involved triangulation during which 'atmospheric refraction was, in those days, a source of perplexity.....Sir Andrew Waugh, the Surveyor General, joined the triangulations in the field South of Sikkim; both he and Radhanath Sikdar, the Chief Computor, had been studying the question of atmospheric refraction for many years. .....'

In 1852 the Chief Computor, who had been officially in touch with the Surveyor General, sent his official intimation to the latter that a new peak had been computed from the angle-books to be **higher than any peak observed hitherto.** In this intimation he could not have said, as he is reported to have done in the story circulated, that he had discovered the highest mountain in the world, for the Himalayas had only been partly observed and Tibet and Ballistan were quite unknown.' (A Sketch of the Geography And Geology of the Himalaya Mountains and Tibet By Col. S. G. Burrard, R.E., F.R.S, and H. H Hayden, B.A., F.G.S., later revised by Sir Henry Heyden, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., F.R.S and A. M. Heron, D. Sc., F.G.S., F.R.G.S Delhi, 1933, Pp. 194-195).

"About 1852 the Chief Computor of the office at Calcutta informed Sir Andrew Waugh that a peak designated XV had been found to be higher than any other hitherto measured in the world. The peak was discovered by the computors to have been observed from six different stations; on no occasion had the observer suspected that he was viewing through his telescope the highest point of the earth.

"Sir Andrew Waugh had always adhered to the rule of assigning to every geographical object its true local or native name; but here was a mountain, the highest in the world, without any local or native name that he was able to discover. He determined, therefore, to name the great snow-peak after Sir George Everest, his former Chief, the celebrated Indian Geodesist. The name of 'Mount Everest' has since become a household word." (S. G. Burrard, Natwa, Vol. 71, No. 1828, p. 43, November 10, 1904.)

Radhanath's Public Activities, Character-sketch and Appreciation

The education he had received under the fostering care of D'Rozio had a great influence in moulding Radhanath's character. He stood firm against injustice and knew not fear. Whether entering upon a conflict with a Distrist Magistrate or dedicating himself to the advancement of female education or advocating widow remarriage in accordance with the precepts of the Vidyasagar, he was always guided by reason and an indomitable sense of justice. Quite early in his career, as early as 1843, he was reported to have had a severe tussle with a British civilian. Vansittart, District Magistrate of Dehra Dun had, without Radhanath's permission, ordered some of the latter's subordinates to carry some of his belongings. This lack of courtesy angered Radhanath, who promptly ordered his men not to carry out these high-handed orders. Radhanath was, thereupon, sued for 'obstructing a public servant in the discharge of his duties' and was fined by another British civilian. This caused quite an uproar whch had the effect

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of curbing such official high-handedness in future to a considerable extent.

Exiled for very nearly a quarter of a century in the foothills of Dehra Dun away from his native soil, Radhanath was somewhat anglicised in his habits and modes of living and had almost forgotten the use of his native tongue. But great mathematician as he was, his love for his own literature was deep and abiding and on his return to Bengal he was known to have set himself to studying the literature of his own people. It was said, however, that he could never get rid of the twang he had, in the meanwhile, acquired in his Bengalee pronunciations.

Raddhanath, with his indomitable sense of justice and fairness, was naturally associated in all social service endeavours which had for their objectives relief to the oppressed and the downtrodden and thus, when Vidaysagar's Hindu Widow Remarriage Bill provoked country-wide controversy, we find Radhanath among the few signatories who issued a manifesto for its acceptance.* Even as early as 1830, who Radhanath was among those who took the initiative in voting a testimonal to David Hare on his signal services to the cause of education in India we find Radhanath deploring "the debased state of the country owing to misrule and oppression and instanced the coming of Devid Hare as the **morning star** to dispel our ignorance."†

Tributes, glowing and inspiring, to whom no tribute was enough, poured in on Radhanath for the invaluable and tremendous services he rendered to humanity from far and near. In 1864, when he was elected a member of the Natural History Society of Bavaria§ it was another flaunting feather to his cap. To the last of his days his tenacity, perseverence, courage, love for truth, remained the most characteristic traits of his nature until death snatched him away on May 17, 1870 at Gondalpara. Radhanath's mother survived him for four years; his father had been carried away on July 22, 1853, while Radhanath was yet in service.

Some Appreciations of Radhanath

The quality of Radhanath's attainments and his contributions to the particular branch of science to which he applied himself would be amply demonstrated by the following few excerpts:

Letter dated 18th February, 1838, from George Everest, Surveyor General of India to the Military Secretary to the Government of India:—

"This young man is so superior in his acquirements, and so much to be relied on; his manners are so courteous and ingratiating to his superiors, his equals and his inferiors that I should have felt the loss as one of the most severe blows to my Department."

Letter dated 25th April, 1838 from George Everest to the Military Secretary to the Government of India:—

"Of the qualifications of the young man himself, I cannot speak too highly, his mathematical attainments there are few in India whether European or Native who can at all compete with him, and it is my persuasion that even in Europe this attainments would rank very high; as a computor he is quite indefatigable, and has proved himself throughout, so docile, tractable and obedient, that there is no person in my Department, so thoroughly skilled in the application of the various formulas relating to the particular branch of science connected with the G. Survey.....

"....for computers comparable to Radhanath cannot be hired in England at a less price than one guinea per diem. habituated as Radhanath is not only to apply formulas but to investigate them and trained up as he has been from infancy hood under my own eye, he would be the cheapest instrument that Government could employ in a task of this kind."

Letter from Lt. Col. A. S. Waugh, Surveyor General of India, to Officiating Secretary to the Government of India:

"The masterly character of the paper contributed by him to the Manual of Surveying has been fvaourably acknowledged in the **Calcutta Review**, as well as

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remarkable purity of his style in writing and severe accuracy of his language, so different from the florid exuberance of Orientalism."

1. Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., *The Epic of Mount Everest.* Edward Arnold & Co., 1926, p. 21.

2. For Tytler & Ross, reference may be made to হিন্দু অথবা প্রেসিডেন্সী কালেজের ইতিবৃত্ত (as told by Rajnarain Bose), edited by Debipada Bhattacharya, Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta, M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta.

3. আর্য্যদর্শন edited by Jogendranath Bandopadhyaya, M.A., Vidyabhusan, Aswin-Kartick, 1291 B.S.

4. আর্য্যদর্শন *op. cit.*, Kartick, 1291 B.S.

5. *The Hindu Patriot*, May 23, 1870.

6. For first-hand reference to the eventful career of Sir George Everest, see *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Nnith Edition, Vol. VII, p. 736.

The following papers by Capt. G. Everest were published in Asiatic Researches : (a) "On the formulae for calculating Azmuth in Trigonometrical Operations", Vol. XVIII (2), 93-106, 1833. (b) "On the compensation measuring apparatus of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India (with figs.), Vol. XVIII (2), 189-214, 1833. (Vide Index to the Publications of the Asiatic Society, 1788-1953, Vol. I, Part I, compiled by Sibadas Chaudhuri, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 102-103).

7. *The Friend of India*, November 11, 1852.

8. *The Bengal Harkaru & India Gazette*, Saturday, June 10, 1854, published the following correspondence :

"It would afford satisfaction to many of your readers to learn that Baboo Radhanath Sikdar, Head Computor in the Surveyor General's Office and in charge of the Observatory there, contemplates leaving his native country for Europe to extend his mathematical knowledge by prosecuting his studies at Cambridge or Paris University with the ultimate object of qualifying himself for the post of Superintending the Observatory, which the Court of Directors intend to establish in this country on an extensive scale." The correspondent signed himself as "Fact" under date line June 8, 1854. The letter was also quoted in its "Weekly Register of Intelligence" by the *Hindu Patriot*, June 15, 1854.

9. The title-page and author statement of the Treatise (pp. xxiv + 718 + Appendix VI with fifteen plates) is as follows :

A Manual of Surveying for India
Detailing the Mode of Operations on the
Revenue Surveys
In Bengal and the North-Western Provinces
Prepared for the use of the Survey Department
and Published by the Authority of the Government of India.

Compiled by
Captains R. Smyth and H. L. Thuillier,
Bengal Artillary, Calcutta.

W. Thacker & Co., St. Andrew's Library and 87, Newgate Street, London, 1851.

10. Major Kenneth, M.C., R.E., Survey of India, while delivering a lecture (as reproduced in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* and quoted in the *Englishman*, dated November 12, 1928, p. 17) in Simla, specifically extolled 'Babu's Great Discovery' (The 'Babu' (literally—Mr.) referred to here was none other than Radhanath). "It was", continued Major Kenneth, "during the computations of the north-eastern observations that a Babu rushed on the morning in 1852 into the room of Sir Andrew Waugh, the successor of Sir George Everest and exclaimed, 'Sir, I have discovered the highest mountain on the earth.' He had been working out the observations taken to the distant hills."

11 ."আমি, দাদা, রাধানাথ, রসিক ও তারকনাথ সেন একত্র হইয়া হিন্দু বিধবাদের পুনর্বার বিবাহ সম্বন্ধে ব্যবস্থাপক সভার প্রতি আমাদের প্রার্থনা পত্র বিবেচনা ও সংশোধন করিলাম।" (কর্মবীর কিশোরীচাঁদ মিত্র —Manmatha Nath Ghose, M.A., F.S.S., F.R.E.S, Calcutta, 1333 B.S., p. 107).

12. Cf. "Radhanath Sikdar had an ardent desire to benefit his country. His hobby was beef, as he maintained that beef-easters were never bullied and that the right way to improve the Bengalees was to think first of the physique or, perhaps, physique and morale simultaneously. He conducted a monthly Bengali Magazine called *Masik Patrica* for about three years" (Peary Chand Mitra. *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare*, p. 32).

13. "Baboo Radhanath Sikdar who for many years acted as Superintendent of Calcutta Observatory has, we see by the Phoenix, been elected a corresponding member of the Natural History Society of Bavaria. An honour well deserved." (Weekly Epitome of News, *The Friend of India*, March 31, 1864, p. 349).

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THE POLITICS OF NON-ALIGNMENT

By HARIDAS MUKHERJEE

Non-alignment has been the pivot of India's foreign policy since she attained her political independence in 1947. The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, is the chief architect of that policy which he has been following with unflinching allegiance during these fifteen years. Following India's lead, a few other newly independent States of Asia and Africa also have adopted the same policy in **welt-politiks.** The advocates of non-alignment passionately believe that it is the most suited form of diplomacy at the present stage of world evolution, at least so far as the new-born nations are concerned. But its opponents, among whom may be counted a multitude of men, firmly hold that non-alignment as a basis of diplomacy is a wild dream. In their opinion, even in peace time it is a barren policy, and in times of war adherence to it would amount to political suicide. The premeditated and massive invasion of India by China since October 20, 1962 and the complete collapse of India's defence arrangements have disillusioned them so thoroughly as to lead them to castigate India's non-alignment policy as a total failure and they, therefore, urge upon the Government of India to thrash out a bolder and more realistic foreign policy for the country. They contend that Ladakh and NEFA are the burial grounds of India's non-alignment. Among its exponents may be reckoned such names as Rajagopalachari, Prof. Ranga, Acharya Kripalani and General Cariappa. Their views are also considerably shared even by a section of the Congress, the ruling party, and it is even doubted whether Nehru himself has also not been inwardly shaken in his faith in non-alignment.

Before we proceed further, we must be very clear and precise as to the actual meaning of the term non-alignment. Non-alignment of a country does not mean its aloofness from the commerce and cult of the world. It is primarily as a poli or rather as a military concept that meaning is to be understood. The pre political world is sharply divided into mutually clashing blocs with their confl ing systems of life and culture. N alignment of India means, therefore, she must steer clear of power politics deliberately avoiding military alliance ei with the Anglo-American bloc or with Soviet-Chinese bloc. It demands that I must retain her right to pursue an in pendent course in foreign affairs and must be capable of judging each inter tional issue on the merits of the case. A n aligned State is like a conscientious m party man who refuses to barter away principles for some material gains. But very moral approach of a person precis constitutes a source of weakness from standpoint of party solidarity. Party s darity demands from an individual mem unquestioned loyalty to the policy decisi of the party concerned, no matter what honest convictions are.

Non-alignment is a flexible polit category, admitting of different interpr tions. The generally favoured inerpr tion of non-alignment reduces it to a c cious and planned utilisation of w forces on the part of a non-aligned S for its own development without throw in its political lot with either of the m tary blocs. Non-alignment, in this se reduces itself to mere political opportu in international politics. But the n alignment of India as shaped by Ne represents a different reality. It is n of all a handmaid of opportunism, h tangible political method animated idealism. It is because of this lofty i that we find India voting for China's mission to the U. N. Assembly even

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the latter's manifest aggression on the former.

The big pertinent question regarding non-alignment is that how far it has been conducive to India's best political interests? Its advocates will tell that if non-alignment was helpful in times of peace, it is doubly so in times of armed tension. They emphatically point out that it is because of India's non-alignment that Soviet Russia, in spite of her communism, has not openly supported China in her military showdown with India whom she still considers a valued friend. Again, it is because of her non-alignment that India could so easily and swiftly receive arms aid from the Western democracies. The supporters of non-alignment point out further that if India was, on the other hand, in direct alliance with the Anglo-American bloc, it would have surely lost the entire moral and material support of Soviet Russia who would have then openly supported China in their anti-Indian drive. It is because of her non-alignment that India has been able to secure not merely the arms aid from the Western democracies, but also the Soviet economic aid for her development projects including the manufacture of Migs. In a speech at Santiniketan delivered in December last, Mr. Nehru, while reaffirming his faith in non-alignment, cautioned the audience that non-aligned India alone could hold the trembling international balance in equillibrium and save the world from the brutalities and horrors of a thermo-nuclear war. It is in recognition of this urgent necessity that India must hold fast to non-alignment, notwithstanding the Chinese challenge to its very foundations. The arguments of non-alignment undoubtedly deserve careful consideration, particularly in a critical situation like the present.

But the critics of non-alignment, of whom Rajaji and Kripalani are the most eloquent, look at the situation from a different angle. They open their argument against non-alignment by a pointed reference to the dismal failure of India's foreign policy on the Himalayan frontier. They observe that India's foreign policy, non-aligned as it was, has undergone a silent transformation after China's massive invasion of India in the current phase of hostilities, and the change is precisely this that Nehru himself has been forced under the compulsion of circumstances to hold his dear non-alignment in abeyance, at least for the time being. It is just like Mahatma Gandhi's holding non-violence in abeyance in August 1942, as a part of his contemplated Indian revolution. Since October, 1962, India has been receiving liberal arms aid from the Western democracies for the purpose of defending India's territorial rights against China's onslaught. It has been proclaimed by a section of the Indian leaders as well as by the arms-giving countries that the aid is entirely without strings. Financially considered, the aid terms are the most liberal conceivable, but that does not mean that the aid is without strings or pre-conditions. The basic condition for the release of that huge military aid to India is that all this is meant for resisting Communist China's naked expansionism, and not meant for any other purpose, least of all to be used against Pakistan. India's acceptance of the arms aid on that basic condition is certainly a deviation from her declared policy of non-alignment and represents a pro-West shift in her foreign policy.

The disapprovers of Nehru's non-alignment argue further that if the Chinese thrust continued for some time longer, the result would perhaps have been the entire renunciation of India's non-alignment by the ruling party itself, and if Nehru is still found pinning his faith anew in non-alignment, it is mainly because of the Chinese dramatic declaration of cease-fire on November 21. On the whole, the non-alignment policy, they maintain, was not of much worth even in times of peace, and in a critical situation like the present its worth is not more than a straw's value. They seek to defend their thesis by citing the nineteenth-century British instance of "splendid isolation." At the end of the 19th century British foreign policy as conducted by Lord Salisbury was one of "splendid isolation" which kept England away from all entangling alliances or

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meddling diplomacy in contemporary politics. For some time the policy worked fairly well, but at the turn of the century, as the menacing German challenge loomed larger on the horizon, Salisbury clearly saw through his mistake and began a desperate search for allies. He looked round and only found Japan in the Far East as her military ally in 1902. This marked England's emergence from military-**cum**-diplomatic isolation. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902) was followed by further defensive preparations such as the Anglo-French Entente (1904) and the Anglo-Russian Entente (1907). By 1907, a big anti-German coalition was formed to which Japan also became a party. It was this aligned England—England as a member of the Triple Entente—that could successfully resist and smash the menacing German challenge during World War I. Will this inexhorable teaching of history, the critics ask, fall completely flat on India in the moment of her grim national crisis ?

When all has been said, there is no denying the fact that India's foreign policy —policy of non-alignment—has undergone a profound change since the commencement of the Sino-Indian war. India has learnt through the shocks of her military disaster that non-alignment, divorced from adequate military build-up, is a great mistake. Like the weakling's non-violence, the non- alignment policy of a militarily impotent race is denuded of its natural grace. It is a truism to state that non-alignment, good or bad whatever it is, is always a policy : to raise it to the rank of a principle or ideal is height of political unwisdom. Non-a ment is, after all, a form of diplomacy diplomacy without the support of the s is utterly futile. Disillusioned by Chinese treachery, Prime Minister, Nehru, has himself stated : "We are ge out of touch with realities in a mo world. We are living in an artificial at phere of our own creation and we have shaken out of it." This frank admissi the Prime Minister registers his loss of in the **old mode** of non-alignment, if deliberate pro-West shift in his policy any rate, the present crisis has r awakened India to the grim realities o and has taught her by tears and blood she must keep her powder perpetually to insure her safety as a free nation. leaders have realised that non-aligned militarily fortified India alone would able both to defend her honour and inte and to exert a sobering influence on w politics. Armed non-alignment, not unar non-alignment, is the primary and vital quisite for India at present. It is towa this political consummation—non-alignm multiplied by gigantic military streng that India, under Mr. Nehru's leadershi fast moving. But here, again, the critics r the question how far will it be possible India at the present stage of her tec economic evolution to swiftly develop military might without being aligned a with the Western democracies? We c have wished it otherwise, but God's wi done.

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A FORGOTTEN HISTORIAN AND ANTIQUARIAN : THE LATE AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA

By KSHITISH CHANDRA SARKAR, M.A., B.L.,
Varendra Research Society

The illustrious historian of Bengal (of Rajshahi, now in East Pakistan), the late lamented Shri Akshay Kumar Maitra, B.L., C.I.E., who was once popularly known as the author of (Nawab) 'Siraj-ud-dowla', was born just a little more than a century ago in 1861 on the 1st March (?) or according to some on the 1st Magh (January)—1862, at a hamlet, Simla, standing on the Gorai river, near the Mirpur Railway Station (E. B. Rly.), then in Nadia district and now in Kushtia (E. Pak.). But he claimed the *Maitras* of Gurnai in the northern part of the Rajshahi district as his forefathers and, therefore, preferred to Suffix "Maitreya" (in all his Bengali versions) as his surname, according to the aphorism of the great Grammarian *Panini*.

His birth a century ago might become an occasion for a centenary celebration throughout Bengal (East and West) for the edification of posterity. He died while in his seventies, on the 10th February, 1930, at his residence at Rajshahi town.

He got the Bachelor of Law degree from the Rajshahi College in 1885 and joined the Rajshahi District Bar and practised for about 45 years earning the reputation, of an astute criminal lawyer, extending over the whole of North Bengal. He excelled both in the art of cross-examination and advocacy of a high order. For about half a century, he was a permanent resident of Rajshahi town and took an ever-increasing part in the literary and cultural activities which culminated in the founding, in 1910, of the 'Varendra Research Society' (then known as the 'Varendra Anusandhan Samity') in collaboration with Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy, a scion of the Dighapatia Raj family and Sri Rama Prasad Chanda (later Rai Bahadur), then a school teacher in the Government Collegiate School at Rajshahi.

The valuable contributions made in the field of historical and antiquarian research by him can still be recalled with gratitude by the enlightened public of his days.

In him, the whole of Bengal lost a personage of wide interest and versatile talent, a forceful speaker and a reputed literateur, a scholar of deep and wide learning gifted with original ideas, an antiquarian of rare acumen and a live inspirer of literary and research activities.

The Late Akshay Kumar Maitra

I had the occasion and honour to sit at his feet during the last few years of his failing health to listen to the inimitable ways of his learned discourse. I acclaimed him as my *Guru* or *Acharya* and profitted immensely in my humble literary pursuits and undertakings at the prime of my life which was during the last span of life spared to him before his demise in 1930. Educated and enlightened sons of Bengal should also appreciate the scholarly contributions Sri Akshay Kumar

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Maitra had made towards the reconstruction of the history of Bengal and its culture, as a pioneer.

Initially, in 1895, he took up as his special subject of study, the period of the last days of the Mughals immediately before the British conquest of Bengal. The patriotic zeal which inspired or induced him to make his debut in the two volumes on—'Siraj-ud-dowla' and 'Mirkasim' were the first fruits of his study and it took the country by surprise.

The unrelieved black colours with which the English historians painted those two unfortunate Muslim rulers of Bengal, then passed current as genuine history. Akshay Kumar challenged the accuracy of these opinions or views. He formulated his own assessment with a formidable array of facts and authentic documents. His works fell like a 'bomb-shell and exploded some of the myths clustered around the last two independent rulers of Bengal', 'Siraj-ud-dowla' and 'Mirkasim'. The same patriotic impulse gradually attracted Sri Maitra to the history of ancient Bengal. He keenly took up the study of the original sources of the period for which he was especially equipped, particularly as a profound Sanskrit scholar, and by compiling the Corpus of Inscriptions—the *Ganda-Lekhamala* (1912)—relating to the rise and fall of the Pala Kings of Bengal. This will always rank among the source-books of the history of mediaeval Bengal.

The first literary efforts of Akshay Kumar were in verse. His first poem, *Vanga Vijaya*, aimed at disproving the current account of the conquest of Bengal by Mahammad-Bin-Bakhtiyar Khiliji. Some of his early poems appeared as such in the *Hindu-Ranjika* at Rajshahi which flourished till it became defunct after the establishment of Independence.

In 1883, when still a student, Sri Maitra published a pamphlet entitled *Samar Sinha*. He started on an investigation into the history of Bengal in course of which he collected a large mass of materials. The first of the series was to be on *Rani Bhawani* of Natore.

In 1895 (1302 B.S.) Akshay Kumar turned his hand to a monumental monograph on (Nawab) 'Siraj-ud-dowla' the first three chapters were initially published anonymously—without disclosing the identity of the writer in the journal—in *Sadhana* in 1302 B.S. under the editorship of Rabindra Nath Tagore and the rest in *Bharati* (1302 B.S.). Apparently, many admiring readers took this publications as Rabindra Nath's own writing who thereupon duced Akshay Kumar, to disclose his identity was subsequently published in book form as viewed by Rabindra Nath in the *Bharati* B.S.).

In this monograph, Akshay Kumar vin the character of (Nawab) 'Siraj-ud-dowla' explodes the story of the 'Black-Hole' of C by cogent arguments as a lawyer, rei by the strength and basis of historical acc Strangely enough, this monograph—'Si dowla' was dedicated to a British (Civilia Beveridge (I.C.S.), who helped Akshay to obtain access to the official archives. Beveridge then was the District Magistra Murshidabad and he was good enough to h Maitra to sift the truth of the so-called Hole' tragedy, as being a hoax designed purpose. The accuracy of the points raised Maitra might be taken to have been borne when Mr. Beveridge after retirement is sa have once written to Sri Maitra—that 'Sir dowla' was more unfortunate than wicked' 1916, he took a prominent part in a debate nised by the Calcutta Historical Society to his contentions that the story of the 'Black was unfounded.

In 1899, at the suggestion of Rabindra Tagore, Akshay Kumar started publication historical quarterly the *Aitihashik Chitra* Rajshahi.

The field of work for which, Akshay K heart had been yearning for years was now and for the next decade or so he was thor identified with the newly founded Varend search Society. The Society was closely inte in its three-fold activity of collections, explo and research publications. His quick intelle wonderful power of expression admirably him for the role of spokesman of the Va Research Society. He was a fascinating gu the relics collected in the Museum of the S to the learned visitors.

Akshay Kumar, in an introduction to monograph of the Society, set forth a schem a comprehensive history of Bengal in eight tions, viz., Political History, Topography, I tions, Old Sanskrit texts, Ethnology, Religio

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Iconography. Happily some of his schemes were carried out.

He had already dealt with the principal inscriptions of the Pala period in his *Gandalekhamala* (1912) and he availed himself of this new light and expounded the results of his study in four lectures (21st to 26th January in 1916) in the Senate Hall of the Calcutta University. In the lectures delivered, he dwelt upon the 'Fall of the Pala Kingdom' which he regarded as the most important episode in the history of mediaeval Bengal. He declared that the Pala Kingdom exerted its influence for a long time not only upon all parts of Bengal, but also upon all its neighbouring provinces. In that lecture, in 1916, before the Calcutta University, he concluded with the theory that Bengal was at one time a celebrated centre of culture—a last hermitage from which the philosophy of Buddhism was exported to the *Land of Snow* (Tibet). Akshay Kumar's tact and legal acumen helped the Varendra Research Society to tide over many difficulties that beset its early career. It was his representations at the interview with Sir John Marshall and Mr. Gourley, I.C.S. that smoothed over the disputes between the Society and the Archaeological Department which eventually led to the promulgation of Government of Bengal's Circular No. 11 of the 14th February, 1913, which assured all non-official learned societies and the Society in particular that it was the policy of Government to encourage research by such bodies.

Great credit is due to Sri Akshay Kumar Maitra for the success with which he drew younger scholars to the cause of archaeology and historical research. It was undoubtedly his influence that made Rama Prasad Chanda (Rai Bahadur) turn from ethnological studies to archaeology in which he attained such a lofty position. Rama Prasad Chanda subsequently became the Superintendent of Eastern Circle of Archaeology (India).

It was Sri Maitra's mellifluous tongue and acumen that contributed to the collections of the V. R. Society. He himself presented the *Anulia* Copper plate of Lakshman Sen (J.A.S.B. 1900. P. 61-65, published long ago by him) as also the *Bhanaidaha* Copper plate of Kumar Gupta (fifth century A.D.) which he obtained from the late Chowdhury Irshed Ali Khan of Natore. It was his absolutely reputation and position in the Varendra Research Society that induced Mr. Ezechiel, I.C.S. to send to him the Five Gupta Copper plates discovered at *Damodarpur* in Dinajpur district in April, 1915. Similarly Mr. Jameson, I.C.S. presented from Malda the inscribed cannon of 'Sher Shah.'

It was Akshay Kumar who induced Pandit Girish Chandra Vedantatirtha to edit *Tara-Tantra* and the *Kula-Chudamani* for Sir John Woodroffe's series, himself writing the introduction to each. He also encouraged Prof. Srish Chandra Chakraberty Sastri, then in the Rajshahi College, to undertake the editing of such monumental works—*Bhasa-Vrith* and the stupendous *Kasika-Vivaran-Pantika.*

No account of Akshay Kumar Maitra's connection with the Varendra Research Society would be complete without the mention of the part he took in explorations and excavations on its behalf. His early activities in 1912, including the Varendra tours and the excavations at Kumarpur mound and the Mahisantosh Mosque, helping the assemblage of a Qibla, can hardly be ignored. The excavations in the Padumsar (Pradyumna Shwar) tank at Deopara (near the Rajshahi Headquarters) town yielded a superb specimen of sculpture—Ganga (though mutilated)—in the Varendra Research Museum at Rajshahi. In 1917, he came by an inscribed shaft—*Dasabalagarbha* at Paharpur and on his representation to the Government, had the Paharpur Mound declared a 'Protected Monument'. Thereupon, in 1923, excavation was commenced at the site under the supervision of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University in collaboration with and the generous help of Kumar S. K. Roy of the V. R. Society, Rajshahi. Akshay Kumar himself joined the party in his failing health and took a prominent part in the operation. In 1927, he delivered a lecture in the Indian Museum on the Ancient Monuments of Varendra.

In short, Sri Akshay Kumar Maitra was a man of versatile talent, endowed with an inimitable elegance of style in his writings. The Varendra Research Society was his life's work. There were, however, other institutions in Rajshahi with which his memory is also associated. Thus in 1897, in connection with the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, he helped to establish and agreed to become the Secretary of a School for Sericulture for reviving the silk industry of

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Rajshahi. It is gratifying to note now that nearly 60 years later Akshay Kumar's dream is being fulfilled by the Pakistan Government who have already set up a great organisation for revival of the silk industry at Rajshahi town.

Another work of his, was the organization of a Dramatic Association named *Sakuntala Natya Samiti* which was replaced by the Victoria Theatre Party for staging Bengali plays. He composed three plays for it, *viz.*, *Basavadatta* (based on Subandhu's Sanskrit works), *Abahan* in 1902 on the legend of the fall of Mahasthan Garh and a poiltical Skit—*Asha* (1914).

Akshay Kumar's contributions to the cultural life of Bengal can incorporate all his pr... scholarly writings to constitute a commemora... volume, an *Akshay Kumar Maitra Grandh...* both in the Bengali and in the English langua...

It is no mean achievement when we re... ber that Akshay Kumar had to carry on his ... vities with the poor resources of a Muffasil t... like Rajshahi and the handicap of having to ... his bread by a busy practice at the Bar.*

May his soul rest in peace

* A list was published in *The Modern Re...* for March, 1952, entitled "Contributions to ... and Archaeology by the late Akshay K... Maitra."

RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH DURING THE HARAPPA CIVILISATION

By J. M. DATTA

Population growth in ancient times was very slow. The Harappa civilisation, spread over the Punjab and Sind, flourished between 2500 B.C. and 1500 B.C. Harappa and Mohenjo-daro are cities. With the growth of general population, that of the cities are likely to increase, but not necessarily in the same proportion.

Between 1881 and 1931, the increase of the urban population in the Punjab has been in the same proportion as the general increase of population. In Bengal, it is otherwise (see the Geographical Review of India, December, 1956).

Sir Mortimer Wheeler in the Indus Age, p. 32, has shown the ground plan of the granary at Mohenjo-daro. In Period I, it occupied 8,100 sq. ft. In Period II A, the inter-spaces between the bases of the sub-structures were walled up; with wooden platforms covering the inter-spaces, the base was increased by 600 sq. ft. In Period II B, it was further increased by additional constructions. The new constructions measured 2,500 sq. ft.

The base if the granary had to be increased from time to time as it became necessary to provide for additional population. The height of the granary apparently remained the same throughout the period. Between Period I and Period II B, the ... crease was 37.5 per cent.

There are evidences of decay ... the Municipal Government during the ... phase, before the final destruction of ... city of Mohenjo-daro. This decay las... over a considerable time, when it is ... likely there would be any additions to ... granary.

Taking the interval between the ... periods to be 500 years—it may be gre... —as the most likely interval, the ... of growth of population works out to ... per cent per century in geometrical ... gression.

If we take the interval to ... been as much as 750 years, the rat... growth would come down to 4.39 per ... per century.

In any case the rate of growth ... population is very small. The import... of the rate found, whether it be 6.35... 4.39% per century, lies in the fact that ... far as evidence goes, the growth was ... interrupted by any major wars, or ra... was a peaceful growth through sev... centuries, during the second and ... milleniums before Christ, over a large ... and as such representative of an... society and civilisation.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

SOCIALISM, DEMOCRACY AND INDUSTRIALIZATION : *By Amlan Datta, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Pages 115. Price 16s. net.*

The under-developed countries of the world are under the major influences of democracy, socialism and industrialization in the present century. These very forces had their beginning in the West and resulted in colonial expansion, capitalism and industrialism and exploitation of the masses of other countries and enslavement, exploitation and domination of two-thirds of the globe. With the emergence of independent nations all over the world, there is the cry of socialism on every lip and industrialization has become an urgent necessity. But socialism is a word with so many connotations that it implies contradictory and confusing ideas—Democratic as well as Communistic—both claiming the freedom of the human personality.

The author deals very clearly with the differing conceptions of socialism and of democracy and discusses co-operative socialism. He then turns to problems of industrialization, leadership in economic transition, the role of concept of property, the capitalist solution, decentralization, and finally industrialization within the democratic framework.

As India and China both aim and are working at socialism and industrialization in different ways, a discussion and a critical assessment of the subject as presented by Prof. Datta in these essays will be of interest not only to our university students but also to the general public interested in the burning questions of the day.

IN SEARCH FOR THE SUPREME, Vol. III: *By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14, pages xvi + 356. Price Rs. 5/-.*

God has been the object of search for the best of human minds since the dawn of civilization. In this volume Gandhiji's utterances, writnigs and interviews about the Supreme have been presented in seven sections, *viz.* : (1) Equality and Unity of Religions ; (2) Religious toleration; (3) Religious Conversion ; (4) Hinduism : (*i*) Moral Basis, (ii) Varnashramadharma, (iii) Removal of Untouchability, (iv) Interdining and Inter-marriages, (v) Cow Protection, (vi) The *Bhagabadgita*, (vii) Hindu Reformist Movements, (5) Sikhism and Jainism ; (6) Buddhism and Jainism and (7) Christianity, M.R.A. and Islam.

In the modern world there is an unmistakable trend towards agnosticism, if not atheism. This is also discernable in case of India with the advent of industrialization. This must be due to wrong approach to religion and not a little due to the gap between the precept and practice of the high priests of religions. Religion must be interpreted in the language of the modern man so that he may understand it. Gandhiji has a message of hope for the modern man for, he too, belongs to the same age, and has a sympathetic understanding of his problems. Gandhiji had deep, inexhaustible spiritual reserves. In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru "He was obviously not of the world's ordinary coinage; he was minted of a different and rare variety, and often the unknown stared through his eyes."

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Bhagavadgita was for Gandhiji a book of reference. It was *Kamdhenu* to him. His discourses on the *Gita* find a place of honour in the present volume.

We congratulate the Navajivan Trust for publishing Vol. III being the last part of "In Search for the Supreme," a perusal of which will benefit any person whatever may be his religious belief. A spirit of surrender to God, tolerance, respect of sentiment of others, pervade the entire volume.

A. B. DUTTA

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: *By Dr. Amreshwar Avasthi, M.A., Ph.D. (Luck.), M.A. (Nagpur), M.P.A. (Harvard), Professor, Indian School of Public Administration, New Delhi, and Prof. Shriram Maheshwari, M.A. (Econ.), M.A. (Pol.), M.D.P.A., Lecturer, Agra College. Published by Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Educational Publishers, Agra. Demy 8vo. Pp. 568. Price Rs. 15.*

Although there has lately been an abundance of literature on the subject of public administration generally, literature dealing with the elements of public administration in the background of the administrative practices and procedures in India since Independence, has been comparatively poor, both quantitatively as well as in quality. The present volume, jointly authored by Professors Avasthi of the Indian School of Public Administration, New Delhi, and Shriram Maheshwari of the Agra College is, therefore, very welcome, especially in view of the very wide ground they have sought to cover in this book, both in the realms of theory as well as in practice and procedures.

The book, as the authors themselves observe, has been conceived and designed primarily with a view to remove a long-felt need of students in the newly established Schools of Public Administration as well as in such colleges and universities where this has been introduced as a subject for study, some of even in the undergraduate stages. The increasing popularity of such courses of study has been growing with the advancing appreciation of the need for providing the country's future generation of administrators with specialized equipments by way of a study of the science of administration. When the area of the administrators' obligations and responsibilities was comparatively narrow and simple, it was possible and usual to regard administration as merely an art for which some were born with a flaire and others not. But the widening fields of public respo... lities and the administrators' correspond... widening fields of activity and obligations... developed modern public administration in... complex of immense variety. The art of ad... tration, has naturally therefore, gradually ... to acquire a scientific connotation in m... terms and the administrator, to be able to su... fully handle his complex and myriad respo... lities in the process, needs to acquire ad... equipment for the purpose in the science o... ministration. What makes the science of ad... tration and the process of handling responsib... by the administrator successfully even more ... plex is that all their facets have a human co... to consider, which cannot always be standard... into well-defined grooves of scientific phenom...

In fact, administration is a subject, both i... theoretical conception and its practical expre... which covers all fields of human-social objec... and endeavour, a factor of recognizably imm... and dynamically growing complexity. With ... increasing encroachments by the State in di... fields of social activity, especially in a wel... democracy such as India claims to be to-day, ... horizon of the administrator is naturally on... correspondingly widening dimensions and c... plexity. It is necessary to produce administra... able to cope with the requirements of such ... situation, that he should be equipped to acq... an integrated approach to the problems he w... be required to handle, the policies he would ... required to enunciate and the procedures he w... be required to initiate, not merely in relation ... their individual effects upon the particular ... of the administrative field they would be exp... to immediately cover, but also upon the ... objectives of administration.

The authors deserve to be congratulated ... the fact that it is on such a view of the sc... and applications of administration that they ... conceived and designed their present book ... review. It should be a valuable guide-line ... merely to the elementary students of the subje... public administration in schools, but a study ... the book should also be rewarding to all t... who are already in the throes of public admi... tration and many among whom, I have no d... would be glad to have some such valuable c... pendium to refer to except merely the ... pages of the Fundamental Rules of their ... procedure.

KARUNA K. NA...

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Indian Periodicals

Non-Alignment—A Moral Imperative ?

Writing in the *Indian Libertarian* under the above caption, Mr. M. N. Tholal says :

"A crisis reveals hidden forces, as the border crisis has done, and throws up friends as well as foes. Whether our Prime Minister acknowledges it or not, non-alignment is now in the melting pot. Addressing a public meeting in Delhi. . . . Rajaji said : 'We have already lost a great deal of time in believing that Russia will come to our assistance in settling our dispute with China. We have to fight the Chinese not with the help of the Russians but with the help of others in the world. It is a sad thing to confess that we cannot fight the Chinese alone.'

"Acharya Kripalani . . . asks 'Does our nation, apart from our Government, consider neutrality as a policy or as a fundamental moral imperative ? Further, is the nation in defence of this moral principle prepared for martyrdom ? Does our Government feel like that about our neutrality ? I ask this because when China broke Panch Sheel to which it had pledged itself, our Prime Minister said in Parliament that whatever China did, India stood firmly on the principles of Panch Sheel. He seems to have changed his position since and said that the principles of Panch Sheel are not unilateral but bilateral. Can a nation engaged in war, even if it is a defensive war, be called neutral ?'

. . . "The practical implications of the war with Communist China have their political compulsions. We shall have no option but to adopt policies which promise results, and the sooner we do it, the better it would be for the nation. Preservation of our integrity, our independence, our honour, must come first. And the realisation will also come to us in course of time—at what cost it is difficult to say at the moment—that interdependence with like-minded people is a far more practical objective than an independence which we have neither the means of preserving nor the will to secure the means.

"As a Western statesman has said, we are fighting their battle as well as our own. Obviously, success would have been surer and swifter if we were fighting the battle together. . . . The Western and pro-Western statesman who are willing to help us with arms are now almost unanimous in emphasizing their approval of our policy of non-alignment. . . . . Never has a disastrous policy received such universal applause. Sir David Ormsby Gore said . . . . 'We have no wish to enocurage India to abandon her policy of non-alignment which she has freely chosen. This would only encourage the Chinese and the Russian Commuists to sink their considerable differences and make common cause against India and all those who are now helping her economically and in other ways. In so far as continued co-operation between India and Russia contributes to these differences, the opponents of Communism everywhere will take comfort.'

"It is to be hoped that the Sino-Russian differences are not growing in the West, as they have been growing in India, as a result of wishful thinking. In any case, the Westerners would appear to be of the opinion that the Indians should lie on the bed they have made for themselves and there is no reason to think that our application for alignment would be granted as soon as it was presented unless the situation takes a far more serious turn. On the other hand . . . . Mr. Nehru deplored that some people in the country were utilizing the border war to bring about a change in India's policy of non-alignment and socialism. 'We shall never give up our basic policy out of fear' he said and asked 'what will the world think of us if we do?' . . . Does the Prime Minister mean to imply that even fear or defeat will not make him change his policy of non-alignment or that defeat will be preferable to a change in the basic policy non-alignment ? . . . Obviously Mr. Nehru could have meant to say nothing of the kind and was only trying to keep up appearances and to put a bold face on recent events.

Mr. Rajeshwar Patel, Congress M.P., from Bihar said . . . 'the result of the diplomacy India carried on in the U.N., was that even those countries which were regarded as friends had gone against India in her hour of crisis. Mr. Jay Prakash Narain also said. . . 'Those coloured glasses must now be thrown away which made

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everything look rosy on one side and everything dark and dismal on the other.' . . . The simple truth is that countries on the borders of Communist giants cannot afford to indulge in the luxury of non-alignment. . . . Communism is on the prowl, Dulles used to remind us and got abused for his pains. The quarry was Korea first then Quemoy and Matsu, then Burma and then India. The United Nations came to the rescue of the first, the United States to the rescue of the second. Burma threatened to seek U. S. military aid and join SEATO and turned the Chinese gaze on India. Nothing very subtle about it. It is all very simple. It is there in the Bible of Communism as well as in the speeches and statements of the late John Foster Dulles. And yet we refused to believe facts of recent history and seemed to believe that Chinese were massing their armies on the borders of India to fight Soviet Russia.

"It is not yet too late to develop and show a sense of realism. One goes in vain through the list of members of the Defence Council to find the names of Cariappa, Kanzru and Kripalani, the three men who know more about matters pertaining to defence than the whole Congress Party put together. Is it intended to be a Council of 'Jo Hukums' and 'Ji Huzoors ?'

Prohibition Under Fire

Writing under the above caption in its issue of January 1, 1963, *The Indian Liberation* says :

"A hot controversy is raging all over the country over the Prohibition policy of the Government. This Gandhian fad like many others such as Basic education, Khadi, over which the Central and State Governments are wasting crores of peoples' money, is under fire in the context of the financial implications of the Sino-Indian war. The Planning Commission dominated by Gandhiiets like Shriman Narayan, issued instructions to all State Governments some time ago, that complete prohibition should be introduced in all regions by the end of the Third Five-Year irrespective of its burden on the national chequer and its baneful effects on other sectors of the country's economy.

But the smug spiritual satisfaction that gressmen got from this experiment was, short-lived. 'Drinking' which was a source nocent pleasure and relaxation with some, their daily routine of life and its attendant ries, became drunkenness, since these very gulped down their throats at a time large ties of spirituous beverage, genuine or adulte whenever and whatever and wherever availa the absence of its assured supply through channels. Illicit manufacture of liquor b the largest and most flourishing cottage ind Bad characters and anti-social adven quickly seized this opportunity. They millionaires in no time. These goonda ele now are the greatest supporters of the Co policy of prohibition and are even influe the decision of the Congress in this matter. general public is bewildered and amazed. now rightly concluded that prohibition is a mitigated fraud practised on the people and it has only increased liquor consumption has invaded the private homes of the poore tions and spread even among women children.

Besides, it has been estimated that due t policy the country is put to a total annua of revenue amounting to more than 100 This is too great a strain for the country t particularly in these hard and perilous when our government is engaged in a war a ruthless enemy like China. Morally spea drinking cannot be objected to. Drunkenne the public could be penalised by ordinary l in other countries. Under no circumstances fads oould be allowed to ovrride the more considerations of individual liberty, and al freedom of the country which is now in

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Foreign Periodicals

The Passing of a Public Conscience

Writing in the *New Leader* of November 26, last under the above caption, William E. Bohn says of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt thus :—

Eleanor Roosevelt was a conscience forever active on the public's behalf. We are used to thinking of her as completely at home among the great. She served hot dogs to kings and queens. She discussed world affairs with great statesmen and military leaders. And in all this there was never a suggestion of inferiority or timidity.

Yet any educational theorist looking over her early endowments and training would have allotted her only a minimum chance of achieving so distinguished and useful a career. Though the youthful Eleanor had many of the advantages which are usually accounted helpful in getting through life, her existence as a child seems to have been comparatively barren and unhappy. As a youngster, she habitually thought of herself as awkward and untalented.

Her people came of one of the old American trading families and lived in a manner commensurate with their wealth and status. She was brought up among those who naturally took for granted that they belonged to the ruling class. Then her father and mother died in her youth, and Eleanor was passed about among her upper-class relatives. She had everything which wealth could give, but lacked many of the privileges enjoyed by the humblest child.

One great advantage she did have: Mrs. Roosevelt received the chief part of her education in an English boarding school. While there she did so well and took life so seriously that she became an intimate of the headmistress, who, by good fortune, was an intelligent French woman. Through this friendship the eager, young American girl was introduced to life in Great Britain and on the Continent. Thus, though she never had the educational advantages of the typical American girl, she did gain an understanding of life which went well beyond the ordinary. It is probably because of growing up under these conditions that she developed some of her political ideas and her interest in international affairs. It was often remarked that in her speech and manners Eleanor Roosevelt was very English. But if she had received the conventional American education, who knows, she might have been turned out to be another Jane Addams rather than an important political figure.

It is difficult to write about Mrs. Roosevelt with any sense of proportion—mainly because her own life was such a model of proportion. Her most conspicuous characteristic was her evenly balanced temperament. When she looked at you with her level gaze, you felt things suddenly falling into place. It had nothing to do with her education or personal philosophy; it was a gift of nature. I often saw her in operation in the United Nations, in the American Association for the United Nations and in the Americans for Democratic Action. In all of these environments she was sometimes forced to deal with various factions or groups with ideas and purposes quite different from her own.

Though onlookers sometimes fancied that they could see the impulses of the aristocrat showing through the carefully reherased manners of the common woman, in the end Mrs. Roosevelt almost always proved the great compromiser and the devout and successful democrat. Both in political party meetings and in the unofficial organizations in which she participated, she functioned as a conscientious citizen devoted to the public welfare. Even in her great fight against certain leaders of Tammany Hall, she fought hard and used every device that promised success, but managed to alienate as few people as possible. Mere political success was never her aim.

The most astonishing of all Mrs. Roosevelt's activities was her column, *My Day*. Its purpose, obviously, was to gain political influence in the wider sense. Her plain little messages were aimed at the common people—and they usually hit their mark. Yet, at the beginning practically everyone agreed that this journalistic experiment would be a failure. Even the author herself on various occasions agreed that she was skilful at neither speaking nor writing.

Her first few columns were so ordinary and undistinguished that everyone assumed that the idea would soon be given up. When Westbrook Pegler poked ill-natured fun at them, the most

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loyal of liberals had to acknowledge that he had a point.

Mrs. Roosevelt never seemed even to try to make her compositions interesting or exciting. She just put down enough easy-going remarks to fill the required space—and that was that. She did not, apparently, care whether the readers liked her stuff or not. Still, there never was another column like it, and there never will be.

When it started in 1936, the column appeared in 20 papers. Soon it was picked up by 48 others, and was reaching an audience of four-and-a-half million readers. In addition to all her other activities, writing a newspaper column day after day, year after year, and from all over the world, was a really miraculous achievement. Despite her lack of training as a writer, Mrs. Roosevelt developed a marvelous control of basic English. Her readers quickly recognized its authenticity. It was real. It was the stuff that life was made of. Smart guys could make fun, but Mrs. Roosevelt had a sure sense for what was important, and she quietly kept pursuing it.

I once sat in the audience as Mrs. Roosevelt addressed 800 high school students on the future of the United Nations. It was a revealing experience, listening to her rich and sure voice giving them basic facts in basic language. Everyone of those young people leaned forward to drink in each of those plain and simple words. They felt that they were getting authentic information, and from the ultimate source.

Mrs. Roosevelt was mistress of the White House for 12 years, longer than any other woman. It was her business to receive the kings, the generals, the statesmen, to make them feel at home, to see that the White House was a reasonably happy and efficiently run place. Though she had the instincts of a statesman, she was under the necessity of holding herself in. She spoke often of the responsibilities which h her other public activities during those e years, years when the fate of the world s dependent on discussions which regularly place around her dinner table.

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt d 1945, Eleanor, in an important respect, b free to be herself, to play her own part, a new chapter in her public life began. Pre she had attended political conventions friendly onlooker. Now she became one o most expert of professionals. Hardly anyo had more to say about Democratic party dates and platforms. All of the friendships she had cemented as a hostess made it eas her to spread her influence. And when she her two zigzag journeys about the world it simple and pleasant for her to return the of foreign statesmen and dignitaries she known earlier. Without trying she became authority on international affairs.

It was natural for the liberated official to symbolize these changes by entitling on her books *On My Own*. President Truman a sure instinct, soon named her as a mem the American delegation to the United N and a little later she accepted a position member of the Human Rights Commission. W the Republican Administration came in and an end to these international responsibil without a moment's pause she threw her enor energy into the American Association fo United Nations. Though she was appro her 70th year, there was no reduction in h genuity and enthusiasm.

Down to the very last years, in fact, E Roosevelt travelled, spoke, wrote, and offere counsel. To the end, she spread her fait international peace and American social im ment.

Editor—**Kedar Nath Chatterji**
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THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH 1963

VOL. CXIII, No. 3 WHOLE No. 675

NOTES

The World

The position regarding the Sino-Indian border conflict remains as undefined and fluid at the end of February as it has been ever since the Chinese announced their unilateral decision for a cease-fire followed by the withdrawal of Chinese forces from the battle-lines to an exceedingly imprecise "Line of Actual Control" that supposedly existed some time back. The date given was precise but as the line was not at all clearly indicated, the whole proposition seemed to be confused and complicated.

Then followed the Colombo Conference of the Six Afro-Asian non-aligned powers invited by the Prime Minister of Ceylon to discuss the situation and to decide on terms and conditions which might induce both sides to meet for the purpose of negotiating for peace. These terms and conditions formulated by the six non-aligned powers as being the preliminaries to the direct negotiations, known as the Colombo proposals, were placed by the delegation empowered by the conference directly before the Chinese authorities at Peking and, after that, before the Indian authorities at New Delhi. In both instances the terms and conditions were further subjected to examination by the parties concerned and clarifications were put forward by the delegates led by the Prime Minister of Ceylon, who personally went at the head of the mission to Peking and New Delhi. The terms and conditions and the explanations thereof are the same, therefore, as placed either before Peking or before New Delhi. Indeed neither has complained about variations.

The Colombo Proposals together with the clarifications thereof were accepted *in toto* by New Delhi. But Peking, while accepting them "in principle"—whatever that might connote—has neither given full and clear acceptance nor has it indicated what stands in the way of full acceptance.

This uncertain position still continues and uptil the time of writing these there have not been any further moves from any quarter to bring about the final direct talks for the settlement of the dispute. China is reported to be massing forces and assembling arms for a major offensive, and there is no doubt that our authorities are going on with preparations for rearmament of our fighting forces. It is not known how far the purchase or manufacture of latest varieties of military and aerial equipment for our fighting forces have progressed. It is to be hoped that something more than mere discussions have been achieved. It is useless to speculate on such matters in the absence of any data or any concrete news from any authoritative source. The only thing clear about the present situation is that peace is as yet far off.

In the meanwhile the Sino-Pak Pact, over the demarcation of boundaries along the borders of China's Sinkiang province and the mountain areas of the part of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan, is entering into its crucial stages. On February 24, Pakistan's Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, left Karachi for Peking at the head of a five-man delegation, to sign a border agreement with China. He was to have signed the agreement either on the 27th or the 28th of

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February. But no definite news were available at the time of writing these as to whether that has been done. Mr. Bhutto told press correspondents at Karachi that the agreement would be provisional till the Kashmir issue was settled with India. He also stated that if direct negotiations failed Pakistan might try other means for settling, notably mediation by other influential Powers.

All these statements were made by Mr. Bhutto, of course, with an eye for allaying the concern expressed by the British and United States authorities. But they are but statements to the press that can be modified, explained away or even repudiated at will as is customary with Pakistani authorities. It is apparent that Pakistan is gambling for something quite different to what she has stated, "unofficially" to be the terms of the Pact. In some quarters there is speculation about a proposed exchange of territories, like that of the comparatively barren territories of Kashmir bordering Chinese Sinkiang for the fertile and oil bearing areas of Assam. These are mere speculations, but as both the areas belong to India and the bargaining parties are China and Pakistan, we should not dismiss it as being fantastic.

What is interesting is that this signing of a Pact with Red China by a member of the SEATO group of powers is being done without any consultation with either U.S.A. or Britain. With regard to India this signing of the Pact would make the forthcoming talks between India and Pakistan, scheduled to start at Calcutta on the 12th of March next, meaningless and futile, as has been abundantly made clear to Pakistan by the Indian, British and U.S., authorities. The news reports are :

India is reported to have made it clear to Pakistan that the proposed border accord would have no legal basis as the territory involved is in Pakistan-held portion of Kashmir, the sovereignty over which continues to rest with India. Neither was Peking, according to India, entitled to negotiate about the territory.

The American and British envoys during their meetings with Mr. Bhutto reportedly expressed their Governments' concern over the timing of signing of the agreement when the Indo-Pakistan Ministerial talks on Kashmir and other related matters were about to enter their fourth round in Calcutta on March 12.

The United States and Britain which were responsible for promoting the idea of a negotiated settlement of the issue, are believed to [illegible] that the proposed agreement would make [illegible] task of the Indian negotiators more difficu[illegible]

Mr. Bhutto however made Pakistan's pos[illegible] on the issue abundantly clear while taki[illegible] pressmen yesterday. He said India was fre[illegible] hold any opinion about the legality of the a[illegible] ment and that it would be signed irrespectiv[illegible] what India thought about it.

Pakistan is thus stated to have made up mind to go ahead with the agreement appare[illegible] pinning little hope on the outcome of the K[illegible] mir talks.

Informed observers here believe that [illegible] of breaking off the talks. Pakistan has virtu[illegible] served notice on India and her Western allies [illegible] it cared precious little about them and w[illegible] merely go through the formality of taking pa[illegible] order not to be held responsible for their br[illegible] down.

A local English daily meanwhile acc[illegible] India of making a "big fuss" about the propo[illegible] Sino-Pakistan border agreement.

It advanced the theory that India would [illegible] the agreement as a "pretext" to call off the ta[illegible]

This apparently "inspired" report was i[illegible] preted in diplomatic quarters to mean that P[illegible] stan had been preparing for the eventuality [illegible] was anxious to create a situation whereby [illegible] onus for failure of the talks could be shifted [illegible] to India.

Washington, Feb. 2[illegible]

Mr. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State [illegible] ferred for an hour today with Mr. Aziz Ah[illegible] the Pakistan Ambassador, on the Kashmir p[illegible] lem.

State Department officials declined to [illegible] any details of thier conversation, but it was [illegible] liably learned that Mr. Rusk had expressed [illegible] cern about the forthcoming visit of Mr. Z[illegible] Bhutto, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, to Pe[illegible] to sign a border agreement with China.

Informed sources said the United States [illegible] not questioning the terms of the agreement, s[illegible] it had no details about this, but was concer[illegible] about the timing of Mr. Bhutto's trip in view [illegible] the resumption next month of India-Paki[illegible] talks on the Kashmir issue.

Since the Pakistani-Chinese agreement [illegible] volved the 300-mile border between Sink[illegible] province and the part of Kashmir controlled [illegible] Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto's trip to Peking a[illegible]

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certainly would have an effect on the next round of talks, the sources said.

They said that Mr. Rusk had also emphasised to the Ambassador the United States' deep concern that both Pakistan and India would continue to make every effort to solve the Kashmir issue.

The Secretary of State had reiterated the U.S. belief that the major danger to both countries came from China and that failure to settle their differences over Kashmir would continue to block the way towards the defence of the subcontinent.

The most turbulent of the Arab States, Iraq, had another *coup d'etat* on Friday the 8th of February last. A military junta that called itself the new "Revolutionary Council," claimed that it had seized power in Iraq and that it had killed Lt.-General Abdul Karim Kassem, the dictator, who had ruled Iraq since the revolt against King Feisal II and his Chief of State, Nuri es-Said, in 1958 delivered the reins of government into his hands. It was stated at first that the Revolutionary Council was headed by Colonel Abdul Karim Mustafa who was said to be the new Commander of the National Guard of Iraq.

On February 9, Baghdad Radio announced that General Kassem was executed by a firing squad and later it announced that Col. Abdul Salam Mohammed Aref, General Kassem's former right-hand man in the 1958 revolt, had become the President of Iraq and that Brigadier Ahmed Hassan Badr had been appointed Prime Minister. It was announced by the radio that two of General Kassem's aides were executed along with him, one being his cousin and the former President of the People's Tribunal of Baghdad, Col. Mahadawi and the other the principal agent of the Communists in Iraq, Col. Taha Ahmed, who was the leader of the Communist officers surrounding Gen. Kassem.

Baghdad witnessed an orgy of violence and bloodshed similar to that which accompanied the 1958 revolt but, perhaps, with less primitive brutality than what was displayed by Kassem's lieutenants. There were attempts at restoring normalcy initiated by the new Government and the state became almost normal within a few days, although the hunt for the Communist officers and officials who were put in power by Kassem has continued uptil now. The Communist Party in Iraq is said to have been well-organised and when Kassem turned to them for support, he got large-scale arms and economic aid from the Soviet Bloc, to the tune of about 800 million dollars' worth according to some sources.

Kassem's brief rule of 4½ years, during which there were 38 attempts at assassinating him, was filled with constant troubles. There were revolts amongst his own men, the Kurdish tribes of the northern regions had broken out in open rebellion and after a series of Red-inspired strikes, he became furious and jailed some hundreds of Communist Party men and condemned to death some 28 of their leaders. Col. Aref, the new President, was a great favourite of Kassem's but they quarrelled over the division of power. Kassem was determined to wield all the power himself and although he led an austtre life otherwise, he rigidly maintained absolute control of the State in his own hands. Soon there were quarrels which ended in Aref's being condemned to death. Kassem, however, commuted the sentence to life-imprisonment and in 1961 set Aref free on a sentimental impulse.

It is too early to predict the course this new Government will run, controlled as it is by the mysterious National Council of the Revolutionary Command, of which both the size and the membership are secret. But for the present a 21-man Cabinet has taken over charge and they are reportedly highly educated and responsible people eager to serve their country and nation, and strennous attempts are being made to restore the normal functioning of the life of the people and of the State.

Meanwhile, the repercussions that followed De Gaulle's action in refusing Britain admission to the E.C.M. and the E.E.C. and in virtually denouncing the Atlantic alliance, still continue. Britain has taken the veto from France with undaunted spirit, but the arrogance of De Gaulle in trying to work his will on the people of Western Europe is resented widely, though the results, as such, are as yet not very visible on the surface. Chancellor Adenauer was put in an awkward situation by the action of De Gaulle, and there have been open exhibitions of resentment at this crude and blunt attempt on the part of the French President to make the European Common Market his device to obtain control over all of Western Europe. It is an open question whether the visions of grandeur that De

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Gaulle dreams of, would ever materialize into reality and whether he, with his mystic vision and intolerance of other people's opinions, would ever be able to remake Europe to conform to the image his dreams have conjured up. The rebuff given to the U.S. may involve serious consequences. For, although France may not need any further outright aid or loans from U.S.—having received about 9,500,000,000 dollars in outright aid and 1,800,000,000 dollars in loans since 1945 to rebuild and rehabilitate France itself—it is doubtful whether others in Europe could afford to antagouize the U. S. It is almost certain that West Germany and Italy would not join with De Gaulle in his cavalier attitude.

The U.S. attitude over the split with General De Gaulle over European policy was very briefly treated by U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, at his press conference on February 1. The relevant portion of the press conference transcript runs as follows :

Question : "Mr. Secretary, I would like to say before asking questions, that we are glad to see you in this room again ; we hope as the new year goes on this may get to be more of a habit."

"I wonder if you could give us your assessment of where we stand in the split with General De Gaulle over European policy ?"

Secretary Rusk : "Well, I think we are in a period now, after the breakdown of the discussions in Brussels, in which the Governments, particularly those directly involved in those discussions, will be reassessing the situation to see how we can all get on with the great tasks in front of the West."

"In the most immediate sense, the Brussels talks had to do with the U.K. membership in the Economic Community. They do involve important questions of trade, but they are not the only framework within which Western unity is being pursued. NATO has some important questions in front of it, such questions as the multilateral force. The OECD has been moving vigorously for the co-ordination of fiscal and trade policies. Its development assistance group has been working diligently on the coordination of Western aid to underdeveloped countries."

"Mr. Herter has had his first exploratory trip to Brussels to talk to the commission of the EEC and to Geneva to talk with GATT, and to Paris to talk with OECD, in preparation for the rounds of negotiations that we see ahead of us in connection with our own Trade Expan Act. So there is a moment of pause on cer aspects of the Western effort. But the Western North Atlantic effort is related to necessities of the situation which arise from pressures against the Free World being app from the Soviet Union."

"These discussions that we have been ha in the West do not themselves basically a the harsh realities on which Western policy been based in this post-war period, nor do t basically affect the promise of the future, so although there will be a period of pause reconsideration of alternatives in the we ahead on certain aspects of the effort, the g lines of policies of the West in Europe and North America will go forward."

Nothing very much has transpired—rather come to the surface—since then. Chanc Adenauer has weathered a minor storm but has to face some more. Britain has not b sitting idle either though readjustments that have to be made to put the British econo set-up on a new footing have to be made la iously and in some cases painfully, as the p 16 months' plans that were made on the ba of admittance to the E.C.M. have to be scrap —or shelved.

In Africa, the Congo is slowly coming peaceful condition, now that the principal trou maker Moise Tshombe of Katanga has quit country and gone to Paris. But the U.N. ha formidable task before it to keep the people the Congo Republic alive and to restore economy of the Republic to its normal condi The Katanga officials under Tshombe had pra cally completed the looting of the Nati Bank of Katanga and the rest of the country was in an acute state of economic stringency

There was an Afro-Asian People's Solida Conference held at a place called Moshi, on shoulders of Mount Kilimanjaro in the Repu of Tanganayika. The Red Chinese had mana to infiltrate their adherents into the ranks of African delegates and at one point the leader the Indian delegation to the conference nounced the entire organization as a "fra The members of the Soviet group were pic out by the Chinese and their adherents for ins and pin pricks and as a result the whole af became a farce.

The only other event worthy of note

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Africa was the death at Cairo, at the age of 81, of Abd el Krim, the Lion of Morocco and the legendary hero of 200 battles, against the the French. He preferred to live in exile although the King of Morocco wanted him back.

The President's Address

Our President delivered his first inaugural address to a joint session of the two Houses assembled in the Central Hall of the Parliament House at New Delhi on February 18. The address was concise, dignified and learned as is usual with Dr. Radhakrishnan's speeches.

The inaugural proceedings were disturbed at the start by the uncouth antics of a small group of Hindi protagonists who interrupted Dr. Radhakrishnan's address at the start by demanding that he should speak in Hindi. The demonstrators consisted of a few members of the Socialist Party and Swamy Rameshwaranand of the Jan Sangh group. Their action was universally deplored in the Lok Sabha and many members whose love of Hindi was no less intense than that of these demonstrators—and perhaps actuated by more genuine principles—expressed their embarrassment at the incident.

The small Socialist group came in for particular condemnation because they followed up their verbal interruptions with a walk-out from the Central Hall after the President had started his address. This disorderly and disrespectful conduct is unprecedented and the House approved the Speaker's decision to appoint a committee to go into this incident and to suggest methods to prevent its recurrence. The House further requested the Prime Minister to convey to the President its deep regret over the conduct of the demonstrators. Members who have been advocating the adoption of Hindi steadfastly over the years, like Seth Govind Das (C) and Shri Prakash Vir Shastri (Ind.), dissociated themselves from those demonstrators, declaring that far from representing the sentiments of the Hindi speaking peoples, their action would cause acute regrets in their hearts. The leader of the Jan Sangh group, Mr. Trivedi joined with other members in asking for the appointment of the Committee to go into the incident.

The Presidential Address started, as usual, with a broad survey of the years following the Constitution of our Republic. That was followed by a survey of our domestic and foreign policies. There was a special reference to India's desire to settle differences with Pakistan peacefully and "in accordance with our common history, culture and traditions." The Chinese Aggression and the reaction of the Indian peoples was referred to and with regard to arm's aid special reference was made to the response from Britain and the U.S.A. The significant portions in reference to these were contained in the first part of the Address, which ran as follows, after the preamble :

Some years ago, China commenced its surreptitious aggression in Ladakh which later resulted in some incidents between the two countries. This matter has often been discussed in Parliament. We hoped that we would succeed in solving this question also through peaceful methods. On September 8 last, however, a new aggression started across the border in the North East Frontier Agency and, after some probing attacks, China, on October 20, mounted a massive attack on both the NEFA and Ladakh sectors of the India-China boundary. In the middle of November, a second massive attack followed and our forces suffered a setback. Subsequently the Chinese Government ordered unilaterally a cease-fire and a withdrawal.

These massive attacks and further aggression on our territory had a powerful effect on our people and resulted in wide-spread and spontaneous display of unity all over the country. All the petty internal differences were hushed and stopped in the face of this peril to the nation's integrity and freedom. Parliament gave a lead to the nation in this matter in November last and our people, throughout the length and breadth of India, wholeheartedly followed this lead.

Any attack on the integrity of India would have been painful, but an attack coming from a country with whom we had tried to be friendly, and whose cause we had espoused in international councils, was a gross betrayal and came as a great shock to our people. Inevitably, the first duty of the nation in these circumstances was to meet this aggression effectively and to prepare the country to that end.

At present no actual fighting is taking place. But the experience of the last few months has warned and steeled us and made us resolve to protect ourselves from this menace and to strengthen our defence and economic structure to the utmost. Our Government is devoting itself to this urgent and vital task.

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Soon after the Chinese aggression, our Government appealed to the countries of the world asking for thir sympathy and support. We are grateful to the large number of them who responded and extended their sympathy. A number of them have also given practical support and we are grateful to them. In particular, I should like to express our gratitude to the U.S.A. and the U.K. for the speed with which they gave their support to us in a moment of crisis.

The last session of Parliament discussed fully certain proposals which were put forward by the Governments of Ceylon and five other non-aligned countries. These proposals did not deal with the merits of the basic dispute between India and China, but suggested some method of creating an atmosphere which would enable these basic questions to be discussed. After full consideration and reference to Parliament, our Government conveyed its acceptance of those proposals, as clarified by the Colombo Powers, without any reservation. The Chinese Government has thus far not accepted them and we cannot say at present what developments may take place in the future. Our country, committed as it is to peaceful methods, will always endeavour to solve disputes peacefully, provided this is in consonance with our honour and freedom. But whatever may happen, we cannot and will not submit to dictation backed by military force.

The issue of the Chinese aggression has been, and is today, the overridding issue before us and everything else has to be considered in that context. The freedom and honour of a country must be given the first place and, if a country cannot defend them, then other matters lose significance. The nation's activities have thus been concentrated on this basic issue. A national defence council has been formed and a national defence fund started. This fund has met with a generous response from our people. Many citizens' councils have been formed in different States and a central citizens' council, to co-ordinate the activities of the other councils, has also been instituted.

The President's Address was discussed in both Houses of Parliament and the opposition expressed it's opinion at length prior to it being approved along the usual procedure. The repercussions over the unseemly action of a handful of so-called Hindi enthusiasts still continue, in a small way, in the political sphere. Indeed the head of the "Lunatic Fringe"—as the Americans call it—of Socialism in politics has declared his party would approach other parties and all possible efforts to "impeach the Presid

We ourselves would have liked the Pres to have added a few words of caution to the of our Government and the members of the Executive Services and to have warned them the soulless bureaucratic outlook, that has come characteristic of them during the past de and which has resulted in a virtual negation Democratic and Socialistic principles which supposed to be our ideal and our goal, seriously affect the peoples' determination dedication at this hour of peril. The peo response has been splendid beyond all doubts, that has been for the cause of the country and Nation, which is espoused by all of us with loy and devotion. But some Ministers seem to that the loyalty and fealty is owing to them, *vidually and jointly*, and that their dicta and judgements should be accepted in all humility all the humble citizens of the country, as in bound.

The Gold Control Order has caused se hardships on a very large number of artisans over the country. This is beyond all doubt a however much might our omniscient Fin Minister try to belittle it. And when we fin statement in the news, as given below, our do regarding the willingness and the capacity of t on whom we have conferred the charge of nation's affairs become actually intensified. news referred to is as follows :

The Finance Minister Mr. Morarji D today rejected a suggestion for unemploy- relief to goldsmiths during question-time in Rajya Sabha.

Mr. Desai said : "We have not yet reache state where we can give relief to all unempl people in the country."

Of course he is quite right. But he sh have completed his statement by saying "since the Government—that is the august of which I am member—are unable and unwi to assume any responsibility for the relief distress, it is immaterial to me and the rea that august body as to whether another hund thousand families are plunged into distress." that is what his reply implies.

That would have been a logical conclusio Mr. Desai's "bureaucratic" pattern of thin undoubtedly, but does it sound—we refer to

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reply given by Mr. Desai, as in the news—as being compatible with the democratic socialist society which is referred to at the end of the Presidents Address, where he said :

"Members of Parliament, we are meeting today at a grave moment in our history. Committed as we are to build a democratic socialist society in which progress is sought and attained by peaceful methods and by consent, we have to face the menace of foreign aggression.

I earnestly trust that this Parliament, which is ultimately responsible for our policies and for guiding the nation, will face these great tasks with courage and wisdom, and a spirit of tolerance and co-operative endeavour. May your labours bear fruit for the good of our country and people and the world. Awake, arise, understand the opportunities you have and stop not till the goal is reached."

It would have brought some solace to who like the artisans in gold, have been thrown out of jobs that give them and their families a livelihood through honest toil, by a dictum of a Government that is unwilling to relieve distress but is great in imposing distress, if our President had exhorted his Ministers to awake to the fact that they owe a duty to the common peoples of India and that entails service and sympathy.

THE EDITOR

NOT APATHY BUT ACTION ! TAKE YOUR PLACE IN NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS.

Gold Control

The Gold Control Rules imposed by the Central Government have several purposes. The most important purpose is to stop gold smuggling, which has become a menace, as a considerable portion of India's foreign exchange earnings has become "invisible" in order to be used for the purchase of gold in foreign countries. The idea that if the use of 22 karat gold or pure gold were banned for ornament making, gold smuggling will stop, came into the mind of Government as a hypothesis which has not been tried out yet. As a matter of fact, in spite of the Gold Control Rules, cases of gold smuggling are still occurring and will, most probably, continue to crop up as before. For the profits of smuggling gold will not vanish if 14 k. gold sold at Rs. 7.50 per gramme. The main reason for gold smuggling is not ornament making, but hoarding illicit earnings in a compact and easy manner. This will not cease to be there even after all ornaments were made with 14 k. gold. Gold will surely continue to be a steadily valuable commodity even if women and men stopped using it for personal adornment. After the Government of India demonitised the Rs. 1000 currency notes some years ago, and after the Indian rupee began to lose purchasing power due to inflation and other controls, people began to lose faith in our paper money, at least for purposes of hoarding. Gold has always been considered to be the best repository of value and gold hoarding got an impetus when the Indian rupee could no longer be trusted to keep its value intact. The more the rupee fluctuates, therefore, and is tampered with, in point of stability and retention of its quality as valid legal tender under all circumstances, the less popular it will be for saving purposes. The presence of foreign enemies will further lower its popularity. In such circumstances, one has to admit that the Gold Control Rules will find it difficult to operate freely and smoothly. A managed currency cannot at any time compete successfully with gold. It finds it harder to do so when it constantly loses purchasing power and is occasionally demonitised in some or all of its denominations. If a Government mismanages its intrinsically valueless paper money, it forces its nationals to seek other methods of effecting savings in a safe and reliable form. In India, not all hoarders of gold are tax evaders and law breakers. Most people who buy gold are tax payers and law-abiding citizens. The Government of India should, therefore, reorientate their mind as to their currency policy and general economic controls. The assumption that a Government always knows everything better than everybody else is not one of the eternal verities. Had that been so, governments would never fall nor ministers get the sack at any time.

The second purpose of the Gold Control Rules is to mobilise the gold resources of the country and to get all or most of the gold in the hands of Government. The methods adopted by Government to achieve this have been totally wrong. They have tried to get hold of the gold by offering to buy it at about half market price

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and to issue "gold" bonds at a high rate of interest. As the bonds will be paid back in paper money and not in gold, people have not taken a fancy to it. The fact that the gold bonds were free from wealth or capital gains tax and were issued on a "no questions asked" basis and were not popular even then, proved that not many law breakers had any desire to give gold to the Government in exchange of the bonds. If Government agreed to repay the bonds in gold and paid half the interest, people might have given them gold in much larger quantities. They could then have pledged all that gold with foreign banks and obtained foreign currency at an even lower rate of interest. If they had used the foreign currency for productive and income earning purposes at least in a large enough proportion, they could recover and pay back the gold in fifteen or twenty years. But they wanted the owners of gold to exchange gold for paper money. And this has not worked at all well.

The only things that have clearly happened are that large numbers of persons have been employed to enforce the Gold Rules. As the Rules are not creating new sources of revenue, the expenses incurred may be a cause of enhanced taxation and diversion of resources to useless purposes. Thousands of craftsmen have been rendered unemployed in addition to the hundreds of thousands who are workless on account of other controls introuced by Government in connection with their economic planning. The prospects, generally speaking, do not appear to be over bright.

A. C.

Democracy in Action

Representative government in the free world has developed as an institution which functions in order to enable the free people of the different democratic countries to exercise their inherent sovereign rights through elected representatives. The first and fundamental purpose of this democratic and elective system of setting up governments is sound administration of the various services which the people require to live in a safe, orderly and prosperous manner as a collective body. The defences of the country, the maintenance of law and order, communications, collectively owned roads, buildings, productive establishments, hospitals, homes for the sick and the aged, educational centres, posts, telegraphs, etc., etc., all require to be properly manag... the representatives of the people. If a G... ment does not perform these basic fu... properly and well, i.e., if the government ... maintain the defences, enforce the law, ... the socially necessary services efficiently, ... the government cannot be considered to ... effective instrument of political-social ad... tration, no matter how sanctimonious ... ministers of the government may talk and ... have and in spite of all their efforts to ar... to themselves the rights of moral ref... Salvation Army commanders, Sunday ... teachers and Boy Scouts. For the first de... all governments have been defence of the ... try, policing, maintaining postal, medical, ... way and other services, and not so much ... work of ethical preceptors.

A

Hindi, Hindi !

The unseemly interruptions made d... the President's Address by some over enth... tic supporters of Hindi, reminded one of ... "national" language of India and of its n... users. We do not know if Hindi had been a... time the vehicle of Indian culture; but we ... clearly see now that it is not going to be ... language of well-mannered political thinke... may succeed in becoming the "fouzi" and ... bazar language of large areas of India; bu... it is to be the national language of the p... of India, Hindi speakers will have to do ... than what they have done so far in devel... their mother language. The late Ramana... Chatterjee started a Hindi monthly journal ... very high standard which he called *Vishal B...* over thirty years ago. This journal is still ... ning and publishing excellent contributions ... the best among Hindi writers and thinkers. ... meagre circulation of this journal shows up ... deeply the Hindi speakers adore their lang... If the circulation of Hindi books and jo... of a high cultural standard is to be taken ... index of Hindi's place in Indian civilis... Hindi should be forthwith taken off the lis... far as national languages are concerned). ... of very cheap literature is published in ... but their alleged circulation is only for ... benefit of those persons associated with g... ment who spend money for the spread of ... by purchase of printed matter in Hindi a...

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getting advertisements published in such "exclusive" publications. As to real buyers and readers of these railway bookstall decorations, we shall not comment on that. It is quite obvious that in spite of the efforts made by Pt. Nehru's Government to increase the proportion of Hindi speakers in India's total population, the natural speakers of Hindi have saved their naie paise with tenacity in the matter of purchase of good Hindi books and have only tried to gain advantage over the speakers of other languages on account of the special position of Hindi as a language. The guarantee that was given to non-Hindi-speaking peoples to the effect that they will not suffer any disadvantages for not knowing Hindi as well as the natural speakers of Hindi, turned out to be a paper guarantee to a large extent. The language "minorities" in Bihar and other Hindi-speaking areas will corroborate this statement. In those areas of Bihar, for instance, *where Hindi is not the language of the inhabitants*, things have gone bad for the real inhabitants of the particular districts. The *prachar* of Hindi, in short, has not been free from the evils of depriving rightful persons of their privileges and natural rights. This roused the fears and antipathies which non-Hindi speakers now feel about Hindi. Generally speaking, Hindi will eventually retain its position as official language in the natural Hindi-speaking areas. It will not become a national language until it deserves that distinction. That will never happen unless the Hindi speaking peoples learn to *spend* one or two nP. and some energy for the development of their language.

A. C.

Morarji as Goldsmith

We have carefully studied Sri Morarji's efforts at teaching goldsmiths their own job. Congress Ministers have always excelled in teaching everybody their jobs; but, in the particular instance, Morarji has over-stepped the limits of *anadhikar charcha* (poaching in the technical-intellectual preserves which by right belong to others). He seems to know all about making gold ornaments! One might even say he missed his vocation and would have done better as a goldsmith than he has as a Finance Minister. If he now gives up his post of Finance Minister and takes up ornament making with 9—14 k. gold, it may be a double blessing. Firstly, a blessing to the Finance Ministry and, secondly, to the gold smugglers. For, if 14 k. gold is proved to be as good as 22 k., the smugglers would then make more profit out of the same weight of gold. And the Finance Ministry will be able to devote itself to the collection of revenue, rather than to social reform and other moral pastimes. Sri Morarji began his gold campaign with a promise that he will stop gold smuggling, collect and mobilise gold for national purposes and change the evil outlook of our people who prefer relatively pure gold to baser metal. So far he has not been able to stop smuggling, nor has he collected much gold. As to the people's preference for 22 k. gold against 14 k., we have not noticed any change-over. Long rows of jewellers' shops remain shut, unemployed goldsmiths parade the streets and women use strong language against Sri Morarji.

In *Utopia*, we were told, people used gold for making "spitoons, etc," so that their minds were free from the lure of that sinful metal. Sri Ramakrishna was highly allergic to the mere touch of gold against his skin. Sri Morarji can order all lavatory fittings to be made of gold in a national institute for brain washing. Persons desirous of being cured of their gold lust could then be sent to this centre for treatment. Pending such arrangements Sri Morarji should tell us how gold filigree work can be done with 14 k.. gold. Also gold enamel work of the kind that Jaipur *meena* workers do. There are many designs of a delicate type which, goldsmiths say, cannot be reproduced on 14 k. gold. Sri Morarji should meet a committee of goldsmiths and the questions and answers raised and given should be published. After this the public will be in a position to judge whether Sri Morarji is not just destroying a very ancient craft and rendering unemployed a few hundred thousand craftsmen, to feed a whim which has so far not proved to be a revenue earner, foreign exchange getter and smuggling stopper of any excellence. We have seen all the various ministerial ventures to put us on the road to progress that will lead to sure prosperity some time about 2063 A.D. We have seen irrigation, electrification, erection of steel and other large-scale factories, State trading, State transport, State managed gas companies, naie paise, metric measures, zemindary abolition, prohibition, etc., etc., etc., and have got over our initial thrills of expectation without

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great difficulty. But this latest effort to make base jewellery is causing too much noise without producing any results. There should be a full parliamentary discussion to settle this question of karats. For nobody would be more pleased than the over-taxed husbands in Indian homes if they could get away with 14 k. in place of 22 or 24 k. But will they be able to convince their wives? May be Shri Morarji should also meet the wives and tell them all about the merits of 14 k. gold. We shall thereafter have a truly wise Finance Minister.

A. C.

Taxes

The best way to raise extra revenues is to help the people to earn more by producing more. Apparently the methods adopted by Government, so far, have not helped the people to produce more. Rather, many people think, that by imposing restrictions of various kinds on imports, manufactures, etc., the Government have rendered idle quite a few hundred thousand persons, and also reduced production in many fields. That is why Government is thinking out fresh sources of revenue and ways of imposing heavier taxes. Economically unsound as these ways and means may appear to us, the Government cannot avoid these for reasons of previous commitments and for maintaining their admitted policy so that any challenge to the government's methods of building up India's economy must have a deeper and sounder basis of correct economic thinking. The political parties of India, being mainly demagoguish and of the tub-thumping variety, the persons who oppose Government have little to say. In this sad state of affairs, the Government of India will constantly fail to achieve their objectives which will seldom be clear cut and precise in dimensions. For mixing of issues is in the very essence of loose thinking and loose thinking creates problems which surround us on all sides. In the circumstances all individuals who have the ability and facilities should try to produce more and buy less for maintaining their families and themselves. Produce to live.

A. C.

Questions

Sri Morarji Desai is reported to have said that he began his campaign against the use of gold ornaments in order to cure Indians of their age old bad and illogical habits. We thought Sri Desai was our Finance Minister. Has a Finance Minister got the right to introduce legisla... to enforce roles which have purposes of a... financial nature? In other words, can a M... Minister start a National Sunday School o... vation Army in his department? ... when he cannot carry out his own work of c... ing revenues very efficiently? Can he fulfi... responsibilities by neglecting his own work by doing all kinds of things which he is supposed to do instead?

Government means an organisation ... is the spearhead of a nation's sovereignty ... which acts for the defence of the country ... enforcement of law and order in the c... the dispensation of justice, medical aid, e... tion, social security and all those other se... to the community which can be best rendere... a collective manner, and for the maintenan... the country's sovereign rights intact in ... sphere of foreign relations. Can a Govern... undertake to change sartorial fashions, im... religious rituals, prohibit bathing in the G... on hygeinic grounds or put a tax on si... *kirtans*; without being accused of frivolous... duct? For, history has set limits to State ma... ment of human affairs. No Government can ... the boundaries beyond which individual d... and selection reign supreme, without ... public feeling against it. Ministers who hav... sense of Realities are the weakest links in ... chain which holds the nation together. Ca... Government allow the fads and fancies of ... dividual ministers to interfere with the ... of the people? Sri T. T. Krishnamachari h... least come out with his intensive coordi... thoughts in the field of Naional Planning. ... reported to have attempted to counter the Fa... Barrage Scheme. He is, by nature, a ... thinker and thinks his way into impossibi... No wonder Pandit Nehru could not do wi... T. T. K. in spite of the latter's record to ... liant uselessness. Now, are we going to ... some more of yet another kind of specta... unwisdom? With Morarji's Gold Control ... T. T. K.'s Water decontrol, wouldn't we ... reach a point which has been known, in ... as the sticky limit?

A.

Hospital for the Crippled

The Society of Experimental Medical S... ces was formed in 1956 for researches

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various branches of medical science. In collaboration with the Physiological Society of India, the Society of Experimental Medical Sciences has been bringing out an annual volume on Physiology and Experimental Medical Sciences for several years. This publication has progressively secured for the society many noted collaborators from Sweden, Germany, Great Britain, America and Russia. The Hospital for crippled children and School of rehabilitation for the crippled that has been organised by the society and recently opened by Sri P. C. Sen in Bon Hooghly, have a number of research centres attached to it. Among these the research centre for applied physiology has been named after the late Sir Nilratan Sircar and it will be located in the ground floor of the Hospital for crippled children. The Nilratan Sircar Memorial Trust Society has granted Rupees One Hundred Thousand to this research centre and has already paid Rupees Forty Thousand on this account to the Society of Experimental Medical Sciences. Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar, who died in 1943, had been one of the most famous physicians of his times. He was the inspiration for a whole generation of medical men many of whom are now the leading members of the profession. He was also the President of the Department of Sciences of the Calcutta University. The R. G. Kar Medical College became the first non-official medical college in Asia due to the efforts made by Nilratan Sircar and the Jadavpur Tuberculosis Hospital and the Jadavpur College of Science and Technology (now Jadavpur University) owe much to Sir Nilratan Sircar for their formation and development. He was also a pioneer in the field of medical and scientific research. His name is, therefore, rightly associated with the research centre for applied physiology in the Hospital for the crippled at Bon Hooghly

A. C.

Farakka Barrage

The Government of India always parade their faith in the fundamentals of economic growth in order to justify their actions during the last fifteen years in overemphasising basic economic needs as against expenditure on other, apparently more important heads. But Sri T. T. Krishnamachari is reported to be trying to shelve the Farakka Barrage though he is supporting the construction of the railway bridge at that place for improving communications with Assam and the Himalayan regions. The future of the Port of Calcutta is linked up with the Farakka Barrage, and, as such, the Barrage is a prime necessity for the economic growth of North-East India. North-East India is eminently suited for the development of industries on account of its richness in raw materials, trained man power, developed markets and its network of roads, railways, canals, power generation centres and already existing industrial potential. In the circumstances, the growth of the Calcutta port is a vital part of the vision of a highly prosperous India. If Mr. Krishnamachari has not been able to realise that, he should not have been given the power to decide or influence such vital economic issues. For the Farakka Barrage Scheme has almost attained the status of an economic axiom and it cannot be shelved in a frivolous manner.

A. C.

A Correction

In the January issue of The Modern Review a few extracts of a paper entitled "The concept of the Panch Shila in International Diplomacy" were published with an insertion at the end that it was a "summary of a paper read at the 25th (Silver Jubilee) Sessin of the Indian Political Science Association at Agra during the Christmas of 1962 under the Presidentship Professor N. C. Bhattacharya (Calcutta University)." The author of the paper, Mr. K. C. Pal, informs us that due to a sudden change in the programme of the Indian Political Science Association, the Conference could not be held and is now likely to be held during the Easter Holidays of 1963 or even later. The mistake is regretted.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

Paying the Price of Freedom

Presenting his annual Budget for the year 1963-64 to the West Bengal Assembly on February 20 last, the State Finance Minister, Shri Sankardas Banerjee, characterised the deprivations that have, ever since Independnce, been imposed upon the State in the matter of allocations from the Central divisible pool of tax revenues by successive Finance Commissions and, especially, the Third Finance Commission, with the words that "West Bengal (has been) paying the price of freedom for the whole of India." Elaborating, he said that the Third Commission "had failed to take note of all the special problems the State had to face because of partition."

In fact, not merely the Third, but also the two earlier Finance Commissions, would appear to have consistently based their recommendations, so far as allocations from the divisible pool of Central tax revenues were concerned, on a deliberate policy of dispersal of the growing tax proceeds derived from the steadily growing industrial prosperity of the State to the rest of the country without, in any way, caring to share her correspondingly growing problems. The visible result has been that with the most rapidly growing industrial concentration, compared to anywhere else in the rest of the country, in and around the Greater Calcutta area, West Bengal has been progressively deteriorating to the level of, perhaps, the poorest region in the country in terms of her economic strength, especially in the background of her continuously "exploding" population, her progressively accelerating shift towards increasing urban concentration and her consequently and correspondingly dwindling agricultural sector. All this is clearly reflected in her daily growing incidence of unemployment and a not merely static, but even positively deteriorating living standards.

It is something of a paradox that with accelerating growth of wealth flowing from her progressively growing industrial sector, the State was not able to share in its proceeds for the benefit of her people and the alleged principle of per capita equality in the distribution of tax revenues, especially the income tax,—a principle said of have been enunciated to enable progressive economic integration of the co... be achieved as a means to national cohesio... integration,—has been apparently workin... wards unjustly depriving the State of th... sources which she should have been able t... timately employ for the benefit of her peopl... wealth generated within the State, with it... respondingly increasing indicences of Corpo... tax, entirely went to the Centre and a ... share of the income tax and excise levies ... being passed on to other States for the s... so-called per capita equality between States ... regions and the closer national-economic ... gration the process is expected to achieve.

Increasing urban concentration, which ... been stimulating accelerating industrial gr... has naturally resulted, as already mentioned, ... a dwindling agricultural sector. The West Be... Government had pointed out to the Third Fi... Commission that income from the major ... cultural crops had increased over the years ... 1950-51 by only 17.1 per cent against the ... India average of 44.7 per cent and against a ... per cent increase in Rajasthan, 110 per ce... the Punjab, 68 per cent in Madras and 67 per ... in Bombay. On the other hand, apart from ... huge burdens of the partition of the co... which has imposed a staggering burden upo... State, her rapid industrial growth had caused ... State Government to assume huge and inc... able liabilities relating to security and ess... social services in the Greater Calcutta area, ... largest single population concentration in ... country, to enable this rapid growth of trade ... industry to be maintained. Large concentr... of populations especially in industrial areas ... evitably generate extraordinary problems of ... and order and of especial administrative ... social services—a fact which has been ... admitted by the Finance Commission—all ... which devolves upon the State resources. ... yet, in the name of per capita equality, a ... share of the taxes derived from the income ... rated within the State, is transferred to ... States or regions without the latter having ... any way, share the burdens that West B... has to shoulder so that such income may ... effect, be generated unhampered.

That, however, is not the complete pi...

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For drainage of wealth and income from the State to other regions in the country occurs also through other and diverse channels. A major share of the employment generated in the expanding industrial concentration in the Greater Calcutta area and other industrial concentrations within the State, go to immigrants from other States and regions who flock to this area and quite a substantial proportion of the savings of such employees flow to other States and regions for employment there. This is a clearly demonstrable and undeniable fact and is weekly, fortnightly and monthly reflected in the huge gross amounts that are regularly channelled away from the State through the postal money order alone. There are also other channels of drainage.

The so-called principle of per capita equality in Central tax distribution has not merely been robbing such a rapidly industrializing State as West Bengal of necessary resources for development,—and the need for it, especially in the Calcutta metropolitan and in the Greater Calcutta area is both urgent and overwhelming—it has been having the effect of diverting urgently needed resources to primarily agricultural regions where the burdens of growth are infinitesimal in comparison. What the State Finance Minister, in fact, has to face is the wholly unenviable task of having to meet constantly expanding needs of development and maintenance which have, in the context of the national emergency at present prevailing has put additional and overwhelming burdens upon the all too slender resources of the State. On the other hand, resources derivable from the Central poor are dwindling in percentage proportion. In the matter of the divisible pool from Central excise, for instance, the allocations to the State made by the Second Finance Commission comprised 7.59 per cent which, the Third Finance Commission has now considerably attenuated to the very low proportion of 5.07 per cent—the loss to the State thereby would be considerable—although even on the basis of population, the State's share should have been at least 8.11 per cent. Here is an obvious departure from the so-called principle of per capita equality in the distribution from the divisible post of Central tax revenues which is said to being followed in the matter of income tax revenues. On the other hand, West Bengal's share of the additional excise on textiles, tobacco and sugar had not visibly increased, but the scope of additionally subventing the State revenues from these sources, for which there would seem to be considerable further scope, could not be exploited as the initiative in this behalf had to be surrendered to the Centre. Likewise excise on motor spirit which has been allowed to several other States although the West Bengal industrial areas contribute a major share of the income derived from this source. In the matter of Central assistance for financing the State Plans an invidious distinction would appear to have been made when regard is had to the fact that the State is to obtain Re. 1.2 for each rupee raised for the purpose by the State Government against Re. 1.9 in Andhra, Rs. 2.4 for the Uttar Pradesh, Re. 1.8 for Bihar, Rs. 2.2 for Madhya Pradesh and Re. 1.9 each for Rajasthan and Madras. Again, while Central allocations to the States for the Plan has been raised by about 200 per cent on the whole, West Bengal's share has gone up by only 80 per cent.

Allocations to the State by the Centre demonstrate an obviously callous indifference, especially to the overwhelming problems and needs of the Calcutta metropolitan area and the Greater Calcutta industrial concentration which, to anyone who has the least acquaintance with the realities of the problems affecting the State, should be able to clearly realise, are not merely of vital moment to West Bengal but have also a crucial bearing upon the prospects of development progress in the whole country. The comments of the World Bank Mission that the "the Union Government tends to regard the Greater Calcutta problem as wholly the concern of West Bengal which, in turn, is struggling with many other difficulties. The very magnitude of the challenge that Calcutta presents to the *conscience and political commonsense* (emphasis mine) of those in authority no doubt in part explains the inadequacy of the response. Everybody admits that more ought to be done about it. But nobody is ready to do it" would appear to be particularly apposite in this connection. On the face of it, it would seem that the requirements of the industrial concentrations in West Bengal, especially in and around the Greater Calcutta area, urgent and vital as they clearly are to the over all national structure of development and progress, are being deliberately ignored and the manner of channelling away the revenues

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derived from the progressively increasing economic activities in these areas to other regions to the utter and wholly callous neglect of the primary servicing needs of these increasing income generating areas, especially in the context of vital national defence needs, is a deliberate disincentive to growth. This should be evaluated in the rather paradoxical context of the undeniable fact that other regions, even apart from the benefits they have been deriving from the invidious and wholly inequitable Central tax revenue allocations, have already and increasingly been sharing in the benefits of growth here, by way of progressively increasing employment to their own people and, largely, to the detriment of the people of the State with her progressively and overwhelmingly increasing burdens of unemployment. This, if only our national leaders would have the vision and foresight to realise has already been a developing fissiparous factor in the vitally needed process of national integration and may, if not handled with urgency, patience and sympathy—and none of these have, so far, been apparent in Central authorities' dealings with West Bengal (the contrary, in fact, has been all too obvious)—may eventually explode into devastating futility.

The West Bengal Finance Minister has, it is apparent from his Budget speech, been facing upto all this with all the resources he can command. He has made it all too clear how starkly the unfairnesses to West Bengal stand out. One can only hope that even if a basic sense of fairness may not do so, at least the needs of national emergency—to which the State has so much to contribute—may, at last, induce the Centre to develop a fresh orientation in the matter of its treatment of West Bengal. West Bengal, with her miserable living standards compared to other industrial States in the country, with her exploding population and the corresponding burden of accelerating unemployment and static (if not actually dwindling) employment opportunities for her own people, and the overwhelming problems of urban development which brook no neglect or delay, is facing a situation which no one can, who have the larger interests of national integration and development really at heart, look upon with complacency, far less with equanimity.

Karuna K. Nandi.

The D.V.C. And Bihar

Last month a certain member of the Opposition in the Bihar Legislative Assembly was reported to have waxed eloquent indignant over the terrible losses that Bihar had to bear so that the benefits of flood control, irrigation and power flowing from the projects of the D.V.C. could be derived by West Bengal; and he was reported to have urged that the Bihar Government discontinued its contributions towards the maintenance of the Corporation. The point of the criticism, it was clear, was that West Bengal was supposed to have been deriving certain benefits from the Corporation's projects and not so much that Bihar was not deriving any.

This was, of course, typical of the generality of so-called Bihari leaders on most matters impinging on West Bengal. It is, of course, true that large rural populations had to be dispossessed of their lands in the submersion areas along the dam sites of the D.V.C. in Bihar. It was perhaps, unfortunate that it had to be so. But if the Bihar Government have really honoured their commitments in this connection, the dispossessed were not merely paid adequate monetary compensation for the land that they had given up—and West Bengal provided the overwhelmingly large share of the compensation money—but also were to be provided with suitable alternative lands by the Bihar Government. As far as irrigation is concerned it was inevitable that the regions in the lower Damodar Valley should derive comparably benefit facilities in this behalf—the terrain and the gradient made this inevitable—although it is also true that, so far, only a small proportion of the irrigation benefits that were estimated to flow from the D.V.C. have actually been derived by West Bengal. But it is also not true that Bihar had not derived any benefit at all in this behalf. But so far as power is concerned, the benefits of D.V.C. have been derived in as large a proportion if not larger, by Bihar as West Bengal. Apart from the industrially vital mining districts and the concentration around the steel town of Jamshedpur in Bihar, large and extensive rural electrifica-

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scheme carried out by the Bihar State Electricity Board throughout the Chhotonagpur and South Bihar areas, are all being powered from the D.V.C. hydel and thermal stations. All this, of course, naturally do not come within the orbit of the notoriously myopic vision of our intrepid Bihari friends.

Nor do they—perhaps quite deliberately—remember the inescapable fact that West Bengal has contributed very nearly two-thirds of the total capital outlay on the D.V.C. projects, the balance only being shared by the Centre and Bihar,—Bihar's share being, comparatively speaking, insignificant. So far as the annual expenditure on the Corporation's organization is concerned, West Bengal's contributions have, again, been overwhelmingly larger than the combined contributions of Bihar and the Centre put together. And, yet, in almost every matter having to do with the administration of the Corporation, reports of constant interference into the autonomous prerogatives of its executives have become the order of the day. The latest instance is of the controversy raging around the proposal to remove the Corporation's Head Quarters from Calcutta to Maithon (originally it was proposed for Ranchi), a proposal notoriously initiated by Bihar and for the not too well concealed purpose of depriving the largest proportion of its employees who are, naturally, from West Bengal, of their present employment and their substitution by natives of Bihar. Our Bihari friends are wholly unable, it seems, to see or think beyond the narrow groove that is Bihar and, yet, they are seldom found wanting in eloquence whenever the question of national integration arises!

Karuna K. Nandi

Education Cannot Be Standardized

One wishes that what Dr. H. J. Taylor, formerly Principal of the Scottish Churches College in Calcutta and now Vice-Chancellor of the Gauhati University, had to say in course of his presidential address to a symposium on administration of colleges and university education held in Calcutta on the 25th February last, would attract wider public attention than one could normally expect. Dr. Taylor was almost vitriolically pungent in his criticism of what he called the obvious tendencies towards standardization in education. "Standardization," Dr. Taylor castigated, was, perhaps, "the right ideal for factories, but not colleges. Boys and girls, men and women" he emphasised, "were individuals with their separate backgrounds, outlooks, interests and gifts. Any **developed education** (emphasis ours) must treat them as individuals."

Dr. Taylor went on to say that the concept of a college as a "degree factory," was still quite dominant and standardization appeared in many forms. "A hundred colleges were required to operate in precisely the same way, under the same rules, governed by the same constitution, using the same syllabus, reading the same text books, paying the same fees, attending the same number of lectures and, finally, failing at the same examination." But by this, as Dr. Taylor went on to explain, he did not mean that rules were not necessary or that a certain measure of uniformity in certain matters was not desirable. But what he seemed to vehemently object to is that the process was allowed to go too far and that what it really amounted to was a great deal of what he very pithily described as "petty control."

In fact Dr. Taylor pleaded for a thorough exploration of the problem of academic freedom. The actual form of administration in a college or a university was not very important, but how the administration was carried out and, especially who administered them were far more important in this connection. Dr. Taylor felt that the persons in authority should be bona fide academic people. Reading between the lines of his address, what Dr. Taylor seemed to think was that it were bona fide academicians alone who, in the present atmosphere, would be capable of mustering enough good will to run even the undoubtedly rusty and outmoded administrative machinery of our educational institutions with a large measure of success. He did not mince words that the present machinery was both outmoded and rusty and needed scrapping without delay.

What, to us, seems to be the most important part of what Dr. Taylor had to

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say on the occasion relates, first, to the need for the ejection of all but bona fide academicians or, we would like to broaden the apellation to the word educationists, from the control of the machinery of administration of all educational institutions and organizations and, secondly, to the measure of good will, that must be pressed into its service if education has to serve its bona fide ends and not merely function as a factory, as Dr. Taylor so aptly describes, for the mass production of certain standardized prototypes.

Indeed, the question of this good will and the need to prevent standardization in education, in the sense of merely striking an average and not really striving for excellence of the highest level, would seem to be intimately mixed up with one another. If the purpose of education is merely to dispense a certain measure of information on various subjects and to ensure that the information so dispensed has been memorized by way of standardized examinations, the present machinery and manning may be regarded as quite adequate to their requirements. But if the ultimate purpose of education, that is, to broaden one's mental horizon and thereby build up character and self-reliance, has to be served, there is no doubt that a thorough overhaul of the present machinery is urgently called for. The role of the bona fide academician in the process would seem to be all too obvious.

One should, however, be very precise in this connection and point out straightaway that not all professional teachers, whether at the school, college or post-graduate levels, could be regarded as bona fide academicians. From the manner of acquitting themselves that we see from day to day, most professional teachers at all these levels, have obviously not the least vocation for the profession they are found to pursue. They, at least some of them, may be very efficient in producing stereotyped results according to a certain laid down blueprint, but most of them wholly lack the delicacy of touch and the fineness of perception that would enable them to assist in the development of a wholesome individ... And it is on the building up of the in... dual rather than the common and ga... variety of mass-produced graduates, that ... looks for from our colleges and univers... but seldom gets. While all extraneous ... fluences and interests except only bona ... academic ones should be rigorously ... out of the precincts of our educational ... titutions, it is equally important to ri... ously screen our present community ... teachers, their abilities, gifts and, above ... ideals tested with impartial detatchm... and that large body of them which, we ... no doubt, would be found very much wa... ing, should be rigorously and steadfa... excluded from the academic field.

If that were at all possible, we wo... not delude ourselves with the complac... self-delusion that it would be an easy ma... to deal with or a simple problem to so... it should be possible to rescue our pres... generation of students from the innu... rable frustrations, inhibitions and compl... that have been burdening their budd... lives and imperilling their future growth a... which, generally, have been having the m... devastating effects upon their character a... upon the future of the country. It is a m... tragic reality of the present times in ... country that all sense of romance a... adventure in the unfolded future seem... have been completely lost in our grow... generation of students. It is this sense ... romance and adventure that stimulates ... creative faculty in man, and youth is ... age when the dyanimcs of the process be... to gradually accelerate. When this is ... much of the most fundamental and en... ing values are lost from the life of ... community and of the nation and hope ... confidence turns into frustration and as... If Dr. Taylor's very apt and deeply p... ing pronouncements on the subject ... help to rouse our conscience to a sens... the realities of our present-day educati... inadequacies, he will have served a ... noble purpose.

Karuna K. Na...

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RAISON D'ÊTRE OF THE FIRST TWELVE AMENDMENTS

By Prof. B. B. JENA *

I

The elasticity of the Indian Constitution manifested by the twelve amendments during the last twelve years is a challenge to Sir Ivor Jenning's assertion that "What makes the Indian Constitution so rigid is that, in addition to a somewhat complicated process of amendment, it is so detailed and covers so vast a field of Law that the problem of Constitutional validity must often arise."[1] The quick succession with which all the twelve amendments have been made also belies the apprehensions of certain sections of the Constituent Assembly. One member held that "If it is not flexible it will naturally become brittle and will break if it is hit even slightly. Do not let your Constitution become so hard as to acquire bitterness (brittleness ?) : it will break."[2] Another member who complained of the rigidity of the amendment procedures warned that "If the Constitution holds up, blocks the future progress of our country, I dare say that the progress which has been thus retarded will be achieved by a violent revolution : revolution will take the place of evolution. When a storm breaks out it is the flexible little plants, blades of grass that withstand the storm. They do not break because they bend, they are flexible. But the mighty trees that stand rigid break, and they are uprooted in a storm. Therefore, I fear that when a social storm is brewing, if we want to resist that storm, this is not the way to proceed about it. You must make the Constitution flexible, and able to bend to social change. If it does not bend, people will break it."[3] Another member went to the extent of holding that "This two-thirds majority provision will act as a brake to any progressive legislation and even pave the way for revolutionary and anarchist forces in the country . . . At least for a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, the method of amending the Constitution must be made easy."[4] These remarks, warnings and apprehensions have not been correlated by the working of the Constitution.

On the other hand the "aes triplex" in favour of the rigidity of the Constitution of Dr. Ambedkar, has been weakened by subsequent events. He said, "The Constitution is a fundamental document. It is a document which defines the position and power of the three organs of the State—the executive, the judiciary and the legislature. It also defines the powers of the executive and the powers of the Legislature as against the citizens, as we have done in our Chapter dealing with Fundamental Rights. In fact, the purpose of a Constitution is not merely to create the organs of the State but to limit their authority, because if no limitation was imposed upon the authority of the organs, there will be complete tyranny and complete oppression. The Legislature may be free to frame any Law ; the executive may be free to take any decision ; and the Supreme Court may be free to give any interpretation of the Law. It would result in utter chaos."[5] Notwithstanding these, the Constitution has adapted itself within the ambit of the prescribed procedure to the changing circumstances that have arisen "along with changes both in time and space."[6] It is startling to note that even during the fifteen months of the working of the Constitution, it was amended. One after another, amendments have been passed and enforced. It is necessary to know what circumstances led to the different amendments of the Constitution.

II

The first Amendment Act was a product of the efforts of the Provisional Parliament to overcome the difficulties that had been brought to light by judicial decisions and pronouncements specially in regard to fundamental rights.[7] The decision of the

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Patna High Court in the Bharati Press Case of 1951 hastened the first Amendment Bill, 1951. The Patna High Court held "it follows logically that if a person were to go on inciting murder or other cognizable offences either through the press or by word of mouth, he would be free to do so with impunity inasmuch as he would claim the privilege of exercising his fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression. Any legislation which seeks or would seek to curb this right of the person concerned would not be saved under Art 19(2) of the Constitution and would have to be declared void."[8] It is this decision together with others that led Dr. Ambedkar to introduce the First Amendment Bill. Again, although the rights of the citizens under Article 19(1)(g) to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business was subject to "reasonable restrictions" which the laws of the State might impose "in the interests of the general public," and although these words were comprehensive enough to cover any scheme of nationalisation which the State might undertake, it was considered desirable to place the matter beyond doubt by a "clarificatory addition" to Article 19(6). Again there was dilatory litigation on the implementation of important measures of agrarian reform passed by the State Legislatures notwithstanding the provisions of Clauses (4) and (6) of Article 31. Further, special provisions that the State was making for the educational, economic or social advancement of any backward class of citizens were challenged on the ground of discrimination.[9] And certain amendments in respect of the Articles dealing with the convening and proroguing of the sessions of Parliament were found necessary. But the main raison d'etre of the first amendment of Art. 19(1) and (2) was, (1) to meet the judicial decisions and to secure to Constitutional validity of Zamindary abolition Laws in general and certain specified State Acts in particular.

Thus the first Amendment Act provided for a new clause (4) of Art. 15 enabling the State to make special provisions for the advancement of any socially and economically backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Tr... It also provided for three new grou... restriction on the freedom of s... namely, (a) friendly relations with ... ign States, (b) public order, and (c) ... ment to an offence, and it made the f... ing changes in clause (2) of Art. 19 ... retrospective effect namely (i) the ... "tends to overthrow the State" was ... ted, (ii) the words "any matter ... offends against or undermines the sec... of the State" have been substitute... the words "in the interests of the sec... of the State," (iii) the words "libel, sla... have been dropped retaining only ... generic term "defamation," (iv) th... pression "reasonable restrictions" ... been inserted and governs all the ... grounds. In this amendment the State ... the power to carry on any trade, busine... service, whether to the exclusion, com... or partial, of citizens or otherwise. ... Amendment Act inserted a new Article ... which exempted laws for zamidari abol... from the operation of Part III of the Co... tution and it exempted certain State ... abolishing the zamindari system menti... in a new schedule of the Constitution. ... Act also provided for changes in Art. 85 ... Art. 87 in connection with summoning ... addressing the Houses of Parliam... Similar changes were made in the co... ponding provisions (Art. 174 and 176) ... the State Legislatures.

III

The original provision regarding th... presentation of the member in the Hou... the People provided that there should n... less than one member for every 7.5 L... of the population. But the 1951 ce... showed that the population increased ... extent that the upper limit prescribed ... the Constitution if followed would c... an increase in the allotment of seats ... different States. It was, therefore, dec... necessary to relax the upper limit prescr... therein so as to avoid a constitutional ... gularity arising out of increase in po... tion.

The second Amendment Act, 196... moved the upper population limit fo...

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Parliamentary constituency by omitting the words and figures "not less than one member for every 7,50,000 of the population."[11]

IV

Article 369 empowered Parliament to make laws in respect of certain specific essential commodities for a period of 5 years and that power was lapsing on 25. 1. 55. Due to the serious difficulties in respect of control of these commodities, it was not advisable that after the lapse of the said period of 5 years, the Centre should be divested of all legal powers to control the production, supply and distribution of some of these essential commodities.

The Third Amendment Act, 1955, re-enacted the Entry 33 of the list III of the Seventh Schedule to include four classes of essential commodities, viz., (1) food stuffs, including edible oilseeds and oils ; (2) cattle fodder, including oil cakes and other concentrates; (3) raw cotton, whether ginned or unginned, and cotton seed ; and raw jute. In addition, imported goods of the same kind as the product of centralised industries have also been brought within the perview of that Entry.[12] Thus Parliament got the power to legislate on the control of production, supply and distribution of those commodities after the expiry of the prescribed period under Art. 369.

V

The Fourth Amendment Act, 1955, was necessitated by judicial decisions.[13] According to these decisions, even where deprivation of property was caused by a purely regulatroy provision of law and was not accompanied by an acquisition or taking possession of that or any other property right by the State, the law was declared to be ultra vires of the Constitution. It was considered, therefore, necessary to re-state more precisely the State's power of compulsory acquisition and requisitioning of private property and distinguish it from cases where the operation of regulatory or prohibitory laws of the State resulted in "deprivation of property." In the Bela Banerjee case the Supreme Court held for due compensation for even in respect of land acquisition. This created a serious problem for the acquisition of Land etc., for public purposes.

Again the judgement of the Supreme Court in the Saghir Ahmed case raised the question whether an Act, providing for a State monopoly in a particular trade would conflict with freedom of commerce. The Supreme Court held that such laws to be valid must be justified before the Courts as being "in the Public interest" under Art. 301 or as amounting to a "reasonable restriction" under Art. 304(b). It was felt necessary to make Art. 305 clearer.

The Fourth Amendment Act[14] provided that in case of compulsory acquisition or requisition of property for a public purpose the law so authorising should provide for or fix the amount or principles of compensation and no such law should be called in question in any Court on the ground of inadequency of the compensation.

Again a new clause (2 A) has been inserted which provides that no compensation would be paid for a property whose right of ownership or possession has not been transferred to the State. Certain other welfare legislations were also made outside of the perview of Article 14, 19 and 31. It also amended Art. 305 and made the existing as well as all future laws providing for monopoly trading by the State immune from the operation of Article 301 and 303(4). Besides these, seven more laws were added in the Ninth Schedule with retrospective effect.

Thus these provisions were mainly to ensure the socialistic measures of the States and the Centre. There has been no difficulty to get these amendments passed.

VI

The creation of new States and alteration of boundaries of the States were to be effected on the recommendations of the State Re-Organisation Commission. Under the provisions of the Constitution as it stands, no Bill for creating a new State or altering the boundaries of the State could be introduced in Parliament without first obtaining the views of the States.[15] It was found that there was no time limit for the States to

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send their views. The President was not empowered to prescribe a time limit. Therefore the Fifth Amendment was expedient. Thus it was a political expediency that led to the Fifth Amendment.

The Fifth Amendment Act, 1955, sought to remove the above difficulties.[16] It provided that the President could specify a time limit and after expiry of the said time, the Bill to create new States or alter the boundaries of the States, etc., could be introduced with the recommendation of the President.

VII

Judicial decisions on Art. 286 in several cases created complications in inter-state commerce. In the State of Bombay Vs. United Motors (India) Ltd. case, The Supreme Court held that Articles 286(1)(a) prohibited the taxation of a sale involving inter-state elements by all States except the State in which the goods were delivered for the purpose of consumption therein, and Clause (2) did not affect the powers of the State to tax the inter-state sale even though Parliament had not made a law removing the ban imposed by that Clause.[17] This decision resulted in dealers resident in one State being subjected to the Sales Tax jurisdiction and procedure of several other States with which they had dealings in the normal course of their business. Later another judicial decision created further difficulties in the course of inter-state commerce.[18]

Again in 1952 Parliament passed a law declaring a number of goods to be essential to the life of the community and this law could not supersede the State laws which were enforced earlier imposing Sales Tax on these goods. The result was that a wide disparity not only in the range of exempted goods but also in the rates of tax was visible from State of State.

The Taxation Enquiry Commission also made certain recommendations on the Sales Tax affecting inter-state commerce.[19] Their recommendations were generally accepted by all State Governments. Thus amendment of the Constitution was necessary to give effect to their recommendations relating to the Sales Tax.

The Constitution (Sixth Amend... Act, 1956 inserted items 92A in the Uni... placing taxes on inter-state sales and ... chases within the exclusive legislative ... executive power of the Union and ... State's power on Sales Tax (Entry ... in List II) was made "subject to the ... visions" in 92A of the Union List.[20] ... Act empowered Parliament to ... late by law principles for determining ... a sale or purchase of goods takes pla... the course of inter-state trade ... commerce.[21] Further, Parliament was ... powered to declare by law the goods ... are of special importance to inter-S... trade or commerce and also to specify ... restrictions and conditions to which ... State law (whether made before or ... the law made by Parliament) migh... subject to the system of levy, rates ... other incidences of the Sales Tax.

Thus it may be seen that the S... Amendment Act went a step further ... tighten national integration.

VIII

It was the problem of implementa... of the recommendations of the State ... organisation Commission that necessi... further amendment of the Constitution. ... the Seventh Amendment is the aftermat... the States Reorganisation Commi... Report.

The Constitution (Seventh Amendm... Act, 1956, abolished the three categori... States (Part A, Part B and Part C Sta... classified certain areas as Union Terri... and defined the areas and boundari... all the States and Union Territories as ... the recommendation of the Commiss... Certain consequential amendments re... ing allocation of seats in Rajya Sabha ... also made.

Article 81 which was amended by ... second Amendment in 1952 was ... amended by the Seventh Amendment. ... It has provided that Lok Sabha shall ... sist of a maximum of 500 members dire... elected from the territorial constituen... in the States and a maximum of ... members chosen from the Union Terri... in such manner as Parliament by ...

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prescribes. Provision is also made for re-adjustment in the allocation of seats to the States and the division of each State into territorial constituencies after each census.[23] Further provision has been made to make it possible that the same person may be appointed as Governor for two or more States. Provision has been made to have bicameral legislature for Madhya Pradesh and also the maximum strength of the Legislative Council of the State has been raised from one-fourth to one-third of the strength of the State Legislative Assembly.

The Seventh Amendment, again, has provided that a retired judge of High Court can henceforth practise in the Supreme Court and in any Court other than the one in which he was a permanent judge.[24] Parliament has been empowered by this amendment to extend or exclude the jurisdiction of a High Court to any Union territory or to have a common High Court for two or more States.[25]

It also made provision for the administration of the Union Territories and empowered the President to appoint the Governor of a State to act as the Administrator of a Union Territory in his individual capacity subject to the law made by Parliament.[26]

One of the very important features of this amendment is that it has inserted a new Article 258A which provides that the Governor of a State may, with the consent of the Government of India, entrust any State functions to the Central Government or its officers.[27] This provision in effect amounts to elopement of State autonomy through the back door.

The Act also makes it clear that the Central and State Governments can carry on any trade or business, whether or not it is a matter of their competence.

The Act has added Art 350A and 350B to provide facilities for instruction in mother-tongue at the primary stage to children belonging to a linguistic minority, to issue direction to the States in this regard and to appoint Special Officers to safeguard the linguistic minorities, etc.[28]

The Act has also provided for the constitution of regional committees of the Andhra Pradesh and Punjab Legislative Assemblies, for modifications to be made in the Rules of Business of the said Governments and Assemblies. It also authorised the President to provide by order for any special responsibility of the Governor of Bombay.[29]

This Act also extended the life of the Andhra Pradesh Assembly. It made certain other provisions regarding acquisition and requisitioning of property, etc. Thus the Seventh Amendment is the bulkiest on record so far.

IX

The Constitution originally provided for reservation of seats for the Scheduled Tribes and representation of the Anglo-Indian Community in Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies for a period of ten years from the commencenment of the Constitution.[30] This period was due to expiry on 26. 1. 1960. Despite considerable improvement in their general conditions, there was no fundamental change in their basic status. Hence it was felt necessary to extend this facility by another ten years.

The Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Act, 1959 provided for the exetnsion of the period for another ten years.[31] One of the clauses of the Bill which purported to empower the State Governor of West Bengal to nominate not more than two and other State Governors to nominate one member of the Anglo-Indian community to the State Assemblies, failed to obtain the special majority prescribed.[32] Thus this amendment was designed just to serve a specific purpose regarding the reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, etc.

X

The Governments of India and Pakistan entered into agreements on September 10, 1958 ; October 23, 1959 and January 11, 1960 to resolve some of their border problems. Under these agreements certain territories were to be transferred to and certain others acquired from, Pakistan. These agreements affected Assam, West Bengal, Punjab and the Union territory of Tripura. The Berubari transfer proposal caused incessant protest

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from West Bengal through various means. It was challenged that the transfer of Berubari was unconstitutional and some held that the agreement could only be effected by the amendment of the Constitution. Therefore, doubts arose whether the Agreement could be implemented by executive action alone or legislation would be necessary and in the latter case what form should it take.

The President of India referred the matter to the Supreme Court for advisory opinion.[33] The Supreme Court held "The Agreement amounts to a cession of a part of the territory of India in favour of Pakistan and its implementation would naturally involve the alteration of the content of and consequent amendment of Art 1 and of the relevant part of the First Schedule to the Constitution, because such implementation would necessarily lead to the diminution of the territory of the Union of India. Such an amendment can be made under Art. 368.... Parliament may, however, if it so chooses, pass a Law amending Art 3 of the Constitution so as to cover cases of cession of the territory of India in favour of a foreign State."[34]

Accordingly the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Act, 1960 was passed to give effect to the transfer of the territories to Pakistan under the Agreements.[35] This Act incorporated the necessary changes in the description of the territories of the State of Assam, Punjab, West Bengal and the Union Territory of Tripura. Thus the Ninth Amendment authorised the Union Government to hand over a specified area of the Indian territory to a foreign country.

XI

The Varishta Panchayat of Free Dadra and Nagar Heveli adopted a formal resolution affirming the request of the people of these areas for their integration with the Indian Union.[36] In deference to the desire and request of the people of these areas, the Government of India decided to incorporate these territories into the Indian Union with effect from 11.8 1961. With a view to specifying these areas expressly as the Union Territory of Dadar and Nagar Haveli, by necessary amendment of the First Sche to the Constitution, the Tenth Amend took place.

The Constitution (Tenth Amendm Act, 1961 provided to amend Art 240(1 the Constitution so as to include therei Union Territory of Dadar and Nagar H and in order to enable the President to m the regulations for the peace, progress good government of the territory. The in poration of the territory into the In Union was made from a retrospective da Further, another law was passed mak necessary provisions relating to the re sentation of the territory in Parliament their administration and other matters,

XII

The Constitution as it originally st provided that the Vice-President should elected by the members of both Houses Parliament assembled at a joint sitt In an article published in **Modern Revi** I pointed out that even in case of candidate, a joint meeting is necessary elect the Vice-President.[38] In fact, it contended in the same article that the el tion of Dr. Radhakrishnan was unconst tional. The Government of India took long time to appreciate the irregularity created by their non-compliance with provisions of the Constitution. Ultimately requirement of a joint sitting for the el tion of the Vice-President was consid unnecessary.

Further in a Petition filed before Supreme Court, the election was sought be challenged when the notification for election of the President was issued 1957 on the ground that for a valid elec of the President, all elections to the Houses should have been completed be the date of the Presidential election otherwise some members would have b denied the right to take part in the el tion.[39] Though Supreme Court rejected petition as premature, doubts rema unresolved till the advent of the T General Election. The Eleventh Amen ment was brought forward to amend 71 of the Constitution so as to make position clear.

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The Eleventh Amendment deleted the provision for a joint sitting for the election of the Vice-President,[40] and provided "the election of a person as President or Vice-President shall not be called into question on the ground of the existence of any vacancy for whatever reason among the members of the electoral college electing him."[41] Thus the Eleventh Amendment removed certain anomalies which were in existence since the enforcement of the Constitution.

XIII

The territories of Goa, Daman and Diu became a part of the territory of India by military action.[42] These areas were to be formally included as part of India. Hence an amendment was necessary.

The Constitution (Twelvth Amendment) Act, 1962 amended the First Schedule of the Constitution and made Goa, Daman and Diu a Union territory and empowered the President to make regulations for the peace, progress and good government of the territory.[43] It was given effect from the date of acquisition of the territory.

XIV

The survey of these twelve amendments would lead one to the irresistible conclusion that the Constitution has withstood the tide of the time and adapted itself to the needs of changing circumstances. In the words of the Prime Minister, "after all, the Constitution is meant to facilitate the working of the Government and administrative and other structures of this country. It is meant to be not something that is static and which has static form in a changing world, but takes cognizance of the dynamic nature of modern conditions, modern society, and at the same time has checks which prevent hasty action which might happen to be wrong."[44] Our Constitutions has, in fact, upheld the Prime Minister's ideal.

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1. Jennings, *Some Characteristics of Indian Constitution*, pp. 9-10.
2. Shri Mahabir Tyagi, *Constituent Assembly Debates (CAD)*, Vol. IX, p. 1657.
3. H. V. Kamath, *CAD*, Vol. IX, p. 1651.
4. Sri Brajeswar Prasad, *CAD*, Vol. IX, p. 1647.

Dr. P. S. Desmukh also warned, "If you do not provide the necessary outlets or safety-valves for the air to pass through, it is likely that the whole ship may be blown up" (*CAD*, Vol. IX, p. 1645).

5. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, *CAD*, Vol. IX, p. 1662.
6. *CAD*, Vol. IX, p. 1653.
7. (a) Ramesh Thappar *Vs.* The State of Madras, 1950. (*Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 594-620).

(b) Brij Bhusan and Another *Vs.* The State of Delhi. (*SCR*, 1950, pp. 605-20).

(c) Bharati Press: Sm. Shailabala Devi *Vs.* The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, *AIR* (38), 1951, Patna, pp. 126-132.

There were some other cases also. See D. N. Banerjee, *Fundamental Rights*, 1960, pp. 126-127.

8. *Re.* Bharati Press, *Ibid.*
9. The State of Madras *Vs.* Srimati Champakam Dorairanjan, 1951, *SCR*, 1951 and The State of Madras *Vs.* C. R. Srinivasan, *SCR*, 1951, Vol. II, Part V, May 1951, pp. 525-33. These two cases arose out of discriminatory treatment against two Brahmin students who were refused admission to the Medical College and Engineering College respectively on the ground of Caste. The Supreme Court upheld their claim.
10. The Constitution (First Amendment) Bill, 1951, was introduced in the Provisional Parliament on 12.5.51 and was passed on 2.6.51. It received the assent of the President on 18.6.1951.
11. (a) The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1952, was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 18.6.1952 and was passed on 15.12.52 in the Lok Sabha. The Rajya Sabha passed it on 19.12.52. President gave his assent on 1st May, 1953.

(b) It may be noted here that the Lower limit was dropped by the 7th Amendment in 1956.

12. The Constitution (Third Amendment) Act, 1955, was introduced in Lok Sabha on 6.9.1954 and was passed on 23.9.1954. It was passed by Rajya Sabha on 28.9.1954. President's assent was signified on 22.2.1966.
13. (a) The State of West Bengal *Vs.* Mrs. Bela Banerjee and Others, *SCR*, 1954, Vol. V, Part V, May, 1954, pp. 558-65.

(b) Saghir Ahmed *Vs.* The State of U.P., *SCR*, 1954, p. 1218.

14. The Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 1954, was introduced on 20.12.1954 in Lok

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Sabha and was passed on 12.4.1954. Rajya Sabha passed it on 20.4.1954. The President signified his assent on 27.4.1954.

15. The proviso to Art. 3 was like this : "No bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House of Parliament except on the recommendation of the President and unless where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the boundaries of any State or States specified in Part A or Part B of the First Schedule or the name or names of any such State or States, the views of the Legislature of the State or as the case may be of each State both with respect to the proposal to introduce the Bill and with respect to the provisions thereof have been ascertained by the President."

16. The Constitution (Fifth Amendment) Bill, 1955, was introduced in Lok Sabha on 2.12.1955 and was passed on 13.12.55. It was passed in Rajya Sabha on 15.12.55. It received the President's assent on 24.12.55. How hastily it was passed through!

17. The State of Bombay *Vs.* The United Motors (India) Ltd., 1953, *SCR*, p. 1069.

18. The Bengal Immunity Company Ltd. *Vs.* The State of Bihar, 1955, Sc.

19. *TEC Report*, 1954.

20. The Constitution (Sixth Amendment) Bill, 1956, was introduced in Lok Sabha on 3.5.56 and was passed on 29.5.56. Rajya Sabha passed it on 31.5.56. It received the assent of the President on 11.9.56.

21. Sec. 3(b) of the said Act.

22. The Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Bill, 1956, was introduced in Lok Sabha on 18.4.1956 and was passed on 6.9.56. It was passed by Rajya Sabha on 11.9.56. President's assent was signified on 14.10.56.

23. Section 23 of the said Act.

24. Sec. 13, *Ibid.*

25. Sec. 16, *Ibid.*

26. Sec. 17, *Ibid.*

27. Sec. 18. It provides, "Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the Governor of a State may, with the consent of the Government of India, entrust either conditionally or unconditionally to that Government or to its officers functions in relation to any matter to which the executive power of the State extends."

28. Sec. 21. *Op. Cit.*

29. Sec. 22. *Ibid.*

30. Art. 334 as it originally stood.

31. The Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Bill, 1959, was passed in Lok Sabha on 1.12 and Rajya Sabha passed it on 7.12.1959. President gave his assent on 6.1.1960.

32. The result of the division in this was : Ayes—248; Noes—23. The votes for though constituted more than two-thirds of votes caste, did not constiute absolute ma of the total membership of the House. Vide Debates (II), 1.12.1959, C. 2759.

33. Under Art. 143(1).

34. A Special Bench of the Supreme C gave its opinion on 14.3.1960.

35. The Constitution (Ninth Amendm Bill, 1960, was passed by both Houses of Pa ment on 17.12.60 and the President gave assent on 28.12.60.

36. On 12.6.1961. It may be noted that such a request they had been repeat making ever since they overthrew the Portu authority and declared themselves indepen in 1954.

37. The Act was passed and assented on 16.8.61.

38. B. B. Jena, Vice-President in a Pa mentary Democracy, *The Modern Review*, O ber, 1957.

39. N. B. Khare *Vs.* The Election Com sion of India, 1957, *SCR*, 1081. It may be here that when the election notice for Presi ship was issued, elections in certain snow-b areas in the north had not been completed.

40. Sec. 2 of the 11th Amendment Act.

The Constitution (Eleventh Amendm Bill, 1961, was passed by Lok Sabha on 5.1 and Rajya Sabha on 12.12.61. The Presi assent was given on 19.12.61.

41. Sec. 3.

42. From 20.12.1961.

43. The Goa, Daman and Diu (Admin tion) Act, 1962, was passed making prov for the administration of the territory and ment of two seats in Lok Sabha and exte jurisdiction of Bombay High Court to the tory.

44. Lok Sabha Debates of 14.3.1955. W speaking on the Fourth Amendment Bill in Sabha, Mr. Nehru made the above statem

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ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE & INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By Prof. SANT LAL SINGH,

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When our foreign policy was framed, fears were expressed that it might encounter two major difficultis, even two major crises; firstly, on account of reluctance of industrialist countries to extend economic aid without dictating terms and, secondly, if there was an actual war. There was an apprehension that our economic dependence on other countries might undermine the basis of our policy of non-alignment. Nehru agreed that "....dependence is always bad and one should always be on one's guard against it."[1] Yet dependence could not be ruled out in the economic situation in which we were placed. There was an argument that our policy might be defeated if and when India, due to non-adherence to any group, might be exposed to danger of aggression. Referring to such a situation Nehru said that "No man can say that any country can remain apart when there is a major conflagration. But still one can direct one's policy towards avoiding this conflct and entanglement in it."[2] It was not easy to dispel fears expressed on these grounds, particularly during the early years after independence. Today, we are in a position to say that India has weathered the storm from both the sides and avoided shipwreck. The storm has not blown over but it has become more than clear that it has not and will not necessitate reconsideration of the basic elements of our foreign policy.

Our Foreign Policy : Its Essence & Vitality.

Freedom is the life-breath of our foreign policy. It is freedom which has sustained it and given it strength and vitality. The deeply ingrained freedom-urge in every hearth and home is India's most precious possession. Indian people's schooling in the long course of national movements has made them extremely sensitive on the question of independence. India's reaction to Chinese aggression is the most glaring example. A foreign policy based on this spirit of national resurgence is inherent in Indian thinking, inherent in the nationalist tradition of our country. Nehru has been merely an interpreter—an able interpreter and spokesman—of India after independence. If there is a belief lurking anywhere, whether in India or outside, that there will be a basic change in Indian thinking even if Nehru is not there, is mistaken. A resurgent India has not tolerated and cannot tolerate any imposition, any dictation, economic or otherwise, from any side. It was this India speaking when Nehru said: "If at any time help from abroad depends upon a variation, howsoever slight, in our policy, we shall relinquish that help completely and prefer starvation and privation to taking such help; and, I think, the world knows it well enough."[3]

Giant U. S. & Proud India

After independence the most urgent task that engaged our atention was the economic amelioration of our people. We have here one of he most miserable standards of living that people have anywhere in the world. Indian people's concretised consciousness of the idea of independence pointed naturally towards the goal of economic betterment. But we lack both capital and technical skill, the necessary wherewithal to industrialise the country. We looked for aid and economic co-operation from all the friendly countries without inhibition of ideology and bloc alignment.

The U. S. A. emerged as the most powerful country after the Second World War. In all the world's history there is no example of a land or an empire which possessed so much power as the U.S.A. did. The U.S. domination of materials was over-

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whelming. In 1948 her national income was estimated at 224 billion dollars. Her steel production was 63 per cent of that of the world, her coal 48%, cement 42%, copper 38%, her crude petroleum as high as 65%. Her cotton constituted a little less than half of the world supply.[4] This vast material superiority placed U.S.A. in a predominant position. As the U.S.A. was about the only country which could satisfy India's hunger for capital, there was plausible ground for fear that her vast economic power might lead to economic domination. With the new pride of freedom in our heart, there was little chance of our submitting to it in case this eventuality arose.

In the beginning there was distrust of India's policy in the U.S.A. In U.S. view India had nothing to choose between the two power blocs. Free world could be her only ally. There was disgust and resentment when we refused to fall in line. In spite of this; the U.S.A. could not force the issue to a breaking point in her own enlightened self-interest and in the interest of free world's strategy against communism. India had become a force in world politics. India with a population second only to China and with vast resources, commands a strategic position on the continent of Asia. She inevitably comes into the picture whether we have to deal with the Middle East or South-East Asia or even the Far East. So the emergence of free India in world affairs has been of major consequence in world history.[5] India has been the focal point of Asian resurgence. She has wielded considerable influence on Afro-Asian countries, both moral and political. She has played a prominent part in fostering the solidarity of these States. In the very beginning, just after independence, India became the rallying point of all Asia. This role of India has had great significance for the U.S.A. and other Western countries. India could exert tremendous influence on Asian countries and could become a link between the West and undeveloped countries.

Then there was another consideration. The victory of communism in China gave a new urgency to the problem of India. It was expected that India could be b... as a bulwark against Communism in ... They believed that if the democratic ex... ment of India failed in Asia, the ... people would have recourse to a... alternative—the totalitarian economy. ... view was clearly stated by "F... Affairs" in 1957. "It is appropriate ... this (economic development) should ... accomplished with the active assistan... democratic countries which have bo... ideological and strategic interest in ... ing India's development now runn... classic race with the People's Republi... China."[6] These facts explain why in ... of every thing U.S.A. developed ... relations with India—both economic ... other relations. It was in the interes... both U.S.A. and India to do so. So ... U.S.A. and proud India, though they ... not see eye to eye on so many quest... both had to show an understanding of ... other for their own reasons.

Nationalism and Realism

The nationalist opinion had reg... foreign capital as a hindrance to ge... economic development. This was so m... because of the experience of British ... when foreign interests had acquired a ... measure of control over India's econ... and political life and which had rel... national development. The National P... ing Committee set up by the I... National Congress under the Chairma... of Pandit Nehru, had stated that if fo... capital proved absolutely inevitable, ... and conditions should be so framed th... influence should be restricted to ... minimum. Nationalist opinion also di... favour "intrusion of foreign firms" in ... field of Indian industry because "fo... vested interests once created would ... difficult to dislodge."[7] Nationalist ... also favoured nationalisation of Indus...

We could not follow this line ... changed situation in toto. It was a dif... matter when British rule was there. ... that we were master of our own hou... could establish fruitful economic rel... with all countries without being led b... Moreover there were definite ...

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tion that U.S. loans would be difficult to get unless we showed flexibility in our economic policy. Our requirements of foreign assistance were vast. The Colombo Plan put them at Rs. 808 crores for six years while the National Planning Commission's five year estimate called for Rs. 672 crores.[8] Our development had to be faster than what even these two bodies envisaged. So nationalism had to be tempered with realism in economic policy.

Henry F. Grady, U.S. Ambassador to India, repeatedly brought this point home to us. In November, 1947 in a speech in Calcutta, he clearly stated that no American loans would be forthcoming unless plans for nationalisation were dropped. Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, after a tour of the U.S.A., pointed out in a speech before the Eastern Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta on December 10, 1947. "So far as I could feel from my tour they (Americans) are eager to help us with men and materials provided they can feel secure by investing in India. The question of security does not lie with the international strife between India and Pakistan, but with the Industrial policy of the Indian Government. By the Industrial Policy I mean the policy of nationalisation and their policy to deal with industrial disputes."[9] These U.S. fears were largely allayed when Parliament adopted a Resolution on Industrial Policy on April 6, 1948 by which, apart from other things, nationalisation was ruled out for ten years. Foreign capital was to be invited but was to be regulated in the national interest. India adjusted herself with the reality of the situation.

The Character of U.S. Aid

Till the end of 1948 little American aid or investment came into India. In 1949 the U.S.A. enunciated the Point Four Programme. In his fourth point Truman offered a new hope for underdeveloped areas in the world by the offer of technical knowledge and capital to help them to produce the necessities of life and ward off proverty and famine.[10] Private capital investment was to be encouraged and guarantees were to be given not only to the investor but also assurances to the people where the investments were to be made. Truman dispelled the fear of suspicious countries by declaring that the "old imperialist exploitation for foreign profit—has no place in our plans." Favourable climate for private capital was to be created because resources which the U.S.A. and other countries were to muster were to come from that source. Favourable climate for American investments meant that these investments could not be nationalised without adequate compensation in dollars, that their profits would be convertible into dollars and that they be protected against any discrimination.[11] Apart from the fact that it meant a hard bargain, the Point Four was not an industrialisation programme. It was clear from the first year's budget of $57,080,000 proposed by the State Department, to be contributed by the United States and the United Nations, only $5,063,694 was set apart for industry.[12] President Truman in his message to Congress on May 24, 1951, left no doubt about the purpose of the aid, "These funds will be used to send out technical experts and equipment needed to improve health, agriculture, transportation and communication services and assist in the development of natural resources." There was no mention of industry. The emphasis was all on communication and strategic meterials for defence. Referring to two agreements, a general bilateral aggreement signed on December 28, 1950 for technical assistance under the Point Four Programme and the other, under Mutual Security Act signed on January 5, 1952, the Eastern Economist pointed out that the emphasis in these agreements was on increasing the production of food—import of fertilizers, Iron and Steel for Agricultural implements and community development projects.[13] In a press note issued at the time of the signing of the Indian American Agreement of January, 1952, the External Affairs Ministry revealed that the use of the aid would be largely concentrated on agricultural projects.[14] Thus the provision in the preamble of the Indian American Agreement referring to "the integrated economic development of India" was not meant seriously.

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Due to critical food situation in the country, the Indian Government realising that it did not have enough dollars to buy all its grain requirements in the American market, requested the State Department for two million tons of grain on a long-term basis in December 1950. In June 1951 the Emergency Food Act was passed to meet the Indian demand. The Wheat supplied was not cheap.[15] The Act provided that a substantial part of the payment by India be in the form of strategic and critical materials (section 2). Besides these and other stringent conditions, food and foreign policy was unhappily mixed up. "It was somewhat unfortunate that our request for two million tons of grain from the United States should have coincided with the strongest brush of opinion on foreign policy which has ever taken place between India and the United States."[16]

In 1951, the Indian Government concluded an agreement with three American firms on the construction oil refineries with an annual capacity of around 3.5 million tons. India committed herself not to nationalise these refineries for 25 years and to limit the share of Indian businessmen to 25 per cent of the capital. These terms were highly favourable to American investors and our policy had to be modified to no small extent. As for its utility, J. S. Berliner admits that "a petroleum refinery in India built and operated by a United States firm, has a very different impact from an identical refinery built by the U.S.S.R. and owned and operated by Indians."[17]

Since 1952 U.S. economic assistance to India has grown steadily. American economic participation in India's development efforts during the first ten years of independence totalled more than one billion dollars or Rs. 476 crores. A report published in 1957 by the Union Ministry of Finance pointed out that American aid was "by far the largest contribution to India's economic development under the Five Year Plan." The aid included both public and private assistance in loans and grants. The U.S.A. has accounted for 64 per cent of the total external assistance of Rs. 2984 crores (exclusive of the assistance from I.B.R.D. and I.D.A.) authorised by the end of Marc... followed by the U.S.S.R. which... accounted for 13 per cent of the total... Government assistance to Indian ec... development till December 17, 1962... Rs. 2,173.3 crores. No militray ite... included in these figures. Of this... amount Rs. 1.099.8 crores are in the f... loans repayable in rupees; Rs. 443... are repayable in dollars over a per... 40 years at no interest but with a s... charge of ¾ of 1 per cent. Rs. 630.4... have been given to India in the fo... outright grants. Loans repayable in r... can be used again as loans.[19] Thus apart... grants most of the U.S. contributio... been soft but the scale of the hard... component in other contributions is... large. The defect in this and other We... aid, as the experience of the Second... shows, has been that it has been un-co... nated and haphazard. Miss Barbara War... ferring to this says "....the western e... although considerable, has had about... unmistakable air of provisional thi... and emergency measures. India has... bailed out from crisis to crisis but ne... machinery nor policy exists to ensure... advance is not by the harassing and h... ating route of three steps forward and... back. Above all, a basic seriousness of... pose is lacking."[20] Like the Marshall P... was never a considered estimate of the... resources needed for the development... there was no willingness to finish the... Political considerations often interven...

The aid which totalled Rs. 476 c... in 10 years after independence rose t... gigantic figure of Rs. 2,173.2 crores by... Not only has there been a phenomena... in the aid figure, but also there has... easing of terms. President Kenned... tried to give a new direction to th... policy. He emphasizes the economic s... the U.S. assistance effort. Pre... Kenndy's Report to Congress of Ju... 1962, on the fulfilment of "Mutual Se... Programme," pointed out that in the... almost two-thirds of all appropri... under this programme were used for... military aid. Referring to this, senator... bright, Chairman of the Senate F... Relations Committee, stated on Aug...

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1958 that "we have on a grandiose scale provided peoples of the under-developed nations with the weapons of destructive warfare and have been miserly in providing them weapons to wage war on their poverty, economic ills, and internal weakness."[21] Western countries, particularly the U.S.A., have increased their appropriation for non-military aid. The programme of aid announced by President Kennedy indicates this approach. This will lead to competition with the S.U. in supplying aid to under-developed countries. This is a development which will be widely welcomed.

There is also another significant change in the economic aid effort. Kennedy stands for long-term loans carrying low interest, lessens the burden of repayment. But such loans will be dollar rather than soft currency loans. This will be a hardship for a loan receiving country like India. There is yet another difficulty. The assistance is linked to specific projects in most cases. These loans should be "untied" to the maximum extent possible so as to give room for flexibility in purchases by the recipient country. By and large we welcome the call given by the U.S.A. for "reappraisal of values" in International economic relations and for actively employing subsidies and loans to help develop these countries. In the words of Kennedy, let us hope, the 1960's would emerge as a decade of development.

Soviet Economic Assistance

The Soviet Union was not disposed towards granting economic aid to non-communist countries because of the two bloc-theory of Zhdanov. Either there were communist countries or there were countries opposed to communism. There was no place for neutralism in the Russian scheme of things. They were not prepared to prop-up the regime of the "big bourgeoisie" by granting them aid. This attitude continued till 1953. After that the role of the 'national bourgeoisie' was evaluated afresh and a new policy evolved. The new policy consisted in offers to national bourgeoisie of diplomatic and moral support and also economic aid. The 20th communist party congress of the S.U. gave doctrinal sanction to this policy.

The decision to extend economic assistance to under-developed countries was a matter of great significance. It was not so much the quantum but the character of the aid that was important. Khrushchev in his address to the General Assembly in September 1960 clearly stated: "We are rendering sincere aid to the peoples of these countries in founding their independent economy and building up their national industry—the mainstay of genuine independance—and rising national prosperity." As we treasure our independence and want prosperity, we were attracted towards this offer of aid. Addressing Calcutta students, Nehru had said in October 1955: "so long as we do not develop our machine-making we cannot call ourselves independent . . . . Economic dependence may enable other countries to strangle you, compel you to do what you do not want to do."[22] The S.U. offered aid which was vital for our national economy, so we welcomed it.

The Character of the Soviet Aid

The S.U. grants long-term loans usually for 12 years. The repayment period is even longer for it begins a year after the final delivery of the necessary equipment. In the case of Bhilai Iron and Steel Works, the payment began only when the Works was completed and began operating efficiently. Another advantage is that the S.U. does not demand repayment in convertible currency and accepts goods usually exported by us. This condition helps us not only to repay the credit but also stimulates our economy providing a stable market for its goods. The rate of interest is also low usually 2.5 per cent. The Soviet aid is important because it helps us set up heavy industries. After agreement on credit and co-operation in building a powerful Iron and Steel works at Bhilai, in 1955, the S.U. granted India credits for five projcets. The Russians are setting up a heavy machine-building plant with an annual capacity of 80,000 tons, a coal mining machinery plant with an output of 30,000 tons (capacity 45,000 tons) and an optical glass factory that will manufacture 200 to 250 tons of opthal-

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mic and optical glass every year. In addition the Russians will set up a thermal power station with a capacity of 250,000 Kw.h. and provide equipment for the Korba Coal mines which will include machinery for mining 2.5 million tons of coal every year, a washery for processing two mil. tons of coal and a Central Workshop for repairs and maintenance. If the foreign exchange needs of these projects exceed 50 million roubles, further credits will be provided. The S.U. will also train the Indian personnel required for manning the five projects. Speaking about the deal the 'Eastern Economist' said: "A more favourabl agreement would be difficult to envisage." Proceeding further the journal comments: "while all the projects will help India save a great deal of foreign exchange every year after they are completed, the heavy machine-building plant will be an asset in India's drive towards industrialisation. When the heavy machine-building plant goes into operation, it will be possible to set up steel, cement and sugar factories with indigenous machinery and without drawing upon our foreign exchange resources. A solid foundation for India's Industrialisation will then have been made."[23]

With Soviet assistance we have been brought on to the oil map of the world. We have been able to create our own oil extracting and oil processing industry. With the help of Soviet experts, large deposits of oil and gas, suitable for industrial purposes, has been discovered. Exploitation of Cambay deposits alone will help India meet her petroleum requirements for the next few years. Prospecting has further indicated that the production of oil and gas can increase considerably. Soviet assistance in building a big oil processing plant in Barauni with a capacity of 2 mil. tons of raw petroleum per annum and Rumanian assistance for another Plant with an annual capacity of 7,50,000 tons of petroleum will be in a position to control as much as 35% of the country's oil processing capacities. Thus Soviet aid is directed towards developing the leading branches of Industry

The S.U. has extended scientific and technical help as well. Projects built ... Soviet aid have been turned into ... centres for the training of industrial per... nel. This is very important becau... country cannot go ahead without its ... national, technical intelligentsia.

The most effective assistance ... country is to strengthen trade relation... the basis of equality and mutual advan... The S. U. offers broad opportunities ... make puchases, without recourse to ... and foreign currency resources, of ... capital goods vitally needed for the crea... of an independent national economy. ... U.N. document states that....."During ... recent years, the centrally planned eco... mies entered into a number of bila... agreements with several primary produ... countries, which resulted in a signifi... increase in their exports of primary co... modities. At a time when world mark... were depressed, such agreements provid... for an exchange of a stipulated amoun... goods at fixed prices had a stablishing ef... on the foreign trade proceeds of the ex... porters of primary commodities. An im... portant advantage of such agreement ... that they enabled these countries to ex... change surplus commodities for cap... goods."[24]

Due to fluctuation in prices un... developed countries suffer a huge ... U. N. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics (J... 1961) shows this fluctuation of prices ... world market (non-Communist world).

1953 — 100

	Prices of Raw Materials.	Prices of Ma... factured g...
		104
1952	104	106
1958	96	106
1959	94	109
1960	93	

We find that since 1952 the relati... prices has worsened by 12%, the un... developed countries being loosers. In ... way capitalist countries got annually ... recent years over 1,000 million dollars ... addition to their usual profits) from ... under-developed countries. According

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the U.N. world Economic Survey for 1958, the poor primary producing areas lost more on account a deterioration of their terms of trade than the whole of their foreign aid.

Criticism of Soviet Aid

"Economic offensive" a "new type of communist expansion" "rouble diplomacy"—these are some of the critisims of Soviet Economic Aid. American specialist on Svoiet economy—Joseph Berliner—argues that Soviet economic assistance is "a prominent component of a broader political shift in foreign policy designed to extend Soviet influence in the under-developed countries"[25] Dillon Report (an official publication of the U. S. State Department) alleges that Soviet aid is designed to make the under-developed countries economically dependent on the U.S.S.R. so as to ultimately subordinate these countries to "communists."[26] The London Economist holds that Soviet aid "is not a bad thing in itself" but it dislikes its "political ends."[27] According to critics the political essence of Soviet aid becomes clear because the terms of this aid are too favourable and do not conform to economic standards—do not fit into the framework of a 'normal economic transaction. But the fact remains that Soviet credit and trade agreements have been highly satisfactory and there was no string attached. Barbara Ward writing in her book. "India and the West," says that Communist technicians do not engage in ideological propaganda. "But the very low rates of interest on Soviet loans and the lack of subsidiary payments make a direct and powerful impact upon Indian thinking —and indeed upon thinking generally in the under-developed world.[28]

A point is also made that Soviet aid is a tactical manoeuvre because it does not fit in with the communist doctrine which believes that Communist success in countries like India depends upon the failure of the development efforts sponsored by the bourgeois regime." This is the issue of the main ideological conflict between Russia and China today. The Chinese do not favour granting of aid to "bourgeois nations" in exchange for sheer international good will. They plead for the armed overthrow of the national bourgeoisie before it gets the chance to establish itself. Russia on the other hand, believes that the under-developed counries play a progressive role and they, along with the communist bloc, form a "vast peace zone."

Politics Conquers Economics

After independence India, particularly during early years, passed through an extremely critical situation. We had got enormous problems—social, economic and political. These problems had accumulated during the British rule and they had stunted and arrested the growth of our people. All these problems suddenly emerged and it seemed that they would overwhelm us. Just at the moment came partition of India —the cutting up of a living structure. It created tremendous new difficulties, among which were upheavals, killings and then vast migrations. To crown all these there was an aggression from Pakistan. Little time or resources were left to deal with basic problems of economic betterment and all our energies had to be applied to tackle these new problems. We depended almost fully on Western countries for economic aid. Also we depended to a considerable extent upon them for our defence requirements. Our army was organised on the British model and it was not easy to change it without disrupting our defences. In this situation our independent foreign policy could easily meet its doom.

With patience and confidence we marched on. We had faith in our people, faith in their glorious sacrifices for freedom. Not only this. We gave expression to the urge of Asia for freedom. Our splendid anti-imperialism which has remained deep-rooted in our national movement—attracted the attention of the whole of Asia. Common history of domination and exploitation impelled these countries to work together, to confer together and generally to look to one another.[29] An Asian conference in 1947 and a conference on Indonesia in 1949 produced good response. The Bandung conference in 1955 was the culmination of the anti-imperialist upsurge of Asian and African peoples. India played an important part in bringing these countries

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together. They looked towards India for leadership and direction for solution of important problems. A peace area emerged with capacity to exert a good deal of moral pressure. India's strategic position and her new stature in Asia was a factor of tremendous importance. India began to count in world affairs and her influence grew more and more every day. Asia and Africa also became a force in the United Nations—a force which worked for peace and reduction of tensions. India along with these nations worked for peace whether it was Korea or Indo-china or Egypt or any other country where there was a crisis.

Due to this political and moral influence it was not easy to dictate to us even in economic matters where our position was very weak. We realised in the very beginning that "foreign policy is an outcome of economic policy and unless we have a strong economic base our foreign policy will be vague, inchoate and will be groping."[30] Ultimately it is the economy that counts but for a time at least, particularly in the beginning, it is because of our new influence that we resisted pressure in spite of our economic weakness.

The U.S. exerted economic pressure to induce the Indian Government to follow a pro-American policy. India's attitude on Korea and other issues produced suspicion. Tom Conolly, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, declared on January 25, 1951 that action on Indian request for two million tons of wheat loan would be delayed until a sub-committee looks into the whole question of U.S. relations with India."[31] In 1951 because of India's opposition to brand China as an aggressor and India's refusal to sign the American draft of Japanese peace treaty there was sharp reaction in the U.S.A. Sober Americans realised that such reaction and consequent economic pressure would not bend India. Paul Hoffman, former Marshall Plan Administrator, expressed the view that only "internationally inmature" Americans "would like to make Indian School-children salute the U.S. flag each day as the price of wheat to India."[32] Pressure mixed with manifestations of friendliness, but more of pressure friendless, was the policy followed by U.S.A. India's policy showed flexi... though it was combined with firmness.

After 1954 there was a shift in fa... of the under-developed countries. In ... the S.U. adopted a line based on the re... tic appreciation of the world situ... Nehru welcomed it and referred to it a... very important event."[33] The S.U. e... neutrality progressive and began to ex... economic aid to undeveloped cour... without consideration of ideology. I... has been the recipient of a fairly l... amount of Soviet aid—380 crores up ... now.[34] Competition in economic assis... is daily increasing. This is a welc... feature as it has removed the possibility ... economic dictation by any group of pow... Dulles fully realised the significance of ... situation when he said: "To-day the S... Union and Czechoslovakia can supply ... rest of the world with manufactured g... in increasing quantity and variety imp... ing in return agricultural and mine... products, which many of the free nat... have to sell. Attraction to the Soviet ... tem will become irresistible.[35]

Economic pressure is becoming out ... date. So also political pressure. We h... reached a kind of balance and it is incre... ingly difficult to upset it. Any atte... at upsetting it will lead to war. T... again war itself is not inevitable.[36] It ... terrible thing to contemplate due to ... destructiveness and all attempts are be... made to avoid it. We saw what happened ... Cuba. We see the reaction of pow... great and small on the question of Chi... aggression. China has become isol... even from the Communist bloc count... This is the essence of the new situation ... Indian policy has paid dividends bec... it is based on the correct appreciation ... this situation. Our politics has helped ... build the basis of our national economy ... our industrialisation with the help ... friendly countries **will make our poli...** policy more and more fruitful.

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1. *India's Foreign Policy*: The Public ... Division. From reply to debate on ... affairs in Lok Sabha, June 12, 1952, p. 5...

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2. *Ibid*: From speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative), March 8, 1949.
3. *Op. Cit.* From reply to debate on foreign affairs in Lok Sabha, June 12, 1952, p. 63.
4. *The Eastern Economist*, Jany. 14, 1949, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 44.
5. *India's Foreign Policy*: The Publications Division, p. 23.
6. Quoted in *The Eastern Economist*, Annual Number, 1961.
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8. About Rs. 280 crores was expected from the Sterling Balances with Britain and the remainder mainly from the U.S.A.
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25. J. S. Berliner: *Soviet Economic Aid—the New Aid and Trade Policy in Under-developed Countries*, New York, 1958, p. 24.
26. *The Sino-Soviet Economic offensive in the less-developed countries*. Washington, 1958.
27. *Economist*, July 5, 1958, p. 12.
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29. *India's Foreign Policy*. Publications Division, p. 44.
30. *India's Foreign Policy*. Publication Division, p. 24.
31. *New York Times*, January 26, 1951.
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33. From Statement in Lok Sabha, March 20, 1956.
35. Tass Report quoted in *Times of India*, 4th February, 1963.
35. *U. S. News and World Report*, April 4, 1958.
36. To think in terms of the inevitability of war is dangerous thinking. From speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative), March 8, 1949.

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SOME ASPECTS OF HINDU REVIVALISM AND THEIR IMPACT ON INDIAN POLITICS

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Revivalism signifies a tendency in a community to turn its eye to its past glories for inspiration and guidance. It reinvigorates old and more or less forgotten ideas and institutions in order to serve them as models for moulding the life of a community.

Hindu revivalism was a phenomenon of the Indian renaissance. It was a sense of awakening in the Hindus that was generated by their consciousness of the greatness and eternal values of their ancient heritage which dawned upon them in the nineteenth century and has, since then, moulded their social, political and economic outlook. It does not represent any unified system of thought. Both cosmopolitanism and narrow nationalism, liberalism and conservatism, claim kinship with it.

It first raised its head when Raja Ram Mohun Roy sought inspiration and guidance from the philosophy of the vedanta for reforming the Hindu society. It is admitted that he was influenced by western ideas but they only helped him in rescuing the spirit of Hindu religion from the tangled overgrowth of obsolete customs and degenerate institutions. He attempted to adjust the outward form of Hindu religion to rationalism so as to keep it in harmony with the new age. According to Rabindra Nath Tagore, Roy made an effort "to establish the Indians on the full consciousness of their cultural personality and to make them comprehend the reality of all that is unique and indestructible in their civilization and simultaneously to make them approach other civilizations in the spirit of sympathetic co-operation."[1]

Roy discovered that the Philosophy of the Upanisads or Vedanta truly represented the spirit of Hindu religion. The fundamental idea that runs through the Upanishads is that the human soul and the universe are the manifestations of God. This means that the essence in man and the essence of the universe are one and the same, and it is Brahman. This shows that the underlying reality in man and the world is the same. Such a metaphysical idealism not only upholds the doctrine of unity of mankind by pleading the immanence of God in man, but also favours spiritual realization through service to humanity. It eliminates conflict between spiritualism and materialism and enables a person to lead a full life. The comprehension of this philosophy enabled the Indians to reconcile material progress with spiritual realization as well as fired their imagination to wrest the initiative from Chrisianity to present to the world a religion that could claim to be in harmony with the rationalistic outlook of the modern man and could serve as a religion of humanity. This attitude also reconciled nationalism with consmopolitanism by stimulating pride in the Hindus that their religion had a message for mankind.

Such ideas found expression through Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Aurobindo Ghosh, Bhagwandas the Radhakrishnan. (Vivekananda associated with the national purpose of upholding spiritual independence in the world). He claimed that India had always adhered to this and the spirit and so only in spiritual and religious matters could she excel the world.

So the Swami decided to communicate India's message to the West. He unhesitatingly accepted that the distinguishing feature of his movement was religious. spiritual aggression on the footsteps of Buddha.[3] But he attempted to win over the western world for Hinduism not by semitic method of proselytisation but by offering the Vedantic doctrine that spiritual fulfilment is the result of realization of the Divine by an individual in himself

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his own efforts and not by adhering to any particular dogma. He unequivocally admitted that Hinduism accepted all religions as true. Thus Hinduism was presented as in harmony with the democratic way of life. Vivekananda never looked upon Hinduism as opposed to materialism, which was erroneously identified with the western civilization. According to the philosophy of the Vedanta, there cannot be any antagonism between spiritualism and materialism since both Nature and Soul are the manifestations of God.

Tagore further developed the Vedantic aspect of Hinduism into the 'Relgion of Man.' According to him "the consciousness of God transcends the limitation of race, gathers together all human beings in one spiritual circle." He felt that Indian spiritual idealism could not be reconciled with the modern concept of total subservience of the individual to his nation. In his novel 'The Home and the World' Swandip says, "This is exactly how such curious anomalies happen now-a-days in our country. We must have our religion and also our nationalism ; our Bhagavadgita and also our Bande Mataram." Thus he repudiated the western concept of nationalism. He was proud that India never in the past associated herself with the ideology of nationalism.[5]

Rabindranath recognized, in conformity with the Vedantic philosophy, that all the creative activities of the modern man were oriented towards the realization of the Divine in him. Thus he said, "Each age reveals its personality as dreamer in its great expressions that carry it across surging centuries to the continental plateau of permanent human history. These expressions may not be consciously religious but indirectly they belong to Man's religion. For they are the outcome of the consciousness of the greater Man in the individual men of the race. This consciousness finds its manifestation in science, philosophy and the arts, in social ethics, in all things that carry their ultimate value in themselves."[6] Such an approach favours synthesis of cultures. Thus he declared, "When the streams of ideals that flow from the East and from the West mingle their murmer in some profound harmony of meaning, it delights me."[7] But he warned that this synthetic integration of the old and the new must be based on the spirit of Indian culture ; for he believed that if India remained faithful to her spirit and ideals, there was a bright future ahead for her since she would be called upon to bring her 'own vessel of sacred water—the water of worship—to sweeten the history of man into purity.'

Like Vivekananda and Tagore, Aurobindo, felt that India's destiny was bound with her spiritual mission in the world. He gave a spiritual explanation of Indian history. According to him, since prehistoric times, spirituality had been the dominant note of Indian history and it made "Indian civilization a thing apart and of its own kind in the history of the human race."[8] He took pride in the spiritual fatherhood of India, since, according to him, in the ancient times Indian thought spread over Asia through Buddhism and in the modern times it was entering Europe through the writings of Schlegel and Schopenhaur.[9]

He held that human history was moving towards the goal of perfect civilization in which eastern spiritualism would blend with western materialism.[10] His ideal of the perfect social order, which he called spiritual anarchism, was based on the Vedantic doctrine of immanence of God in man.

Similarly Bhagwandas wanted India to assert her spiritual leadership of the world, as she did in the past, by inaugurating a new Eternal Universal Religion.[11] As a Vedantist he believed that the world was manifested by One all-including, all-pervading, ever-complete, timeless Universal Soul that guided its destiny. The world process, according to him, was the play or the Leela of the Infinite. He was fully convinced that the realization of the indwelling of the Divine in the Universe could eliminate the evils of race, nation, colour and class separatism in the world.[12]

In line with the neo-Vedantists Radhakrishnan lays stress on the universal and permanent aspects of Hinduism. Like Vivekananda, he presents Hinduism as in harmony with the modern scientific outlook. According to him Hinduism is not a sect but a fellowship of all who accept the

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law of right and earnestly seek for the truth.[13] It can eliminate, he affirms, all religious conflicts from the world by upholding the maxim that unity of religion can be attained not "in a common creed but in a common quest."[14] Its spiritual idealism can serve as a powerful instrument for uniting humanity in one brotherhood.

Gandhi fell heir to all these ideas. His hostility to western civilization was stimulated by his unbounded admiration for ancient Indian culture. Thus he wrote in the Hind Swaraj, "The tendency of the Indian civilization is to elevate the moral being; that of the western civilization is to propagate immorality. The latter is godless, the former is based on a belief in God. So understanding and so believing, it behoves every lover of India to cling to the old Indian civilization even as a child clings to the mother's breast."[15] So he condemned modern western civilization as Satanic for its disregard of religion and morality. He was convinced that man was happier without all the advancement of science and technology which modern civilization had achieved. Like Vivekananda, he strongly believed that India's inability to come up to the level of the West in material and technological advancement was not the result of her inferior mind but because of her peculiar attitude towards machinery and urban civilization. According to him, she always looked upon them as an encumbrance that marred human happiness. Similarly he had full faith in India's destiny to deliver a special message to mankind. But unlike that of neo-vedantists, it was not a message of spiritualism but of non-violence.[16]

Likewise Gandhi's involvement in political struggles often drove him to a course that a neo-Vedantist considered opposed to the spirit of Indian culture. Tagore found in Gandhi's non-co-operation movement elements of negation and refusal to co-operate with the West while Indian culture aimed at unity that could be attained by co-operating with all the races of the world.[17] He regretted that since we had lost the power of appreciating our own culture, we did not know how to assign western culture to its right place.[18] He apprehended that refusal to co-operate the West would give rise to the worst provincialism and narrow national Tagore's fears were not completely un fied. Gandhi's followers carried his do of Swadeshi to such an extreme that came a gospel of cultural exclusive Thus Kalelkar thought that the princip Swadeshi enjoined upon its follower only the duty of using goods pro within the country but also of follo only their own culture and ways of They were forbidden to adopt foreign education and thought.[20] It is not de that Gandhi himself was not free from ideas but he later on revised them withdrew his support to the narrow in pretation of the doctrine.[21]

The hold of ancient Indian culture Gandhi is also evident from the lang he used in explaining his ideas. The w swaraj (self-rule) Ramrajya (godly r aparigraha (non-possession) satyag (insistence on Truth) ahimsa (non- ing) represent ancient Indian ethical st ards with which every Hindu is familiar. concept of Panchayat Raj often reminds of the ancient Indian system of local government. It is not intended to port Gandhi as reactionary but his reliance ancient Indian terminology to comm cate his ideas reveals his attempts, those of Tilak, Aurobindo, etc., to Indian political philosophy on the an Indian ethical system.

In Gandhi two streams of revival met and mingled producing sometimes cordant notes. While one stream fl towards human unity and cultural synth the other took a turn towards na nationalism and cultural exclusiveness. latter found a narrower channel Hindus found themselves confronted the Muslim danger, whether genuine o aggerated.

It first raised its appearance in the of back to the Vedas" made by S Dayanand. He founded the Arya Sama place the Hindu society on the pure t tions of the Vedas. He repudiated all customs, traditions and institutions o Hindus that could not claim their o in the Vedic Samhitas. Thus he

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against idolatry, Polytheism, Brahmanical ascendancy, hereditary caste-system and untouchability. In this respect the Arya Samaj identified itself with the reformist movement in India. It worked to bring the Hindus together under the simple Vedic culture free from sectarianism and ritualism and thus served their political need by promoting unity among them. According to Lajpat Rai, the Vedas were the unifying force among the Hindus.[22] Similarly Tegore called Dayanand as the "great path-maker in modern India."[23]

But the excessive enthusiasm for the revival of Vedic culture drove the Arya Samaj towards irrantionalism. Dayanand claimed that all knowledge of sciences and religion that was extant in the world had its origin in the Aryavarta and it was found in the Samhitas.[24] Similarly he held that the Vedic religion was the only true religion and so its message must be communicated to all. Such ideas led the Arya Samaj to embark upon the movement of "Shuddhi" of major communities of India and associated Hindu nationhood which is assoiated with Hinduism.

It cannot be denied that the Shuddhi movement sprang from the fears of the Hindus that the proselytising activities of the Christians and the Muslims posed a great threat to them since these would add to the numerical strength of the rival communities. Thus the Arya Samaj attempted to safeguard the interest of the Hindus with the weapon of their rivals. But this definitely widened the gulf between the two major communities of India and associated the Arya Samaj with the interest of the Hindus alone. Further, the contempt of the Muslims for the Hindus and their antipathy towards the freedom movement led some of the Hindu leaders to infer that they could do without the Muslims in their fight against the English provided they were sufficiently united and organized. The recurring Hindu-Muslim riots were a reminder to them that they had to fight on two fronts if they had to live honourably. So the imminent need of Hindu Sangthan was felt. Some of the Hindu leaders even looked upon it as the right solution for Hindu-Muslim unity.[25]

Such ideas and circumstances gave rise to the ideology of Hindu Rashtravad or Hindu nationhood which is assoiiated with the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. movement. It cannot be denied that originally the Hindu Mahasabha was founded only for safeguarding the special interests of the Hindus.[26] It was not organised to oppose the Muslims. It was the result of intense feelings among the Hindus that they had certain problems that exclusively affected them and so they could not be tackled properly by the Indian National Congress that represented all the communities, since its non-Hindu members showed cold shoulders to their (of Hindus') problems.[27] But the communal politics of the Muslim League and the dissatisfaction of some of the Hindu leaders with the Congress for its leniency towards the Muslims, drove the Hindu Mahasabha to claim that Hindus constituted a nation even without Muslims. The cultural heritage was looked upon as a tie that united the former into a nation. This is how revivalism came to be associated with the ideology of Hindu Rashtravad. Its advocates, of course, invoked those traditions and ideals alone that were broad enough to cover all the sects and classes of the Hindus. So Lajpat Rai wrote, "Let our ideal be sufficiently high to cover all, sufficiently broad and extensive to include all, who take pride in one common name, a common ancestry, a common history, a common religion, a common language and a common future."[28]

Similarly Savarkar, one of the prominent leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, held that Hindus were a nation bound by a common culture, common history, a common language, a common country and a common religion. According to this ideology a Hindu is one who feels pride in the Hindu culture and civilization represented in common historical memories of achievements and failures, in common artistic, literary and juristic creations and in common rituals or festivals or other media of collective expression. The same arguments are repeated by the R.S.S. chief M. S. Golwalkar in his book 'We or our Nationhood defined.' According to him "Hindus are a nation because they possess the five

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unities, i.e., the geographical, racial, religious, cultural and linguistic.[29] It implies that those who fall outside the five-fold unity can have no place in the national life unless they abandon their differences and completely merge themselves in the National Race. This means that the non-Hindus in Hindusthan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language or must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of glorification of the Hindu race and culture."[30] The R. S. S. Chief openly says that Hindus are engaged in a triangular contest in their fight for freedom. They are, according to him, "at war at once with Muslims on the one hand and the British on the other."[31]

Both the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. glorify the spiritual genius of the ancient Indians but inspiration is mainly sought from the Hindu warriors who fought against the Muslims. Rana Pratap, Shivaji, Guru Govind Singh became their national heroes. Savarkar held that Marathas were imbued with a loftier idealism than Harshavardhan and Pulakesin.

Both the organizations, though they take pride in the ancient Indian culture as superior to that of the West, have borrowed the western criterion for justifying their claim of Hindu nationhood. They glory in the spiritual genius of the Hindus but aim at inculcating militant qualities in the latter. This attitude was of course, the result of their conviction that India could attain freedom only when Hindus were strong enough to overawe the Muslims and the English by their militant qualities. Thus the soaring idealism of the Vedanta, which had inspired the earlier admirers of Indian culture, like Vivekananda, Tagore, Aurobindo etc., was overshadowed by the immediate political need of the Hindus, though it could not be abandoned completely. It was accepted only as an ultimate ideal by the leaders of Hindu organizations. Dayanand held that "The primary object of the Samaj is to do good to the whole world by bettering the physical, spiritual and social conditions of humanity."[32] Similarly Savrakar, in a letter to Guy A. Aldred, editor of 'The World,' wrote that "I hold that although mankind must march on through nation-ism and federalism, through larger a larger statal incorporations to their ultim political goal, yet the goal is not and c not be nationalism but Humanism, neit more nor less. The ideal of all polit science and art must be Human state Likewise the R.S.S. chief unequivoc admits that Indian culture aims at good of all. But he laments that the p sent political atmosphere in the world is favourable to the establishment of a w state since the great powers, that prof this ideal, are engaged in a struggle suprermacy.[34] So the best course, accord to him, under the circumstances,is to stre then one's own nation. Thus he prefers pediency to the ideal.

Conclusion

We have noticed that the dominant of Hindu revivalism has been India's spi tual mission in the world. With this e in view, the admirers of ancient Indi cultural values have been attempting spiritualise the poltiical and economic as rations of their motherland. The Vedant school of Indian nationalism led by Th Aurobindo and B. C. Pal, looked upon freedom of India as a pre-requisite for spiritual development of every Indian demanded "a social, an economic, an political reconstruction, such as will helpful to the highest spiritual life of ev individual member of the community Thus it sought to realise the "old spiri ideals of the race by idealization and sp tualization of the concrete contents actual relations of life."[36] This ideology guided Gandhi in his struggle for indepe ence and in formulating his ideas on reconstruction of society. It is in this li his insistence on combining religion w politics need be viewed.

This tendency has given rise to a sch in Indian political thought that derives sustenance from the ancient Indian eth systems. Tilak, Aurobindo, Tagore, Bh wandas, Gandhi and the Sarvodayists h all contributed to its enrichment. T bank upon the spiritual values to emanc pate human society from all its sco

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political and economic ills. The concept of Socialism of limited wants[37] and the attempts to spiritualise socialism are the recent additions to this school.

Such ideas have also sounded a messianic note. It was natural for those who had been suffering under the yoke of foreign rule to feel flattered at having a spiritual message for mankind that was essential for the development of human civilization but was not known to the West. It "developed as a necessary counterpoise to political and economic subjection." So Aurobindo proudly said that "the world waits for the rising of India to receive the divine flood in its fullness."[38] Earlier Vivekananda had declared that Indian culture would conquer England.[39] Similarly Tagore had found western civilization wholly wanting in spiritual power and so he looked to India to make up this deficiency in it. He proudly said "In the past she produced her great culture and in the present age she has an equally important contribution to make to the culture of the New World which is emerging from the wreckage of the Old."[40]

A nation with such claims cannot toe the line of any other country howsoever powerful she may be. It must keep its identity by bringing forward its own solutions to the world problems. Aurobindo was quite conscious of such a destiny of his nation when he looked to India to stand in the forefront of the world and solve the political, social, economic and moral problems which Europe had failed to solve. This tendency can be counted as one of the factors that have been shaping our present foreign policy. Thus neutral approach to world problems is the application of the idea of our unique mission in the world. Revivalism, in fact, has flowed into our national consciousness and so plays its role in determining our political behaviour.

It is often held that revialism is associated with conservatism. But this is not completely true. It is admitted that some enthusiasts of ancient Indian culture have gone too far and lost the sense of proper evaluation of their cultural heritage. In their zeal for the achievements of their ancestors, they even attempt to justify the evil institutions that they have inherited from the past.[42] But there are others, also, who have made revivalism an ally of progressive ideas. As already pointed out, both Arya Samaj and Ramakrishna-Vivekandanda movement looked upon the the form of Hindu society as their foremost duty. Their leaders had strong convictions that Hindus could not imbibe the spirit of ancient Indian culture so long as they were not free from superstitions and outdated institutions. They distinguished the spirit from the form and looked upon the latter as subordinate to the former since form was only the medium through which spirit found expression. In the words of Radhakrishnan "To submit the infinite spirit to finite forms leads eventually to the enslavement of spirit." According to such writers, all the institutions inherited from the past represent only the form and so subject to modifications and change if they fail to articulate the spirit of the culture. Thus they adhere to the maxim of reform to preserve.' In fact, Hindu religion has maintained its continuity by recasting its spirit into a new mould, time and again, throughout its long journey from the hoary past to the present age. Aurobindo expresses this attitude in the following words, "India has the key to knowledge and conscious application to the ideal; what was dark to her before in its application, she can now with a new light illumine; the fences which she created to protect the outer growth of the spiritual ideal and which afterwards became barriers to its expansion and further application, she can now break down and give her spirit a freer field and an ampler flight."[43]

The advocates of this view seek noble foundations in the past to build over them a glorious edifice in harmony with ancient endeavour and modern outlook. They restate the past ideas and institutions in terms of the new demands of the modern age. Thus Bhagwan Das called Varnashrama Dharma as Socialism of individuo-social organization by temperamental aptitudes and vocation and equitable partition of the means of livelihood and prizes of life.[44] Similarly Radhakrishnan looks upon the caste system as underlying democratic principles so far as "the spiritual values are concerned, for it recognises that every soul

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has in it something transcendent and incapable of gradations, and it places all beings on a common level regardless of distinctions of rank and status, and insists that every individual must be afforded the opportunity to manifest the unique in him."[45] Hereditary caste system is denounced and it is placed on the sound principles of nature and aptitude. In this connection the support of the Bhagavadgita is sought.[46] Thus they have attempted to infuse new a spirit into the old institutions and have, thereby, prepared India to receive the new ideas of the West without any shock.

Revivalism was associated both with nationalism and cosmopolitanism during our struggle for independence. The former whetted the aspirations of the Indians for self-determination. The remembrance of the glorious past stimulated their national pride and thus inspired them to maintain identity in the world. But the wisdom of the past, particularly as embodied in the Vedanta whereby the Hindus distinguished themselves from the West, did not favour the sentiment of national egoism. Thus Tagore, as Vedantist, quite logically repudiated the ideology of nationalism. But others attempted to reconcile the two conflicting interests and ideologies by representing nationalism as a phase in the process that would lead to the unity of mankind.[47]

This approach certainly shelved conflict in our soul during our struggle for freedom since self-determination for all nations was considered as the first pre-requisite for uniting humanity in one brotherhood and under one government by the voluntary act of all nations. Such arguments, of course, do not hold good after the attainment of independence. But the political realities are too hard to enable us to discharge our old commitments. Again the idealism of our ancient heritage and our political interests are pitted against each other leaving an ambivalence between nationalism and cosmopolitanism in some of us. This has created a confusion in our political thinking as well as in our national policy. If some of the Indian statesmen and leaders appear to maintain doule standards, it is not because of their inherent insincerity but due to the pressure of their ideals and interests.

It is evident that the impact of rev... ism has not been limited to any partic... group of people or organisation. It re... sents a tendency that has left its mark... persons holding diverse political ideolog... Different social and political problems ... lent to it various shades.

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1. Upendra Nath Bal, *Ram Mohan ...* p. 323. U. Ray & Sons, Calcutta, 1933.

2. He asserts, "Our countrymen must ... member that in things of the spirit we are ... teachers, and not foreigners but in things of ... world we ought to learn from them." (Vi... nanda, *Complete Works*, Vol. V, pp. 36... Advaita Ashrama, Calcutta, Tenth ed... 1957).

3. According to him Buddhism was ... fulfilment of the Vedanta and was based ... scientific and rational outlook. In supp... of it he quotes the following w... of the Buddha, "Believe not because s... old manuscripts are produced, bel... not because it is your national belief, bec... you have been made to believe it from ... childhood, but reason it all out; and after ... have analysed it, then, if you find that it wil... good to one and all, believe it, live up to it ... help others to live up to it." (Vivekana... *Complete Works*, Vol. I, p, 117).

4. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 3.

5. He says with pride, "And we ch... nations of the world whose heads have ... bowed to the dust will know that this dust ... more sacred than the bricks which build ... pride of power. For this dust is fertile ch... and of beauty and worship. (Tagore, *Nationa...* p. 46. Macmillan & Co., 1924).

6. Tagore, R. N., *The Religion of ...* p. 36. Unwin Book, 1961, London.

7. *Ibid*, p. 55.

8. Aurobindo, *The Human Cycle*, p. ... Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 194...

9. Aurobindo, *Foundations of I...* *Culture*, p. 20. Sri Aurobindo Ashram, ... cherry, 1959.

10. Aurobindo, *The Human Cycle*, p. ...

11. Bhagwan Das, *The Essential Uni...* *All Religions*, pp. 561-562. The Kashi V... Pitha, Benaras, 1939.

12. Radhakrishnan & J. H. Muir... *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, p. 220. G... Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1952.

13. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of ...* p. 77. George Allen & Unwin, London, 19...

14. *Ibid*, p. 58.

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15. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, p. 63. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1958.

16. He wrote, "Nevertheless, it is my unshakable belief that her destiny is to deliver the message of non-violence to mankind (*Harijan*, October 12, 1935; quoted from Paul F. Power, *Gandhi on World Affairs*). The Perennial Press, Bombay, 1961, p. 114.

17. Romain Rolland, *Mahatma Gandhi*, translated by Catherine D. Groth, p. 100. Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., Agra.

18. *Ibid*, p. 103.

19. *Ibid*, pp. 103-104.

20. Kaka Kalelkar, *The Gospel of Swadeshi*, translated by A. Rama Iyer, pp. 9-10. S. Ganesan, Madras.

21. C. F. Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, p. 119. George Allen & Unwin, London, 1949.

22. Lajpat Rai, *The Man in His Word*, p. 107. Ganesan & Co., Madras, 1907.

23. Tagore, *Dayanand Commemoration Volume*, p. 2, Ajmer, 1933.

24. Chiranjiva Bhardwaj, *Light of Truth*, an English translation of Satyarth Prakash, p. 313. Published by Kaviraj Satya Vrata, Lahore, 1927.

25. Lajpat Rai, *The Man in His Own Words*, p. 260; Swami Shraddhanand, *Inside Congress*, pp. 190-192.

26. Before the formation of Hindu Mahasabha, Lajpat Rai had made a suggestion that a Hindu congress should be organized that should meet annually at the place of the Indian National Congress to discuss only such matters that concern the Hindus alone. (*The Man in His Own Words*, p. 263). Even in 1925 he included in the programme of the Hindu Mahasabha, the aim of promoting good feelings with Mohammedans and Christians.

27. Lajpat Rai, *The Man in His Own Words*, pp. 263-264.

28. *Ibid*, p. 64.

29. M. S. Golwalkar, *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, p. 34. Bharat Publications, Nagpur, 1944.

30. *Ibid*, p. 48.

31. *Ibid*, p. 14.

32. Principles of the Arya Samaj of Lahore.

33. Quoted from V. P. Varma, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 473. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Agra, 1961.

34. *Dhyeya Darshan*, Lectures of the R.S.S. Chief, pp. 8-9. Rashtra Dharma Prakashan, Lucknow, 1949.

35. B. C. Pal, *The Spirit of Indian Nationalism*, p. 40, 1910.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Jayaprakash Narayan, *From Socialism to Sarvodaya*, pp. 30-31. Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Rajghat, Kashi.

38. Aurobindo, *The Ideal of Karmayogin*, p. 11, quoted from V. P. Varma, *The Political Philosophy of Sri Aurobindo*, p. 215. Asia Publishing House, 1960.

39. Vivekananda, *Complete Works*, Vol. V, p. 121.

40. Tagore, *Creative Unity*, p. 173. MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1959.

41. Radhakrishnan, *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, p. 503.

42. Sri Prakasa points out that on the whole the influence of Annie Besant on her Hindu friends was not conducive to a true appreciation of social values. She spoke enthusiastically of all Hindu customs and found a scientific explanation for many that to the social reformer appeard positively evil and harmful. (Sri Prakasa, *Annie Besant*, p. 99. Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1954).

43. Aurobindo, *Indian Renaissance*, p. 90. Arya Publishing House, Calcutta, 1937.

44. Bhagwan Das, *Essential Unity of All Religions*, p. 585. Kashi Vidya Pitha, Benares, 1939! Radhakrishnan, *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, pp. 222-224.

45. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life*, p. 117.

46. *The Bhagavadgita* IV. 13; XVIII, 41; also see S. L. Malhotra, *The Role of the Bhagvadgita in Indian Politics*, Punjab Uni. Research Bulletin.

47. Aurobindo, *The Ideal of Human Unity*, p. 275; Gandhi advocated in 1939 the formation of a league of fully independent states (*Young India*, Feb. 11, 1939; Paul F. Power. *Gandhi on World Affairs*, p. 70); Savarkar, see above p. 11.

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"GEOGRAPHY OF THE RIGVEDIC INDIA"

By S. S. BHATTACHARYA, B.Sc. (Hon), M.Sc. (Aligarh)

Introduction

India, from ages past, has known a well-defined administrative system. It is possible to trace a continuity in the social organisation, administrative units, village authorities and consequently the state boundaries from the dim ages of the Rigveda down to the present day. This country has seen vast changes in its political structure and the economic life and had witnessed mingling of many races, since the dawn of history. The probable migration of races, now known as the tribal people such as the Kols, the Bhils, the Santhals, the advent of the Dravidians, the invasion of the Aryans, bringing with them their Central Asian creeds of power worship and their own nomadic economy, the evolution of the agricultural economy, the subsequent invasions of the Greeks, the Parthians, the Scythians, the Huns, their absorption in the culture of the country they adopted, the advent of the Muslims with a procession of dynasties and kings for an unbroken period of over 700 years, and finally, the rise of the Europeon powers in India, the Portuguese, the French and the English, all these factors of tremendous power affected life in this country. But the basic fact of organisation was seldom subjected to a volcanic eruption; rarely there was a break or a rebuilding of the entire structure. Evolution and growth from within, with the absorption of the new forces that worked upon this land are clearly marked in the history of India. The contribution of the British to the administrative system of the country is great indeed and, perhaps, appears to be greater than it actually is, for the simple reason that we are the direct inheritors of this system. We know more about it than we know of the old systems for want of historical data and records. But Britishers did not write down their efforts on a blank board. They also had inherited a system of administration, with well defined provinces and states with boundaries of their own, from the Mughal Empire, and had erased and developed outlines to suit the ne of the moment. The essence of the Indian or nization therefore remained what it was. Tra it back to further past, it becomes evident t the Mughals too had received a well organi system of primary administration which t handled to harmonise it with their own requi ment. The process of further back study le one to the very early period of the Rigveda. T continuity of the system, basically the sam strikes one with wonder and amazement.

So we can rightly say that, division of country or a state into a number of admini trative units—the provinces,—was not t innovation of the British in India. The Briti had inherited this system from the Mughals an Mughals copied it from the early rulers of Indi "The Mughal Empire in its best days . . . be queathed to posterity a great name, some ver noble buildings and a system of administrati which they inherited from earlier times developed, and passed on to the British."[1] Th truth of this statement can well be establish if we trace the traditions and administrati systems of the empires of India from as early from the Vedic Age. "It is interesting in revie ing the past history of India to trace a remar able continuity of policy on the part of t rulers of whatever nationality who have succeed in welding together this great congerie of whi differing races and tongues. The main princ ples of government have remained unchang throughout the ages. Such as they were under t Maurya empire, so they were inherited by t Muhammadan rulers and by their successors, t British. These principles are based on the re cognition of a social system which depe ultimately on a self organized village communi Local Government thus forms the very basis all political systems in India. The grouping village communities into states, and the group of states into empires left the social syst unchanged."[2] Of course, the climate, geographi and socio-economical conditions of Vedic In were different from conditions and systems

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present day India. "At that time the physical features of the country were not exactely as they are now. The Himalayas had not reached the great height that they have at present Sind, northern Gujarat and presumably the Gangetic plains were not coverd by such vast amount of silt and sand, whereas the country south of the Krishna river did not present a greatly weathered appearance. The valleys of the Indus, the Ganges the Sabarmati and the Narmada were not so deeply cut as now. These rivers flowed at a much higher level then."[3] Since then, vast tracts of forests have been cleared, rivers have changed their courses, deserts have marched, new lands were conquered, many nations and their cultures flourished, various modern and scientific developments have taken place, the technic of warfare and defence and the administrative system of the country underwent changes. Hence, the boundaries of the States also changed from time to time to harmonize with the situation and the will of the rulers.

Rigvedic Era

After the collapse of the Indus valley civilization, India opened a new chapter of history with the advent of the Aryans who entered into India throuh its northern and norh-western gates. In the Rigvedic Age "These Aryans were settled in a region in the north-west of India, roughly corresponding to Eastern Afghanistan and the Punjab, with their center in the little district of the Upper Doab, South of Ambala, which in ancient times was more or less enclosed by the rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati (possibly the modern Sarsuti and Ghora), and is bordered now on the east and south-east by the river Chitang—a patch of country which ancient Hindus called Brahmavarta and Kuru-Kshetra,[4] and regarded as the cradle of their history."[5] These Aryans had a fair knowledge of geography of the land they occupied as we find mention of many rivers, mountains and places in the Rigveda. "In order to ascertain the extent of the Aryan settlements in the period of the Rigveda, we should, therefore, consider the references to mountains, rivers, localities, tribes, and kingdoms contained in the hymns."[6] But "the whole of this extensive tract of land could not have been occupied entirely by Aryan tribes, because we hear also of the clans (Visah) of the Dasas who must have occupied some part at least of this territory, and whose supersession in any case must have been a slow and gradual process."[7] The Danavas or the Asuras formed a belt around the small Indo-Aryan colony.[8] In the Rigvedic Aryan prayer we also find the Aryans prayed to their God to kill these Dasas or Asuras. "We are surrounded on all sides by Dasa tribes. They do not perform sacrifices, they do not believe in anything, their rites are different, they are not men ! O Destroyer of foes, kill them, destroy the Dasa races."[9]

The form of government of the Rigvedic Aryan was tribal, being tribe as a political unit. These Aryans were possessed of superior weapons and their strategy of defence and warfare were unknown to the natives (Dasas) ;-physically also they were quite strong ; even though they could not conquer as much land as they wanted, and their border was often violated by Dasas until they developed or adopted a good administrative system based on the 'Janas' publics. "In the absence of political cohesion, the tribe appears in the Rigveda as the political unit, organised much as the Afghans of today, or the Germans of the time of Tacitus. The tribe (Jana) consisted of a group of settlements (vis), which were again formed of aggregates of villages (grams)."[10] "The little knot of houses of the several branches of the family would together form the nucleus of the second stage in Rigvedic society, the *grama* (village), though some have derived its name originally from the sense hoarde (as describing the armed force of the tribe) which in war fought in the natural divisions of family. Next in order about the grama in the orthodox theory was the Vis or 'Canton', while a group of cantons made up the Jana, people."[11] For better co-operation and understanding among the people and for proper administration to maintain peace and order, and to check the Dasa raids on the Aryan border lands (frontiers) or boundaries and in the hope to conquer further land by their superior tactics and culture, they divided the land (whole kingdom or tribe) under their possession into a number of administrative units of different status, viz., grama, vis,[12] and the jana.

"The basis of the political and social organization of the Rig-Vedic people was the Patriarchal family. The higher units were styled jana, and in some rare passages

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we even hear of aggregates of janas ....., the grama was normally a smaller unit than either the vis or the jana .... It is more difficult to say in what relationship the vis stood to the jana. In some Vedic passages there is a clear contrast between the two, the Iranian analogies seem to suggest that the vis is a subdivision of a jana if the latter may be taken as a paralled to the Iranian Zantu. It is also to be noted that the Bharathas are referred to as a single jana, but when the word vis is used in reference to them, we have the existence of a plurality of such units."[13] Hence, there is no doubt that the Bharatas divided their kingdom into a number of administrative units, viz., visah, provinces, and, again, each vis—province—was divided into a number of villages, which was the next administrative unit in the Rigvedic Age after the vis.

Thus the whole of Rigvedic India was divided into a number of tribes or janas, usually ruled by their kings. "The king (Raja) was elected by the districts (vis) of the tribe."[14] The important tribes or janas of the Rigvedic period were the Bharatas Tritsus, Purus, Srinjayas Yadus, Turvasas, Anus, Druhyus, Krivis, Matsyas, Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalanases, Sivas, Vishanins, Gandharis,[15] Usinaras[16] and Chedis.[17] Among the Dasa tribes who stoutly resisted the Aryan advance on the eastern frontier of Rigvedic India were Anjas, Kikatas, Simyus, Sigrus and Yakshus. "Roughly speaking the extreme north-west was occupied by the Gandharis, Pakthas, Alinas, Bhalanases, and Vishanins some of whom probably contained non-Aryan elements. In Sind and the Punjab were settled the Sivas, Parsus, Kekayas, Vrichivants, Yadus, Anus, Turvasas and Druhyus. Further east towards the region of the Madhyadesa were the settlements of the Tritsus, Bharatas, Purus and Srinjayas, the eastern-most part being in the occupation of the Kikatas. The Matsyas and Chedis were settled in the south of the Punjab in the region of Rajputana and Malwa. It may thus be reasonably concluded that the Aryan settlements during the period of the Rigveda were practically coterminus with the extent of the geographical knowledge of the period."[18] Rivers, mountains, forests and barren-land, etc., formed the natural boundaries of these Janas. Sometimes a few Janas grouped into a single political unit for the larger interest of the tribes.

The Aryans split up into many tribes, bel... they were yet conscious of race and religion.[19] ... petty tribes found it necessary, in order to de... the solid forces of the aborigines, to mass th... selves into centralised kingdoms.[20] Because th... were conscious of the fact that they all belon... to one common race, for all of them called th... selves Aryas.[21] . . . 'Generally speaking, ... kingdoms were small in extent and were units ... a single tribe. Whether the confederacy of ... five tribes who attacked Sudas actually invol... a system of political collaboration cannot ... definitely determined. But it is not altoge... unlikely. One passage in Rigveda (viii. 5. 3... speaks of king Kasu making a gift of ten ki... to a Rishi (sage) and other passages (11.41.... v. 62. 6) represent Mitra and Varuna as oc... pying a spacious palace with a thousand pil... and a thousand gates."[22] 'Already in the Rigv... we mark a tendency towards union of the sm... tribal units into larger aggregates . . . furth... the Rigveda mentions titles indicating the positi... of the overlord, and implying a higher sta... than that of the mere king (rajan). Such are t... terms Samraj, Ekaraja and Adhiraja, the fi... of which is likewise used as an honorific desi... nation of the leading deities of the Vedic pa... theon like Indra and Varuna. The institution ... overlordship along with the imperial ceremon... of Asvamedha, obviously implies a more or l... close political union of a number of tribes, a... it may have occasionally led to tribal amalgam... tions."[23] Wars among the Janas were not u... known. They also developed a high standard ... military strategy and tactics. "We have the evi... tion of military srategy and tactics as early ... the battle of the Ten Kings when the enemies ... Sudas tried to cut off his forces by diverti... the course of the river Ravi."[24] "Visvamitra ... rested a watery stream when he sacrificed ... Sudas."[25]

Development of Village and Its Boundaries

"The village probably consisted of a numb... of houses built near each other for purposes ... mutual defence, perhaps surrounded by a he... or other protection against wild beasts or e... mies. The pur, . . .[26] probably no more t... a mere earthwork fortification which may ... some cases at least have been part of

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village."[27] The primitive use of this word "grama," which occurs frequently from the Rigveda onwards, appears to have been 'village,' The Vedic Indians must hve dwelt in villages which were scattered over the country, some close together, some far apart, and were connected by roads. The village is regularly contrasted with the forest (*aranya*) and its animals and plants with those that lived or grew wild in the woods. The villages were probably open, though perhaps a fort (pur) might on occasion be built inside. Presumably they consisted of detached houses with enclosures, but no details are to be found in Vedic literature. Large villages (*mahagramas)* were also known. The 'grama may be regarded as an aggregate of several families, not necessarily forming a clan but only part of a clan (vis), as is often the case at the present day.[28]

The Rigvedic villages grew and developed out of well-planned schemes and these villages were a politico-socio-economical unit. Reference is also made to the measuring of fields,[29] and after full survey of land and its inhabitants and resources, the village boundaries were demarcated by hedge, logs, bamboo, roads and stones and sometimes by river, canals and forests. For the defence of the village, 'pur' was constructed inside the village. To save the village from flood waters, high lands were usually selected as the sites of the villages. The villages were linked by roads. Gramani was the head of a village. Every village was self-sufficient in every respect; as such a village was again a smaller administrative unit of a vis. Padmini Sengupta writes that "The village did not grow up haphazard but to a well-planned geometric pattern, as such villages had to be fortified camps in order to be protected against enemies and marauders. The village was usually rectangular in shape and surrounded by a wall pierced by four big gates and four small ones. There were streets inside and the houses were built in a special order. At the centre stood the Panchayat Ghar were the elders met, for a council of elders settled village problems. In small villages the council met under a large tree, where the free men elected their Panchayat."[30]

Boundaries of the Janas

From the survey made above of different social and political systems of the Aryans we can rightly say that in the Rigvedic Age the evolution of State boundaries was the off-shoot of 'an advanced military ruling'[31] system of the Aryans whose objectives were 'to conquer, to colonize and to civilize;'[32] hence, they took advantage of both natural and artificial objects while demarcating the boundaries of the States. Before demarcating the boundaries, representatives, most probably 'suta' and 'Senani' of both the States, met together and helped their respective kings, 'Rajans', with the figure and facts of various surveys. Among the natural objects rivers, mountains, forests 'aranyas', were considered the best objectives. 'In the period of Rigveda the river was of greater importance than it was in the following period'[33] and also we find high praise of rivers in their hymns. Naturally the Aryans gave first preference among the natural objects to the rivers as a basis for the demarcation of boundaries. Rivers in that period were the sources of life and also an obstacle against the advancing enemies, hence, most of the tribes selected the rivers and the river banks[34] as their centre of culture and found good protection from rival armies.[35] Prof. R. C. Majumdar in his *The Vedic Age*, p. 242, remarks that 'rivers have all along played an important part in the lives of the Hindus, and even in the Rigvedic Age they were esteemed as deities, presumably on account of the immense benefits they conferred on humanity.'

Apart from rivers, mountains and forests were also used by the Rigvedic Aryans as the basis of the boundary demarcation of their States. For example, the boundaries of the States of Alinas, Gandharis, Pakthas and Bhalanas, etc., were indicated by such elements.

If natural objects were unsuitable or unacceptable, then only the help of artificial objectives were taken. In that case "They were probably ramparts of hardened earth with pallisades and a ditch."[36] Again, as their States were defensive in nature, hence, to check the enemies advance on their border was the main consideration of boundary demarcation. Hence, they raised numbers of forts or 'puras' along the border. 'Autumnal' forts (Saradi) are named apparently belonging to the Dasas; this may refer to the forts in that season being occupied against Aryan attacks or against inundations caused by overflowing rivers. Forts 'with a hundred walls (Satabhuji) [37] According to the nature of the

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lands the other type of forts they used to raise on the boundaries were "Giri, Jala, Dhanu, Vana, Parikha, Airina, and Parigha. Of these, water and mountain fortifications are best suited to defend populous centres, whereas desert and forest fortifications are habitations in the wilderness (*atavisthanam*). According to the Devi Purana, the former should be resorted to by the civilised kings, while the barbarian hoardes and wild tribes generally ensconce themselves within the latter. The origin of this sort of fortification can be traced to the camp-life of the first Aryan settlers."[38]

Boundaries of the Visah or Provinces

As the States grew in size and cultural and administrative complexities increased, the king, 'Rajan', thought it necessary on the advice of the 'Suta' and the 'Senani' to divide the State into a number of smaller administrative units Visah. Hence, Vis was an administrative unit in the Rigvedic time as the province of a kingdom of now-a-days. As I have stated above that every village in the Rigvedic period was a politico-socio-economical unit, hence every Vis was also a politico-socio-economical unit on a larger scale. Before taking a decision on the nature of boundaries for the Visah the king used to get reports from the village headman 'Gramani' and with proper consultations probably also from other State officers including 'Ratnins', "the jwels of State,"[39] Bhagadugh and Akshavapa, who are obviously the collector of the rvenue and the Accountant[40] used to get sanction of the scheme or proposal from the Sabha[41] and Samiti.[42] The last hymn of the Rigveda invokes such unity in solemn and beautiful language :

Assemble, speak together ; let your minds be all of one accord,

The place is common, common the assembly, common the mind, so be their thoughts united . . .

One and the same be your resolve, and be your minds of one accord.

"United be the thoughts of all that may happily agree."[43]

So, after getting the sanction of the scheme from the Sabha and Samiti, the king used to get a survey of the proposed border land of the Visah and demarcated it by rivers, streams, canal, forests if any, otherwise by digging trench, moulding, etc.

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1. Sir Henry Lovett, *The Nations of I... India*, page 41.

2. E. J. Rapson, *Ancient India*, page ...

3. Padmini Sengupta, *Everyday Li... Ancient India*, page 10.

Courses of rivers, especially in the P... have considerably changed in the course ... last three or four millennia. Their names ... also varied in different times. There is, ... fore, some difference of opinion with re... the identifications of the rivers mentioned ... Vedic texts. The same is the case regardi... location of the various tribes and co... that figure in the vedic texts, as their bou... were subject to constant modifications an... were known by different names in di... names in different periods.—R. C. Maj... *The Vedic Age*, p. 241.

4. There are indications showing th... the end at least of the Rigvedic period so... the Aryan invaders had passed beyond ... region and reached the western limits of ... Gangetic river system. For the Yamuna ... Jamuna), the most westerly tributary of ... Ganges in the north, is mentioned in ... passages, two of which prove that the ... settlements already extended to its banks. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Lite...* London, 1905, p. 142.

5. Lionel D. Barnet, *Antiquities of ...* London, 1913, pp. 1-2.

6. R. C. Majumdar, *The Vedic Age*, ... don, 1951, p. 241.

7. R. C. Majumdar & others, *An Ad... History of India*, London, 1953, p. 28.

8. R. D. Banerji, *Prehistoric, Ancient ... Hindu India*, p. 19.

9. Padmini Sengupta, pp. 41-42.

10. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, V...* p. 223.

11. E. J. Rapson, *The Cambridge H... of India*, Vol. I, 1922, pp. 90, 91.

12. The generic term 'Jana' was app... a tribe or people. The 'Jana' was divided ... number of social groups called 'Vis' ... division of the 'Vis' into a number of gr... doubtful, since the 'Grama' might c... different 'Vises' or coincide with a 'Vis,' ... only a part of a 'Vis.' The 'Vis,' ... might mean either territorial division, or ... communal group. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. ... (correcting *Zimmer*, Alt. Leben, pp. ... Source U. Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu P... Theories*, 1923, p. 25.

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13. R. C. Majumdar & others, pp. 28, 29.
14. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, p. 223.
15. U. Ghoshal, p. 25.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, p. 223.
18. R. C. Majumdar, *The Vedic Age*, p. 250.
19. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, p. 221.
20. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Chand & Co., Delhi, 1955, p. 83.
21. Source—K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Second and Enlarged Edition, 1943, p. 12.
22. R. C. Majumdar, *The Vedic Age*, p. 352.
23. U. Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu Political Theories*, p. 34.
24. S. V. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, Vol. II, p. 33.
25. Mrs. Manning, *Ancient and Mediaeval India*, Vol. I, p. 72.
26. But Prof. R. C. Majumdar presents a different view and of the opinion that the pur was not only consisted of the earthwork fortification at "Ramparts or forts (pur), which were either stone or metal (ayasi pur), and sometimes consisted of an enclosure protected by a palisade consisting only of a hedge of thron or a raw of trees, were used as places of refuge against attack in times of war. The method of laying seege in early days was probably by setting fire to the surrounding palisades or walls (vii. 5. 3). But mention is also made of pur charishnu (lit. moving fort) which may be engine for assaulting strong fields.—R. C. Majumdar, *The Vedic Age*, p. 356.
27. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 88.
28. Source—Binode Behari Dutta, *Town Planning in Ancient India*, 1925, pp. 9-10.
29. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 80.
30. *Everyday Life in Ancient India*, p. 38.
31. *Ibid*, p. 32.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 72.
34. One passage of the Rigveda (1.126.1) speaks of a king living on the bank of the Sindhu, and another (viii, 21. 18) refers to a king Chitra and other nobles as residing in the neighbourhood of the river Sarasvati—R. C. Majumdar, *The Vedic Age*, p. 352.
35. Such as "the Saraswati is worshipped as a protecting barrier between Hindus and eastern enemies . . . .

"The waves of the Saraswati flow for our protection (she is for us like a town of iron.—St. Martin, *Geography*, p. 16.

"Saraswati, do thou protect us; associated with the Maruts, and firm (of purpose), overcome our foes, whilst India slays the chief of the Sandikas. Hymn by Gritsamada, Wilson's trans., Vol. II, p. 284 ; R. V. 11. 30.

"May Indra be most prompt to come high for our protection, and Saraswati dwelling with (tributary) rivers."—Hymn by Rijiswan, Wilson's trons., Vol. III, p. 492 ; R. V. VI, 52.

Again . . . she is thus described (*Wilson's Trans., Vol. III*, p. 504ff, R. V. vi, 61.).

"With impetuous and mighty waves she breaks down the precipices of the mountains, like a digger for the lotus fibres ; we adore for our protection, with praises and with sacred rites, Saraswati, the underminer of both her banks.

"Destroy, Saraswati, the revilers of the gods, the off-spring of the universal deluder, Brisaya ; giver of sustenance, thou hast acquired for men and lands (seized by the Asuras), and hast showered water upon them.

"May the fierce Saraswati, riding in a golden chariot, the dstructress of enemies, be pleased by our earnest laudation . . . .

"May Saraswati, filling (with radiance) the vast expanse of earth and heaven, defend us from the reviler."

36. B. B. Dutt, *Town Planning in Ancient India* ; 1925, p. 9.
37. *Ibid*, pp. 8-9.
38. *Ibid*, p. 84.
39. S. V. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture Through The Ages*, Vol. II, p. 21.
40. *Ibid*, p. 22.
41. It appears that the Samiti was an august assembly of a larger group of the people for the discharge of tribal (*ie.*., political) business and was presided over by the king. The Sabha, a more select body, was less popular and political in character than the Samiti. Although the functions and power of Sabha and Samiti cannot be exactly defined, numerous passages rferring to them clearly indicate that both these Assemblies exercised considerable authority and must have acted as healthy checks on the power of the king. Vide, Majumdar, R. C.,*The Vedic Age*, p. 354.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Majumdar, R. C., *The Vedic Age*, p. 354.

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LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By Mrs. DEVI PRASAD ROY CHOWDHURY

VIII

How Roy Chowdhury Came to the School of Arts

When I first met Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury, he was not more than 29 years old. Unlike other men of that age, his face wore a severe expression which made him look much older than his years. It was only after I had mixed with him and heard his frank and unrestrained laughter that I realised that it was all a fake. What gave cause to this sort of appearance was, as I ascertained when I became more familiar with him, his early life. He had to struggle and blast his way through all sorts of difficulties and hostilities before he could realize a particle of his ambition.

In spite of his heritage, he had to fight against penury as he was a self-made outcast from his own family. He was determined to escape from it and to win the highest office that the Government could offer in his line. This, he thought, would facilitate his path towards creative work. Modesty is not one of Devi Prasad's qualifications. He was confident that he deserved what he desired.

The Principalship of the Government School of Arts, Calcutta, fell vaccant. He was tempted to apply for the post but refrained from doing so when he came to learn that among the candidates there was one who was backed by a person whose words carried weight. Not long after this Devi Prasad was invited to Ootacamund by Sri S. V. Ramaswamy Mudaliar. It was for an interview with the Minister who was to appoint the head of the Madras School of Arts. Little did he know when he started with a heart full of hope, that another rebuff was awaiting him. On this occasion his drawback was his age. He was about 25 years old at the time. When the young artist stood before the Minister he stared at him strangely. Perhaps, he was surprised at the aspiration of such a young man for so responsible a post. Finally, he came out with the remark, "You want the Principal's job? But you are too young." "Is it a crime to be Sir?" responded the proud artist. But answer could not convince the Minister the ability of the youth. Once more fate against him and he had to suffer frustrati no fault of his. Though it hardened the could not dampen his spirit. He struggled about four years later his efforts were cr with success. With almost a unanimous vo was then selected as the head of the Madra School.

But the matter did not end here. A s tug of war ensued between two Ministries who should have control over their chosen The Education Department offered a higher and pulled the artist towards their side. Industries Department, on the other hand, the weight of permanency on its scale whic Ministry of Education could not. Devi P having had to struggle several years for existence, had a partiality for a steady i and gave his vote in favour of the Ind Department. This department has to its cred extraordinary quality of having been able to with for over 24 years with an artist who appearance, seemed to be beyond the po control.

There was yet another problem stared Devi Prasad in the face on the eve good fortune if I may call it so. He firm lieved that however great the qualities artist might be, his talent is sure to stag he does not practice it diligently. As it c lot in money and labour to do one's own tions, specially in the case of sculpture, a cannot very well continue with that sort o for long, unless he knows there is a pos of getting something in exchange. He, the wanted to know whether he could accept orders to work after school hours. If the position of a Principal debarred him from ing the facility to practise the art that he he would rather struggle than accept the

Since the previous Principals did

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the need of working after office hours, it never occurred to any one that such a question could ever arise. After much discussion, the authorities decided in favour of the artist and gave him full permission to work as he desired so long as it did not clash with his duties in the School. This has given their artist the opportunity to execute works which have attracted the admiration of the entire art-loving world.

After Devi Prasad assumed charge of the school, the institution underwent a certain shuffle in its system of education. One of his first acts was to abolish the part-time classes for girls who came not so much to learn as to get a diploma which enable them to work as drawing mistress in some schools without having the necessary background for the work. The girls who wished to take up art seriously were invited to join the school and work with the boys. Devi Prasad is of the opinion that a person has no right to give instruction in a subject in which his own foundation is weak.

Another innovation was the absolute elimination of black board drawing. According to Devi Prasad practical demonstration is the best way of imparting knowledge in the field of art A student, therefore, is at full liberty to watch the master while he works.

The teachers in the Madras School of Arts do not sit idle while they are in class. They become one with the students and keep themselves busy with their own work. This has its advantage. It prevents the teachers from producing stereotyped work by allowing time for experiments, and it gives the students the opportunity to come in contact with various modes and techniques of picture making.

Devi Prasad, through his own experience as an artist, is able to understand and sympathise with the problems that confront students and allow them as much concession as possible. If a student is not in the proper mood and finds it difficult to concentrate, he is allowed to go out for a little recreation instead of wasting time in the class in a jaded condition, and start his work afresh. The process has proved very effective in the case of students who are really earnest.

In the opinion of the artist, correct understanding of natural form is absolutely essential for those who wish to specialize in figure drawing. It is, therefore, incumbent upon them to practice from life. In Western countries to practise with nude models is a common practice. Puritanism finds no place with them where art is concerned. But it is still taboo with some of our people and is looked upon with suspicion. A very amusing episode once occured in the school in this connection.

The Director of the Industries' Department of the time came once to inspect the School and sustained a terrible shock when he entered the class where the boys were engaged in nude study. This he thought was detrimental to the morals of the students. In his opinion the only person who was fit for such a privilege was Devi Prasad since he was a saintly man ! Instead of feeling elated at such an attribute being thrust upon him without any effort on his part, he had the expression of one whose manhood had been impugned. For a person who considers most cerative work to be the result of a sublime sex impulse, this was certainly not a compliment. When he was able to recover his equanimity, he pacified the mental unrest of his boss by putting forth the example of the doctors. Their case was sufficient proof to justify his cause. His proposition was that when a person is immersed in his work, sex does not rouse any emotion. Whether the Director was convinced or not, he was discreet enough not to interfere in a sphere where he knew his knowledge was extremely limited.

During the school period, that is from 9-30 a.m. to 4-30 p.m., Devi Prasad's time is occupied with what he calls the clerk's job—attending the files, correspondence, and such other matters. He has then little time to attend to the subject nearest his heart except for a short while which he keeps apart to spend with the pupils in their classes. The time before and after the school is the time for his *sadhana* (practice). It is then that the artist is free to occupy himself with his own creations. To watch him while he is so engaged, is interesting. Having had to oblige him by sitting for my portraits on more than one occasion, I had the rare privilege of studying the artist during these periods. If he is in the mood for painting, he squats on the floor surrounded by colour brushes, water and the students. The last-named came to watch him while he worked and to assist him to find the things that seem to vanish from his sight at

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every other moment! His clothes are usually wet with water and bedecked with various shades of pigments giving him an appearance not at all compatible with the post he holds. It is not surprising, therefore, if a visitor who comes to see the Principal during this period should become suspicious about his identity.

When the sculptor predominates in his work, the artist has to forego the luxury of sitting down. If he is inspired, he remains in the standing position for ten or twelve hours at a stretch except for the few minutes that he has to deduct for his meals. I have my full sympathy with the person who occupies the place of a model while he is in this mood. Such a one has to stand the test of a severe scrutiny of the artist's piercing eyes. Devi Prasad gets so absorbed in his work that at times he forgets that his sitter is a living being. Once a lady sitter felt so uncomfortable under his penetrating gaze that she remarked, "You know you make me feel very self-conscious when you stare at me like that. Your eyes seem to search for my innermost thoughts." Probably his intense desire to bring out the character of his sitter is responsible for this.

One rather unusual incident took place while Devi Prasad was doing the portrait bust of a Governor of Madras. In his intensity of work he forgot the position of his sitter. "Turn" came the command from the artist. The Governor who was accustomed to issue orders and not to receive them was perceptibly startled. No sooner was the order given then the artist realized his mistake and apologized. The sitter in this case was one to whom appreciation of art came almost as a birthright. He, therefore, took it all in a sporting spirit and thought no more about it.

In spite of having served the Government for so many years, much effective change is not discernible in Devi Prasad, and he is still as domineering and self-willed as he was when he first joined service. Yet I wonder whether a person who knew him 24 years ago, will recognise him today. The luxuriant hair that once adorned his head is no more there and the ravages of time have left their mark on the surface of his face.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES: SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

Collected by R. S. TIKEKAR

I joined the lowest class of the Rajashahi Collegiate School in the Eighteen Seventies or nearly sixty years ago. The most prominent member of the educational world of Rajashahi was Babu Hara Govinda Sen, a brilliant senior scholar of the old Hindoo College, before the foundation of the Calcutta University. He had long been Head Master of the Rajashahi School and my father, who passed his entrance examination in 1857, was one of his pupils. On the raising of the School to the status of an intermediate College, Hara Govinda Babu acted as its Principal for some years. He was a master of English literature and wielded a vigorous and very correct pen in that language—as was only to be expected from the scholars of the famous Hindoo College. He retained his vigour and activity to a ripe old age, and after acting as the first Vice-Chairman of the Rajashahi Municipality, served as the tutor to the minor Rajkumars of Dighapatiya, including the father of the present Rajah.

The School department was under Babu Kalikumar Das as Head Master—one of the greatest teachers I have seen. His regard for discipline, minute attention to details, administrative efficiency and tireless activity, placed him in a class quite above others. He had the keenest eye for correctness of English composition, especially grammar, idiom and spelling, and collected the result of his long experience of the Indian Student's usual mistakes and of pitfalls of English grammar in a manuscript book which he was every year adding to and amplifying from the same source.

It was printed anonymously under the title of **A Companion to English Grammar**

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गुरुकुल काँगड़ी

end passed into a greatly improved second edition in my time. I do not know of any book so useful to Indian school boys as this, after the celebrated chapter on Common Errors in Rowe's **Hints**, re-written mind. There was a gravity and brevity of speech in his conversation which almost amounted to severity, and I confess we felt chilled when called up before him; but that was something salutory for us.

In addition to his exacting duties in the

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The Late Sir Jadunath Sarkar

Kali Babu had a lynx's eye in picking out the spelling mistakes in the students' exercises and used to call them up to his desk and point these out personally. The effect of so much care was felt by his pupils. I often feel that what little power of writing correct English I posses is due entirely to the solid foundation laid by Kali Babu, at the formative stage of my school, with no clerical assistance, he used also to take the History classes in the first and second year of the College. Besides, his beneficent activity outside the classroom, took the form of clearing the moral surroundings of the school and students' quarter of the town—which were then in the same deplorable condition as under the Nawabi rule. It was a supreme satisfaction

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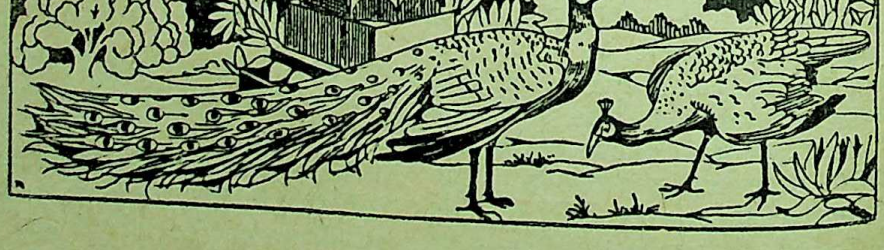
to us that in 1887 his devoted work for years and years (bore) fruit in a form that the outer world could recognise, and Calcutta people learnt with astonishment that an obscure mufassil in the land of the Bengals had secured the first and sixth places in the highest grade competitive scholarship list. The crowning glory of the first place in the University of 6 years was conferred on this our nourishing mother by one whom I mourn to miss today, the late Babu Sudarshan Chakravarti who, even at that early age, set an example to us by his character, intellect and habits.

The American author O. W. Holmes, in one of his finest poems, has told us how a single small pebble on the crest of the Rocky Mountains determines the ultimate destiny of a drop of rain water falling there. If it is deflected to the left, it flows down westwards, mingles with other streams and finally takes the shape of the Columbia River and finds its resting place in the Warm Pacific Ocean. If it is turned even by an eighth of an inch to the right, (it) flows down northwards to form the Ahtabaska which discharges itself into the frozen North Sea.

So, a boy's life's course is often shaped with polar difference by the unnoticed fact of his having come in early age under the influence of a true teacher or his not having had the good fortune to have met with such a teacher. To Babu Kali Kumar Das, next to my father, I owe most of what I am. His memory is silently enshrined in my heart.

In contrast with Kali Babu was the second Master—much later officiating Headmaster,—Babu Lokenath Chakravarti, a most loving and lovable man, a father (rat... than a master. We senior boys were speci... attracted to him by his cordial appreci... of Bengali poetry and personal interes... Bengali literature, which in those d... was totally outside the range of Univer... studies.

Curiously enough, the same contra... character—shall I call it the contrast bet... the Roundheads and the Cavaliers?—was p... sented by the two Sanskrit Pandits. H... Chandra Kaviratna was a perfect mas... Sanskrit grammar of the school of Pa... which is very rarely followed in Benga... the simpler MUGDHAV(B)ODH or Ka... (?) is the general favourite here. He ... studied this grammar with intense devo... and spent as he told us, some twelve y... on the glossaries and commentaries of ... great grammar. He was a gramma... who cared little for literature or aesthe... The result was that he had every rule ... the tip of his tongue and could give ... most correct interpretation of it. He ... the strict grmamarian's rigidity and had ... mercy for the sluggards who, as you kn... always neglect to prepare their Sans... lessons by preference. You have his ... portrait bust in the local public libr... which reveals his character. For sympa... with its natural failing of the young h... ful and for relaxation in our Sanskrit s... dies we went to Pandit Kunja Lal Gu... who revelled in literature and was him... a very good writer in Bengali. The b... could take any liberty in the class of ... giant-hearted man. Hence there was oc... sional friction between (him and the) ... presentatives of the learning of our anc... sages.



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BIPIN CHANDRA PAL

By AMAL HALDAR

Bipin Chandra Pal was intimately associated with the movement of Bengal Renaissance. He also played an important role in the earlier freedom movement and is remembered with Lokamanya Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai as one of the leaders of that movement for Indian emancipation or Swaraj.

The period which covered his public life (1882-1932) was also a period of great changes in the religious, social and political life of the people. And, as Lord Ronaldshay said in his book 'Heart of Aryavarta,' "his pen played a not inconsiderable part in the social and political ferments that have stirred the waters of Indian life" during the period.

Highly sensitive, his mind quickly responded to the influences of the movements of his time. A "sucessor" of Keshub Chunder Sen and "a most earnest and eloquent preacher in the Brahmo Samaj," Bipin Chandra Pal, was a man "of fine spiritual disposition as well as of high intellectual attainments."

Bipin Chandra Pal's contribution to Indian nationalism has been freely acknowledged. Sri Aurobindo Ghosh referred to him as "one of the mightiest prophets of nationalism." Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar regarded him as "the father of revolutionary thought in Bengal."

The Nationalist propaganda of Bipin Chandra Pal made, however, the opponents of our freedom extremely uneasy, though they could not deny that he was "a man of great intellectual force and high character," who had the "the peculiarity of expressing extreme views in modest—almost civil language."

The 'Historians' History of the World' spoke of him as the "chief purveyor of seditious ideas," who "promulgated the doctrine of Swaraj or complete political independence." This description of him in 1908, it was thought, would kill his influence with the moderate sections of his people and alienate the sympathy of Liberal Britishers to India's demand for self-rule.

'The London Times,' while paying him the left-handed compliment of being "the most outspoken of the Extremists," remarked in 1906 that Dadabhai Naoroji in enunciating the doctrine of Swaraj had "taken a leaf out of the book of the Extremists," and that the Congress President's programme had practically followed the "mischievous" propaganda of Bipin Chandra Pal.

Valentine Chirol, extensively quoted in his book entitled "Indian Unrest" the speeches delivered by Bipin Chandra Pal in Madras in 1907 as "the most authoritative programme of advanced political thought in India." Bipin Chandra Pal preached complete freedom in these speeches, which could not be reconciled with the British rule of this country in any shape or form. The Rowlatt Committee made his Madras speeches responsible for the political upheaval in the South during the years that followed. It said: "An outburst of seditious activity followed upon the visit of Bipin Chandra Pal and resulted in various trials in 1908."

"I do not think we should allow Bipin Chandra Pal to stump the country preaching sedition as he has been doing"—wrote the Indian Viceroy, Lord Minto to Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India in April, 1907. But Bipin Chandra Pal could not be caught for sedition, the Advocate-General of Madras of the day declaring that his speeches, though highly inflammatory, were not seditious. Even Chirol made the significant admission that—"however incompatible with the maintenance of British rule may be the propositions set forth by Bipin Chandra Pal, they contain no incitement to violence, no violent diatribe against individual Englishmen."

Failing to prosecute him under the law for sedition, Lord Minto wanted to deport

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him. He wrote to Lord Morely in June 1907 : "I have just sent you a telegram proposing the deportation of Bipin Chandra Pal .....You may be sure that it is very much against my wish to press you unnecessarily for further suport in extreme measures, but Bipin Chandra Pal's behaviour has been monstrous, and it is the danger of it that we cannot ignore."

In fact, Bipin Chandra Pal did not preach sedition, he simply expressed the will of an enslaved people to be free. And the following excerpt from an article published in the "Bande Mataram" of September 8, 1906 (quoted in full in "The London Times") would show how frankly and without any ambiguity did he say it. He said :

"The time has come when in the interest of truth and civic advancement and the freedom of the people, our British friends should be distinctly told that while we are thankful for all the kind things they have done for us already, the sacrifices they have made to make our lot easy and their yoke tight, we cannot any longer suffer ourselves to be guided by them in our attempt at political progress and emancipation. Their point of view is not ours. They desire to make the Government of India popular without ceasing in any sense to be essentially British ; we desire to make it autonomous, absolutely free of British control."

He declared in a speech in Madras in 1907 : "Our programme is that we shall so work in the country, so combine the resources of the people, so organise the forces of the nation, so develop the instinct of freedom in the community, that by these means we shall—in the imperative—compel the submission to our will of any power that may set itself against us."

And he continued : "If you ask me to state in general terms what are the methods and the means, what are the instruments that will further this ideal of Swaraj in this country, my reply shall be that these means and methods are included under what is known in political science as the methods of Passive Resistance.....It means not resistance that is not active resistance but resistance that is not aggressive resistance. Passive resistance is not non-active but non-aggressive resistance. We stand upon our rights. We stand within the limits of law that we have still in the country. We shall respect that law as long as that law shall respect our primary rights which constitute the authority of every government—whether that government be a despotic government or constitutional government—rights which no government can create and which, therefore, no government can destroy.....As long as the law of this government shall respect our primary rights of life and person, of property and other similar primary rights, so long we propose ourselves to be within the bounds of law ; and passive resistance means resistance offered by a people from within the limits of such law.

"The broard applications of this method of passive resistance have brought out two or three special movements in India. One movement is the boycott movement. It is a movement of passive resistance. The other movement is the movement for national education ; and the third movement is the movement of organisation in our public life, building it up from the village life."

That was Bipin Chandra Pal, editor of the weekly 'New India', and the daily 'Bande Mataram,' (of which he was the first editor before Sri Aurobindo took charge) during the years 1902-1908,—a preacher of complete independence for India to be achieved by passive resistance.

His enforced exile in England during 1908-1911 saw a new change in his political outlook and thought. He became an advocate of a new type of internationalism —a Co-operative Partnership with Great Britain, her Colonies and Protectorates on the one side, and India on the other, based on perfect equality of status for all. The partnership in which, he emphasised, India would have to be given "the freest scope for self-fulfilment." While in London, he had an unusual opportunity of seeing the working of world forces, and he saw the evolution of the British Empire into a Commonwealth, almost prophetically, as a logical necessity. Such larger association if and when possible on equal co-partner-

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ship, would be preferable, he said, even to an isolated independence for India.

He returned to India in 1911, and threw himself once more into the Nationalist movement, but now with the distinct international outlook and emphasis. India itself, he said, should have a federal structure for its future national government, wherein the different communities and regions should have freedom, consistent with the unity and integrity of India as a whole, to develop themselves. As early as 1914 he sounded a note of warning against the dangers of political Pan-Islamism to Indian unity and nationhood.

Such were mainly the lines of the development of political thought of Bipin Chandra Pal from 1905 to 1930 or 1932.

But Bipinchandra Pal was no mere political thought-leader. Ramananda Chatterjee, as editor of the "Modern Review," once said that he had "of all Indian politicians the most thorough grasp of Indian sociology and civilisation." And though not a scholar of the usual common type, Bipin Chandra Pal has left us some books of Indian culture which are remarkable for deep insight and clarity of expression. His 'Soul of India', 'Study of Hinduism' (written during imprisonment), 'Sree Krishna,' 'Bengal Vaishnavism,' and 'Jailer Khata' in Bengali, may be mentioned in this connection. Besides, numerous philosophical writings still remain to be published in book-form.

He was a noted Bengali essayist also. He has given his interpretation of the movement of renaissance in Bengal in his book, 'Navayuger Bangla'. His Bengali autobiography, published in the 'Prabasi', is a record of the social, religious and political movements of his time. His 'Charit-Chitra' or character-sketches are an analytical study of the lives and activities of some of the makers of modern Bengal and India. He excels, perhaps, in philosophical writings in Bengali, particularly in his exposition of the philosophy and message of Bengal Vaishnavism. His articles in Bengali periodicals on politics, religion and literature remain to be published in book-form yet. For his services to Bengal literature he was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee to the Bengali Literary Conference in 1929.

Bipinchandra Pal was a journalist all his life. At the age of 22, in 1880, he started in Sylhet the weekly Bengali journal 'Paridarshak' : and the career thus begun in his native town, he retained till the end of his days. He edited the 'Tribune' in 1887-88, started 'New India' in 1901, and the 'Bande Mataram' in 1906, published the fortnightly journal 'Swaraj' in London in 1909, and founded the monthly 'Hindu Review' in Calcutta in 1912. He edited the daily 'Independent' and the weekly 'Democrat' in 1919-20, and the 'Bengalee' in 1924-25 ; besides he was a regular contributor to the 'Modern Review', the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' and many other journals.

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TAGORE AND ROMAIN ROLLAND—THEIR SPIRITUAL KINSHIP

By (Miss) USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

While speaking of the relationship between the East and the West, a Western Poet has said :

"East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet."

There is an element of truth in this observation of his, as will appear from the fact that, even after close contact with each other for about a couple of centuries, the real East still remains "unexplored" to the West. Due to this separatist mentality, the Western mind has failed to understand the Eastern, as yet. Tagore, who was a true disciple of Ram Mohan Roy, the first internationally-minded Indian, tried to get at the roots of things, so as to assess the position correctly. He rightly holds that the mere fact of accidental juxtaposition is of very little help in bringing about a perfect mutual understanding between the East and the West. In his opinion, this can only come about "through the spontaneous sacrifice made by those who have the gift, and therefore the responsibility." But our relationship with the Western people that we came in contact with, was mainly that of the rulers and the ruled. That had much to do with the attitude of the former, which was entirely lacking in the human element. Red-tape can hardly constitute "a common human bond." To us, therefore, the West only represents a passion for wealth and power, and is utterly devoid of imagination and sympathy that alone "can create and unite." The force underlying this passion involves a principle of 'Separation', and 'Conflict,' which merely serves as a rift. So Tagore opines that the East and the West "meet not merely in the fulness of physical strength, but in fulness of truth." He truly observes that "the right hand, which wields the sword, has the need of the left, which holds the shield of safety." According to him, the East and the West—two great hemispheres of the human world—will ever remain incomplete in themselves, unless they join hands in comradeship across the sea, each making up the inadequacy of the other. He says that "the East came to the West with the ideal that is creative and not with the passion that destroys moral bonds. The mystic consciousness of the Infinite, which she brought with her, was greatly needed by the man of the West to give him balance. On the other hand, the West must find her own balance in Science, the magnificent gift that the West can bring to her." Tagore is of the opinion that the East in collaboration with the West, has got a significant contribution to make to the common civilisation of the world. He observes that "the realisation of the unity of the material world" through science and commerce only results in giving us power, whereas "the realisation of the spiritual unity of mankind" alone can give us peace. Great minds being often akin, the need of securing "the spiritual unity of mankind" came home to Romain Rolland, too, who was not long in discovering a kindred soul in Tagore. Thus originated the spiritual kinship between these two great souls of the East and the West, which subsequently deepend into intimate personal friendship.

The friendship of Tagore and Romain Rolland, two intellectual giants of modern times representing the East and the West, is a unique one in the history of the modern literary world. The deep bond of spiritual affinity and brotherly fellowship, tying together these two kindred souls, bears ample testimony to the fact that the East and the West can actually meet and have ever "in search of each other" for the purpose of achieving their own perfection. Tagore and Romain Rolland were mutually attracted to each other. Each had the highest admiration for the personality as well as for the ideas and ideals of the other. Although their views on certain subjects differed widely, still they had much in common with each other. Both of them were seekers after truth, at all costs. They were bred in the best traditions of their own country, and were nurtured on the wisdom and culture of the past. But their out-look on life was not at all vitiated by narrow patriotism or the blind love of their country. Both of them judged things in

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of spiritual values, and were ardent lovers of humanity at large. They both longed for the peace of the world, and were great believers in the spiritual unity of mankind and world-fellowship. Their great love for humanity outgrew the barriers of race, caste, creed, language, traditions, and nationality. Both these great souls dreamt that the races, "belonging to different climates, habits, and languages" should be "drawn together not in the clash of arms, not in the conflict of exploitation, but in harmony of life, in amity and peace." Great musicians and intense lovers of music as they were, they both yearned after "the solemn music of the soul," in which all discord and dis-harmony dissolve themselves, the minds of both being attuned to the "eternal rhythm" of the beating of the universal human heart. Both of them were great artists in the true sense of the term. Not only did the beauty of nature, of line, form, and colour as well as of words and sounds—appeal to them, but the "beauty and dignity of the free spirit of man" also deeply touched them.

In 1916 Tagore paid a visit to Japan, being invited by its Government to deliver a course of lectures at the University of Tokyo. Those lectures were subsequently Published in a small volume, entitled "Nationalism." The Poet was deeply pained to see that the canker of aggressive nationalism and militarism had been eating into the very vitals of the beautiful civilization of the country. He denounced in scathing terms and with prophetic zeal the cult of nationalism, inasmuch as he thought that "with the growth of nationalism" man had "become the greatest menace to man." In his opinion, the advocates of nationalism "hold it to be their duty to foster in the popular mind universal panic, unreasoning pride in their own race, and hatred of others." Thus the greed, hatred, and violence of the warring nations, masquerading as patriotism and nationalism are constantly goading the "frenzined masses" to mutual slaughter and destruction. The Japanese were so much offended by those lectures of Tagore, condemning the aggressive spirit of so-called nationalism, that the reception they extended to him was anything but warm and cordial. As soon as Romain Rolland came to learn of those lectures, he had these translated into French and published. He was very highly impressed with the spirit of those speeches of Tagore, nationalism as well as with the spiritual personality of the Poet revealed therein. He at once recognized the voice of the East, proclaiming through its poet its eternal message of truth, peace, and good-will to the world at large. His eulogy and appreciation of those speeches embody themselves in his letter, dated the 26th August, 1919, addressed to Tagore, in which he writes as follows : "The reading of 'Nationalism' has been a great joy for me; for I entirely agree with your thoughts, and I love them even more now that I have heard them expressed by you with this noble and harmonious wisdom which—being your own—is so dear to us. It gives me profound pain (and, I might say, remorse, if I did not consider myself a human being rather than a European), when I consider the monstrous abuses which Europe makes of her power, this havoc of the Universe, the destruction and debasement of so much material and moral wealth of the greatest forces on earth which it would have been in her interest to defend and to make strong by uniting them to her own. The time has come to react. It is not only a question of justice, it is a question of saving humanity." After the first World War Rolland became more convinced than ever of the fact that "Europe alone cannot save herself" and that "her thought is in need of Asia's thought." He further observes : "These are the two hemispheres of the brain of mankind. If one is paralysed, the whole body degenerates. It is necessary to re-establish their reunion and their healthy development." Here Romain Rolland echoes the very thoughts and sentiments of Tagore, who was also a great believer in the union of the East and the West.

Like Tagore, Romain Rolland, too, advocated that the union of the East and the West "would not concern itself with politics, but with the treasures of thought, of art, of science, and of faith. Everything would be pooled in common." This is the very spirit which prompted Tagore to found 'Visva Bharati' at Santiniketan, the cherished dream of his life being to effect a synthesis of the different cultures of the world with a view to establishing a world-fellowship. This great idea and ideal of Tagore was highly applauded by Rolland, in whose opinion, too, "the union of Europe and Asia must be, in the centuries to come, the most noble task of mankind." But alas! their dream of the unity of mankind ever remained unrealised. Twice, during

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their lifetime, two great world wars were waged. The havoc and devastations wrought by those upon the countries of the world totally disillusioned them and shattered their hopes in the future of mankind as well. Romain Rolland was the more disillusioned of the two. His heart bled at the sight of the countries of Europe, laid waste by the scourge of war that stalked through those. He and Tagore, two weary and exhausted souls, were unable to make their voices heard in the wild tumult of strife and conflict that plunged the countries in a trail of ruin, destruction, and bloodshed. They kept closer together like two solitary giants, clasping the hands of each other and eagerly looking forward to the advent of a new era of universal peace and good-will, the paean of which they sang all their life. They were the men "above the battles" and as such, they were, as Romain Rolland puts it, "the greatest fighters, the eternal fighters." Their war knew 'no compromise' 'no truce', 'no treaty', it having no other peace of victory to expect than inward victory and peace, which they had to conquer and maintain "against all blows of destiny." As their universe was within them, it was for them "to discover its laws of divine harmony." Throughout the years of the Second World War, Rolland remained a voluntary exile from his motherland. Tagore, also, kept aloof from the political struggles of India, much to the resentment of his countrymen, although he never ceased to sympathise with their national aspirations. Rolland looked to the East for help and solace. He felt immensely relieved and reassured, when he found a ray of hope in the midst of the dark cloud of envy, greed, hatred, and violence, enveloping the Western world. It led him to seek refuge in Gandhiji's creed of truth and non-violence, as well as in Tagore's infinite faith in truth, universal peace, and god-will. He found the embodiment of his own ideals in these two great men of the East. In his letter to Tagore dated 2. 3. 23 he write as follows : "It may gratify you to know that your thought is the nearest to mine that I actually feel in the world, and that the soul of India, as expressed by your luminous spirit and the ardent heart of Ge... is for me a larger native land, in whi... limbs stretch themselves free from the bon... fanatical Europe which has bruised them."

When the plan for issuing a Declarati... Independence of the spirit was first co... and formulated by Romain Rolland along w... few other leaders of thought, the former s... the assent of Tagore to the same. The f... highly suggestive of his profound faith i... Poet, and his high regard for his ideals personality. The Declaration of Independe... the spirit in question is a proclamation o... boundless liberty of the spirit of man, ... transcends the barriers of race, caste, creed nationality, as will be borne out by the follo... words of it : "We serve truth alone whic... free, with no frontiers, with no limits, wit... prejudices of race or caste. Of course we ... not dissociate ourselves from the interests Humanity. We shall work for it, but for it ... whole. We do not recognise nations. We cognise the people—one and Universal—... people who suffer, who struggle, who fall rise again, and who ever march forward on rough road, drenched with their sweat and blood,—the people comprising all man, equally our brothers. And it is in order to them, like ourselves, aware of this frater... that we raise above their blind battles the ... of Alliance, of the Free spirit, one and m... fold, eternal." Such largeness of heart breadth of vision bespeak only great ... which have been likened by Rolland himself mountain peaks. To quote his own w... "Great souls are like mountain peaks. S... lash them ; clouds envelop them ; but on the ... we breathe more freely than elsewhere. In pure atmosphere, the wounds of the heart cleansed; and when the cloud banks part, gain a view of all mankind." Such was the with Tagore and Romain Rolland too. Th... why they both desired to "preserve truth peace" within themselves in a world lashed the storm of blind fury, hatred, violence, falsehood.

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A PRACTICAL PROBLEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA : ADMISSIONS

By A. LAKSHMANA RAO

To many institutions of Higher Education in India, selection and admission of students is no problem at all. They improvise, year after year, an 'on the spot' procedure determined to a large extent by the whims of the authorities and to some extent by the changing politics and policies of the State Government or administration at district levels. Considerable quotas are fixed by or on the advice of the Government for the members of the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes and Tribes, and standards of criteria in their case have inevitably to be reduced in order to enable a sufficient number of them to gain admission. With respect to other categories and classes, no doubt, the criterion of "merit" generally is followed, though that word itself is so elusive as to mean differently to different people, and to the same people differently at different times. The word is, therefore, conveniently left vague and undefined and is used more or less as an all-inclusive term. It may mean, for instance, the candidate's scholastic record and attainments, or his high socio-economic status, or simply a "chit" from a Cabinet Minister or some V.I.P. of an elevated rank recommending the applicant for admission to a particular course. The last mentioned is, of course, the most widely used and considered the surest criterion for judging "intrinsic" merit, and, in such cases where this criterion operates, all other criteria pale into insignificance and may even count for nothing. Criteria being so various, inconsistent and unscientific, and merit not understood at all or grossly misunderstood, one can hardly expect the practical application of criteria for selection and admission to be any more methodical, consistent or scientific.

Thousands of raw students are entering hundreds of educational institutions every year throughout India, and large numbers are leaving them after graduation; did it occur to any educationist at any time that it might be profitable to have an exact count of these numbers and systematic classification of them under certain heads—for instance on the basis of age, sex, socio-economic status, field of specialisation, and so on? Statistical data of that kind will yield a lot of information from which one can draw unerring conclusions on which the college administration could even base their long-term educational policies. In the U.S.A. enrolment data at both national and sub-national levels are obtained from many sources—annual surveys, and the Division of Statistics and Research Services of the U.S., Office of Education and the like. Such statistical data, together with attitudinal surveys, would tell us a great deal about the proportional distribution of students in Colleges and Universities in the fields of Humanities, Physical, Biological and Social Sciences, and professional subjects like Medicine, Engineering, etc., and would inform us on the changing attitudinal trends year to year. Regional differences, differences by sex, and socio-economic class could also be investigated from the annual figures. The survey information would also reveal the criteria and procedures adopted by authorities in the selection and admission of students into the respective fields of study and whether there was any rationale in such procedures, and whether the results have validated and justified them. If the final products are found to be of a very poor calibre, and the follow-up studies reveal that they are inefficient, one could reasonably conclude that there is something wrong somewhere in the working of the educational 'workshop' and 'machinery' itself.

Educational institutions in India of the older generation produced scores of giants among men in almost every field, in arts as well as in sciences; besides, the general standards of education, then, were much higher. But in the present age, Universities and Colleges not only are not able to produce men of the stature of Radhakrishnan, Raman or Ramanujam, but also their standards are very much poorer. We should ask the question—if we are honest to ourselves—why was it that the erstwhile temples of learning have now touched such a degradingly all-

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time low in their standards? Was it that the 'race' had degenerated and become poorer in intelligence and capacity? The answer is: decidedly not; there has never been, in India, any dearth of intellignence and capacity—there is only paucity of proper 'machinery' for utilising them; and proverty of the right kind of leadership. There is ignorance, prejudice, and inaction in the place of knowledge, wisdom and dynamic action. Men at the top, and leaders from top to bottom, are so much preoccupied with and steeped in politics that they have little time to bestow their attention on anything else. Politics certainly breeds politics, not education.

What shall we do then to be saved from the ultimate doom? My answer is that we should pause for a while before advancing any further, correct all the loopholes in the educational 'machinery', and then put in the right hands to work it methodically and systematically. If we do that, we need not bother about standards, for, is it not axiomatic that production standards will be low as long as the machinery is defective, and will automatically rise when the machinery is worked after being replaced or set right?

The question before us, then, in this: how are we going to set right our educational machinery? First and foremost consideration is proper selection and admission of students. What are the criteria we have to adopt for this? There can be no question that Ability should be the all-important criterion. It should be borne in mind, however, that eligibility is not the same thing as Ability. Though all 'ables' may be eligible, it does not follow that all eligibles must be able. Stricter standards must be enforced to determine ability than the mere satisfaction of the so-called minimum requirements. One cannot gauge the applicant's ability by merely looking at his scholastic record; that is only part of the picture. More important is the consideration whether the prospective student has the intellectual capacity to pursue the higher course and whether he has the interest, aptitude and drive to make a sustained effort. When he has none of these, mere scholastic achievement at a lower level will not automatically qualify him for admission. Proper selection and placement of students in the several courses of study in a College situation is as important as it is in the case of the placement of employees on jobs in an industrial situation. The policy of the selection-admission followed in Indian colleges has "any one for any course, given certain stan of past scholastic record in that course", pective of all other factors. Most of the the student life and career—maladjustm frustrations, and the consequent indiscipli could be directly or indirectly attributed to short-sighted policy. Not aptitude, interest capacity but certain "prestige" motives that impelling many of our young men to rush admission into certain "privileged", courses medicine, engineering, technology, and i again prestige that forces them to continue those courses and complete them! They ne have love for their profession nor loyality to They live only to mint and amass money, more money! Money comes, of course, in ways than by worth! What is true of medic engineering and technologies, is equally true many other fields. . . . except perhaps politi Any fool seems to thrive in politics now-a-da

Higher education in India, especially in last decade or two, had miserably failed. It not help at all in the healthy growth of the dividual and his whole personality. There is realisation that personality is not mere intel but also character; neglect of this fact has to an enormous mushroom growth of trunca personalities. In our educational systems main emphasis has always been on the intel aspect alone, the character or motivation aspect being almost completely ignored. Not was it ignored, but was also, though not direct discredited. Teachers are appointed solely on basis of their academic qualifications; t character and personality traits counted nothing and were rarely ever considered. infrequently, they are found to be men w little interest and drive, and also wanting integrity, honesty and sincerity. Not a few a them, again, are full of caste, class and polit prejudices. It is a well-known fact that person stricken with small-pox or any conta disease should at once be isolated lest he m infect people who come into contact with But I wonder what communicable disease is dangerous and worse than a corrupt and an balanced mind, which doubtless characteri many of the teachers in our Universities Colleges. Unscrupulousness, utter selfishness, honesty, hypocrisy and lack of integrity traits so common among college teachers n

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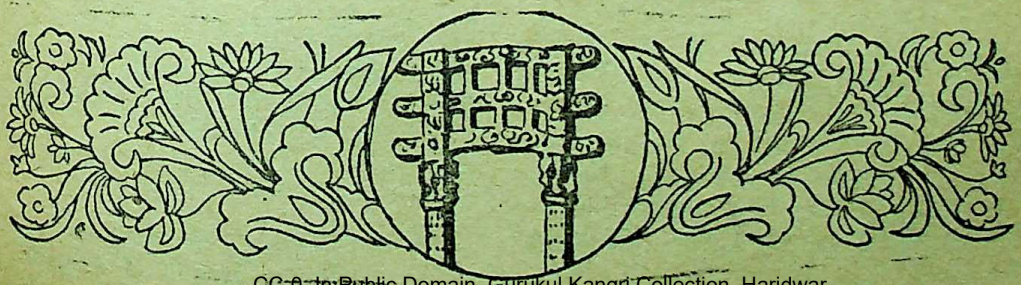
days that those qualities are considered as not only "Virtues," but signs of strength. Anyone lacking in those virtues is a weakling not fit to survive in this struggle for existence ! Yet, education enjoins on the teachers that they should set an example to students ! It is very doubtful that the teachers of this generation are setting any example to the students even in intellectual virtues ; it is certain, however, that they are taken as models by their students for their "Princely" virtues of the most abominable Macheavallian character ! Were not teachers of today but students of yesterday ? With little or no training, and nil experience, they are suddenly called upon to shoulder the heaviest of all responsibilities, that of teaching college classes. No wonder, the youthful college teachers of today are a more indisciplined lot—not so apparently perhaps—than even the student body. More often it is the teachers who communicate the infection to the students—though not consciously or deliberately—and the poison spreads all over !

Coming back to the burden of my song : how to check this rot ? First things are always first to be considered. Let strict and systematic procedures be adopted in the selection and admission of students to the various courses. It is our firm belief that not only 'intellective' but also 'non-intellective' predictors must be used in evaluating the applicant's ability. The intellective predictors are, of course, the scholastic record at the undergraduate and high school level, and in addition some aptitude tests which must be devised by the faculties for each subject and administered. In the U.S.A., they use standard tests ; somehow I am allergic to the idea of standardisation and mechanisation—dehumanisation, as it were !—of tests. I do not believe tests could be made, like mathematical scales, so rigid, inflexible and uniformly applicable. But I have no doubt in my mind, whatsoever, that besides the scholastic record, some means must be used to have a 'measure' of the applicant's aptitude and interest in the subject in which he desires admission. Sometimes an oral or a written test, and a brief interview will serve the purpose most effectively. 'Non-intellective' factors mean personality, character and other motivational traits, drive, attitudes and values. Predictors for these qualities are hard to devise ; nevertheless we cannot minimise their importance. It is these qualities which help the growth and development of the intellect in the right direction by setting before the individual proper goals, short-run, as well as long-run. A student without the right personality and character is like a boat without a sail and the rudder. He lacks the power to resist temptations and baser impulses, and will fall an easy prey to the evil influences around him which are ever ready to pounce on him and tear him to pieces.

In the U.S.A., evidence of ability of the student to pursue higher studies is evaluated in many ways. Harvard University, for example, takes into account the applicant's undergraduate record, his work in the subject in which he wishes to continue his graduate studies, confidential letters of recommendation submitted in support of the application for admission, specially those from the teachers who have instructed him in the subject, information obtained from interviews, membership in honorary societies, distinctions and honours with which his undergraduate degree was awarded ; extra-curricular activities ; and practical experience in his proposed subject, where relevant. Other Universities, with minor differences,—some use intelligence, aptitude and achievement tests—follow the same systematic procedures. If the Universities in the U.S.A. have been able consistently to maintain and uphold high standards and traditions it owes, not a little, to this strict adherence to procedures more than to anything else.



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INDIAN FARMS' PACKAGE PROGRAMME BACKS DEFENCE PREPAREDNESS

Two years ago the Government of India took the seemingly unusual step of undertaking to "enrich," agriculturally, seven districts in the country already richly endowed with Nature's bounties.

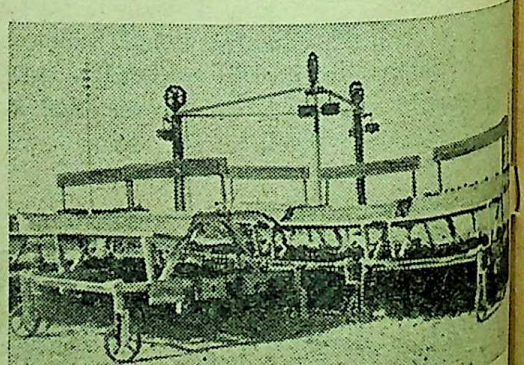
A Shahabad farmer, with his Farm Plan, standing in his rich paddy field.

Tanjore and West Godavari in the South, Shahabad in Bihar, Raipur in Madhya Pradesh, Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh, Pali in Rajasthan and Ludhiana in Pujab were well-known as granaries catering to the needs of their own and neighbouring States. These were selected for "Package" treatment.

Why were prosperous districts chos The reason is simple—to "maximise" a cultural production by making available farmers all their requirements and supp and services at the right time and in a quate quantities.

The starting point of the Pack Programme, short for Intensive Apricult District Programme, was the Produc Plan drawn up in consultation with cultivator himself. This took note of increase in production that was feasible the individual farmer's land and quantity of fertilizers, improved seeds, g manure, insecticides required to achieve also, the amount of financial credit nee After local scrutiny, the credit, partly kind and partly in cash, was advanced the Central Co-operative Bank.

Allowing for individual initiative, ev effort was made by the extension staff persuade the farmers to lend their land "Package" treatment. Composite dem strations were laid out in all the seven tricts on a larger scale.



Alpod threshers with "package" cultivat in the district of Aligarh.

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The Programme, launched in collaboration with the Ford Foundation envisages a fifty to sixty per cent rise in production in the selected disricts by the end of the Third Plan as against a 31.5 per cent additional output for the country as a whole. Striking increases in production have been achieved on demonstration plots in some districts. In Shahabad, the percentage increase rose from 49 to 244 while in West Godavari the additional output was 83%.

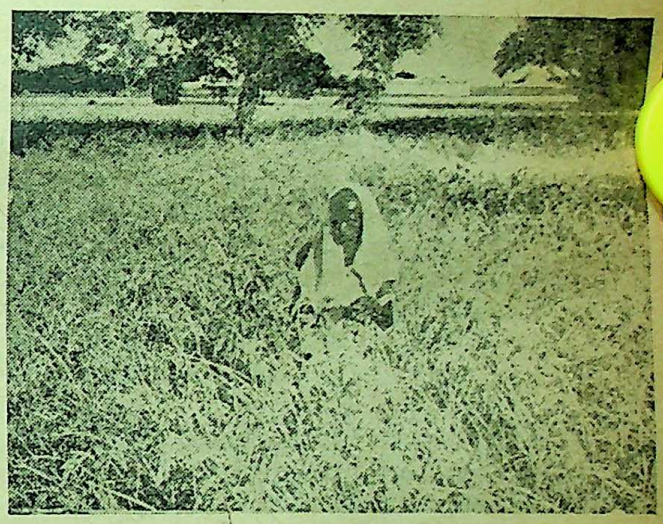
Out of the ultimate target of 140 blocks in the seven districts, 115 blocks have already switched over to the Programme. The cultivated area has increased sevenfold from approximately 3 lakhs acres in 1960-61 to over 22 lakhs acres now. Experts estimate that fertilizers and manures add 30 to 50% to the present production and improved seeds contribute another 5 to 15%. Considerable expansion in fertilizer demand has taken place in the Package districts. Within a year from 1960-61 nitrogenous fertilziers consumption, in terms of ammonium sulphate, rose from 54,000 tons to 90,000 tons and phosphatic fertilizers from 19,500 tons to 42,000 tons.

Encouraged by this success, the Centre has extended the Package Programme to Mandya (Mysore); Palghat and Alleppey (Kerala); Samblpur (Orissa) and Surat (Gujarat) from the Kharif season of 1962. Burdwan district (West Bengal) launched the Programme from the current Rabi season. Two other districts, Bhandara (Maharashtra) and Cachar (Assam) and six blocks in Jammu and Kashmir will enter the "operational" phase from thhe Kharif of next year.

The warm-hearted response of "the little man behind the plough" from Tanjore to Ludhiana bears out the success of the Programme. In the first year of the Project itself, in Kivalur, Tanjore, Panchayat Union Chairman Shanmugha Sundaram reported a 10% increase in foodgrain production. He himself secured the first prize in the State Crop Competition with his 8,430-pound crop of paddy in an acre.

Jairam Tiwari of Bishanpura in Shahabad, Bihar, has a similar story to narrate. He harvested 26 maunds of paddy as against 10 maunds a year earlier, and 300 maunds of potatoes as against 100 maunds yielded earlier.

Further west, Bhoop Singh, a sturdy scion of the soil from village Chauma in Alighar, is almost ecstatic in his praise for the "Package" deal. "I have been able to produce 37 maunds of maize per acre as against the usual 17 maunds," he says. He has grown American cotton, too—a bumper crop, the plants loaded with heavy balls breaking out into snowy fluffy cotton. "Maize and cotton, these will enable me to earn a net profit of Rs. 4,000 this year," Bhoop Singh says.



Bumper harvest in the "package" district of West Godavari.

It is not smooth sailing, however, at all stages. Rajagopalan from Kuttalam Block in Tanjore reports co-ryots tried to to dissuade him from taking the Extension Officer's advice and growing a new variety of paddy. Neighbours remarked "We told you so" when the new crop did not look so good in the beginning. Later the new variety more than made up and grew faster before the flowering stage. With a converet's zeal, the co-ryots came to Rajagopalan's theshing floor for the new paddy seed.

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Operations in progress in the "package" district of Ludhiana.

The present emergency has acted as a spurt to the activities in the "Package" areas. Farmers there have already put in their "extra" effort bringing under the plough every available bit of land. They are fully aware that the emergency has transformed the realisation of targets from a desirable objective into a "must". The words "All of us here realise that it is our duty to work hard and produce more, so that our country is not short of food at this critical juncture," often heard in these districts, echo this sentiment.

As a revitalising force I.A.D.P. has many facets. It has for instance, lent substance to the long time cry of "The Educated—Back to the Land". It tends to make agriculture as attractive as other vocations. A case in point is that of two of the three sons of Kishan Singh, last year's winner of the first prize in the Punjab State Crop Competition. Graduates of the Punjab University these young men have taken to scientific modern agriculture in their home village Jandiali.

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MODERN REVIEW FIFTY-THREE YEARS AGO

Transvaal Indians

We Asiatics are too apt to practice the policy of 'live and let live.' It will be long, perhaps, before we realise instinctively that a man owes a duty to the place and the community where he dwells, which can only be fulfilled by the exercise of full political powers and responsibilities. We are contented simply to let alone. To live in peace is, we imagine, the same thing as to be free. But the difference is writ large, for all of us to understand, in the humiliating dispute that has arisen in South Africa. If our people there had long ago demanded and insisted upon full citizenship, if they had voiced loud and vigorous opinions on every question that concerned the public interest, it is very difficult to see how their bullying fellow-citizens could have ventured to combine, for the overt purpose of chivvying them out of the Colony as mere intruders and interlopers. They do not venture to propose such a course with regard to Danes or Norwegians, or Swiss, though these are not members of races that form powerful factors in the concert of Europe. No Danes, Norwegians and Swiss become organic parts of the democracy of the Transvaal, immediately on their arrival in the colony. They never forget that a man, being a political animal, has a political duty, must play a political part, must breathe the air of responsibility, and must stand prepared with his own right arm to protect his women and his home, conscious of himself as a free man among free men. On these terms a man can walk free, even amongst a foreign people.

However woefully defective as we Asiatics may be, in the political sense, we make up for this by an added sensitiveness in racial matters. And our racial sensitiveness has been invaded in the Transvaal..... The Hindu, the Arab the Chinese and the Persian, with all our traditions and all our pride, are not good enough for a place in a common-wealth of persons whose ancestors ran about in the forests, painted blue, at a time when our forefathers were creating systems of philosophy, building the empires that have made the world as we know it to-day! At last the blood of the Transvaal Indians is up. They have received an insult that they understand. They are denied the one right that they appreciate—the right of peace and social courtesy. They prepare for struggle.....

The idea of retaliation at last occurs to Indians of South Africa. There is just one direction in which an active policy might be fruitful. Could the supply of Indian labour to the mines of South Africa be stopped? By all means, this ought to be done, not only for the sake of the Transvaal Indians, but for the sake of the poor labourers themselves. It is rather interesting to see the self-satisfaction of modern peoples over the supposed abolition of slavery. One would like to cross-examine a few of their leaders as to the difference between the slavery of the Confederate States of America before the War, and the coolie system in the British empire to-day. On which side will the balance of morality incline?.....

As to the future of the arrogant and unjust colnoy that has striven so consistently to cast them forth, what shall we say? Are gold and diamonds any substitute for spirituality and human kindness, and higher civilization? A more terrible curse could not be pronounced on South Africa than that she may have to lie on the bed that she herself has made.

("Modern Review," January, 1910).

The New Press Act

The administration of the new Press Act has now reached Calcutta. The nationalist organs knows as the **Dharma** and **Karmayogin** and an obscure printing press in the business quarters of the city, have been the first objects of administrative energy. The Bengali paper has been broken up by the refusal of or its managers the deposit of Rs. 2,000 which was

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demanded. The fate of the **Karmayogin**, however, as an English publication, will depend on the results of a trial, on a charge of sedition, with regard to a definite article, printed last Christmas day. Other prosecutions are rumoured as pending.

In London the Indian Civil Rights Committee have addressed a strong carefully worded protest to the Secretary of State, pointing out that legislation of this description ought at most to be of a strictly temporary character and should bear its temporary character on its face. The same question was brought forward in the Viceregal Council at Calcutta by Mr. Gokhale, in the debate which attended the introduction of the Bill.

For our own part, the point that strikes us as all important, is the spirit of statesmanship and self-restraint with which a law like this is put into force. Supposing that an emergency-measure seems, for one reason or another, overwhelmingly desirable, is it in the interest of the Government to point its new cannon at every mosquito? Is it wiser to show the world that even when armed with extraordinary powers it can be trusted to practice justice and moderation, or that it will take advantage of its position to the utmost for the suppression of all who differ from it, in whatever degree?....But laying these aside, and basing the enquiry on mere expediency, can there be any doubt as to the answer?

It is a well known fact, observed in many sciences, that a force of aggression always ends in creating an equal force of resistance. We impart our own strength to the man we fight. A gibe by Pope is all that remains, to preserve to posterity the name of a certain English Poet laureate. But this is a law which should be the special case of legislators to avoid. Even today, it is the restlessness and ubiquitous attentions of the police that give point and edge to each chance, so that our youths take fire, from sentences that were truisms and platitudes to our fathers. They would be wise if they could recognize this and cease to pursue the frank and manly critic down the steep path at whose bottom he may become the manipulator of a secret press.

Self-Education

We have to educate ourselves, both individuals and as a people. We have c... to understand that the revolutionary cycl... concerned, no longer for us, with the fam... but with the nation, the civic life and the national ideal. Taking the culture of ... family as it stands, we must be prepared ... turn our backs altogether upon it, sacrifice ... sweetness and abandon its ties if need be, ... the service of those larger and more pot... unities whose voices now call us. How ma... of us are willing to yield one member ... our home-circle to the task of natio... education? A man's life to become that ... one without a home? A woman's life to ... that of school-mother to village children... Only by such methods and such sacrifi... can the problem be worked out.

But there is also our individual educa... to be achieved. We have to pass from ... form of consciousness to another. A nat... has to do this. Mighty births demand gigan... heroes. The seat of the struggle is the in... vidual soul. Here we must understand th... all the subjects learnt in School or Coll... are only means of education, weapons, to... elements. The end of culture, self-develo... ment, is arrived at by the thought-hab... which we follow, with the aid and enlighte... ment of all these means. It is absorption ... the problems of science, scientific curios... scientific interest, scientific saturation, ... makes a man of science. At the same ti... all these alone, unless he has also the me... of knowing all that has been discovered ... others—will not suffice of themselves ... qualify him. But when he has **mastered** w... is known, it is the energy of his ... thought and observation working in adv... of the accumulations of others that ... alone make him competent to add to hu... knowledge. It is not what he learnt, but ... use to which he puts what he has lea... that really makes him efficient.

In the same way, it will be a cons... putting of the country first that will m... a man an effective nationalist. His ... Geography and Science are only his ma... tools or furnishings. Without these forms ... training he cannot do. Yet they are only ... beginning. The idea of India must becom...

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mode of thought, a sort of mental atmosphere, breathed in an out with every movement. India must be the motive of every decision, in preference to our peronal happiness. The good of India must be the goal of our each act, each effort, great or small. Education requires first the many influences, than the one. We have a hundred school masters, but only a single **guru**. Both stages are necessary. Men who are not accustomed to the universalising atmosphere of a single dominant thought, cannot hold their own in the world as educated men, no matter what schooling they have had. It is this which stamps most minds—Europeans to the full as much as Indian—as those of school boys. A man must have some cause to which he is devoted. He must catch the fluttering of the banner above him with every turn of his head. Absolute self-surrender to something greater than ourself is essential to fulness of culture. Even a glorified self-interest, as in the case of the late Cecil Rhodes for instance, as well as others who might be names, may by the unity of thought which it induces, create an illusive appearance of culture. This is really, however, spurious. Culture, like other human products, is above all, moral, and demands consecration and self-effacement. The ancient Indian mode of training is full of the means of the realisation of this. It is unnecessary, therefore, to dilate on the process. Only by following it, however, we may rest assured, only by accomplishing in our persons the transition from individual to national, can we so transform our country, that it shall appear in the eyes of the world as a nation of competent and cultivated men, adequate to the consideration of the problems of the age, and not as a crowd of ignorant rustics, possessed by quaint terrors and still more fantastic hopes. No one may care to help us to this, but when we have helped ourselselves, all alike must render their respect.

(The Modern Review, August, 1910)

Indian Budget Debate

According to custom the usual formality of a debate on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons was gone through last month. From Reuter's summary it would seem to have been a tamer and less informing affair than even its predecessors, inspite of the relieving feature of a larger attendance of members and the moving of a resolution condemning repressive legislation in India. . . . In the course of his speech Mr. Edwin Montagu, the Under-Secretary for India, "dwelt on the complexity of political questions in India. The present problem was to yoke a complex responsible system of Government to the democratic system of Great Britain which yearly shows more and more determination to undertake the responsibilities falling upon it."

That the British democracy takes an increasing interest in India is a good omen for both England and India. One, however, feels an irresistible desire to know to whom at present the Government of India is "responsible." Responsibility implies control. The Government is not responsible to the people of India either theoretically or practically. It is theoretically controlled by Parliament, but in practice this control is not and cannot be exercised . . . .

. . . . In this miserable world of ours what one party calls liberty another calls license, what one party calls effective criticism another calls sedition, what one party calls popular protection to industries, another calls incitement to race-hatred, what one calls mischievous reaction another calls reform, and so forth. Great Britain claims that she has taught us to value free speech, a free press and representative institutions. Is there in India "the right scope and opportunity to act and think" according to that education?

(The Modern Review, August, 1910)

A "Lingua Franca" for India

The question of a **lingua franca** for India has been discussed off and on for some years past. It would certainly be a great advantage, if there were one language understood and spoken all over India . . . .

Some English-knowing Indians think that English is already that language, at least it ought to be. But it is forgotten that after 150 years of British rule in India, out of a population of 203,414,906 persons, only

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1,125,231 are literate in English. Deducting from this figure the 256,707 Europeans, Armenians and Eurasians living in India, we get 868,524 Indians as literate in English. Not quite one million out or three hundred millions! And of these 9 lakhs the number of those who can express their needs or ideas in English with tolerable clearness and accuracy, must be very much smaller. So English cannot be our **lingua franca,** for at least a few centuries to come, by which time many unexpected things might happen.

The deepest and most sincere utterance of a people cannot but be in their mother-tongue. Next to the mother-tongue, one which is closely allied in origin, genius and spirit is to be preferred. A people accepting a foreign language as their common language cannot but become shallow in their character and devoid of originality. They cannot give to the world what God intended them to give.

For all these reasons English cannot become the common language of India. But all the same we have to learn English for three reasons, (1) political, (2) commercial, (3) educational.

(1) No such change in the political condition of India as would make the learning of English politically unnecessary, is within sight. So no Indan language can, politically speaking, take the place of English.

(2) For commercial transactions with countries outside India, no Indian language is of use. English is probably the most widely used business language of the world.

(3) The world's store of knowledge is not accessible to us through any Indian language. English, which we have to learn for other reasons, is our gateway to the world's knowledge too.

For these reasons it is desirable to learn English.

But as the majority or Indians do not or need not use English for political or commercial purposes, if they could acquire suffficient knowledge through the medium of any Indian tongue, and could also exchange their ideas with other Indians through that tongue, that language would stand the best chance of becoming the **lingua franca** of India. But at present no Indian vernacular satisfies these two co tions. Hindi in some form or other is most widely spoken vernacular, but far from being understood throughout I Bengalee comes next in order as regards number of those who speak or under it. On the other hand Bengalee is cer richer than Hindi in its literature and bably richer in that respect than any o vernacular. It is also simple in its gra and easy to learn. For these reasons, if non-Bengalee Indian wishes to learn a ve cular other than his own, Bengalee w give him a better and a quicker return his time and energy than any other pro cial vernacular. That more Bengalee b have been translated into other varnac than books in any of the latter is a proo the superiority of modern Bengalee li ture.

Let us run a friendly race, however, the next twentyfive or fifty years may some other vernacular outstripping all rest. The Indian of the future will probably be a bi-linguist. If so, what be his second language?

Or he may even be a tri-limguist. W then will be his second and third langua

We do not think any of the hi developed literary languages of India be extinct within any measurable dist of time. The **lingua franca** if ever ther one, will be an additional acquisition, it not oust these vernaculars.

(**The Modern Review,** August, 19

India, Lord Morley and Lord Minto

Writing on Lord Morley's India a nistration, the **Daily News** of London s

"The Indian Councils Act with its considerable foundations for reform unpalatable enough to the bureau school and the bureaucracy on spot have done what they can to d and prevert its carrying out. The Li school, on the other hand, cannot but r very sincerely his sanction of the dep tions and, no less, perhaps, his sanctio that very complete scheme of coercion is now being carried out by the Gover of India, and under which freedom o

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press, freedom of speech, right of public meetings, and the right of combination have completely disappeared."

If, as the **Daily News** says, "freedom of the press, freedom of speech, the right of public meeting" "have completely disappeared" from India or, to avoid any possible unconscious exaggeration, let us say disappered to a very great extent, in what light are we to take the newspaper estimates and eulogies of the Morley-Minto regime that we have been reading in the papers in India? What are we to think of the adulatory farewell addresses which have been heaped upon Lord Minto?

The exponents, in the press, of the Physical Force Extremists are now defunct ....The organs of the academic Extremists have also disappeared: a more liberal administration than the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy would have tolerated them. Repressive legislation has made the advanced wing of the Moderate party sing very small. The moderately Moderate papers still indulge in prayers for the removal of grievances in the guide of criticism. The extremely moderate journalists alone dare to lay bare their hearts,—hearts on which the surgeon may find on a post-mortem examination the facsimile of the adored feet of Lord Morley and Minto as, to compare things profane to things sacred, the holy name of Rama was found on the heart of the monkey-general Hanuman or, rather, as the breast of the God Vishnu bears the foot-print of the sage Bhrigu.

So, taking the most charitable view of the case, we may say that it is only one side of the shield that has been presented to us. The other side has still to be presented to us. But who will present it to us?

It has been said that the repression-cum-conciliation policy has been a great success. Time will show. And much depends, too, on the meaning of the word success. We, who have had the privilege, the honour and the pleasure (we hope this is the correct phrase) to live under the progressive and benign rule of Lords Morley and Minto, cannot properly judge of its quality. Whether real success has been attained or not, silence is the sign of contentment or of fright. One party says "we have been conciliated" it cannot be known with what sincerity or intelligence. And there is no other full articulate party . . . . As the fame of the Morley-Minto regime rests principally on the "Reform Scheme," our remarks will be directed principally to the measure. The consideration of any human action, to be complete, must include both the motive and the deed. But we must not discuss the motives of Lord Morley or of the men on the spot. We shall neither take it for granted that their motive was absolutely above reproach nor that they were bad. The first point to be considered is, does the Indian Councils Act with the Regulations more than outweigh "that very complete scheme of coercion which is now being carried out by the Government of India and under which freedom of the press, freedom of speech and the right of public meeting and the right of combination have completely disappeared?" (What of these the people still enjoy, they enjoy by sufferance of the Executive and the Police and not by virtue of unassailable legal right). Our deliberate opinion is that it does not. The repressive measures have deprived us of more valuable and a greater number of elements of a free and progressive civic life than the Indian Councils Act has supplied us with. And this they have done unnecessarily too.

The second point is has the "Reform Scheme" given us an embryonic form (for a full-fledged one we must not, it seems, even dream of having) of a representative Assembly with legislative and administrative functions, controlling the executive and dealing with all questions which are limited in their scope to India—a representative assembly, that is to say, which will gradually pave the way to a fully developed Parliamentary form of Government? .....

The third point is, do the "Reforms" help or hinder the growth of an Indian nation, do they or do they not promote national solidarity? The answer must go against the "Reforms."

The fourth point is, what have we gained by this Act?—a theoretical admission that in the Provincial Councils there should be a non-official majority. We say theoretical because a considerable number of the non-

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official members cannot but be of such a type that their votes the officials are always sure of to gain their object.....These are, as far as we can see, the chief gains.

The fifth point is what harm and wrong has the Act done us? (1) These Reforms will prevent even the consideration of any real reform for years to come. (2) Against the practice and principle of representation recognised in the most politically advanced countries, the Reform Scheme introduces the retrograde, reactionary and mischievous principle of representation by classes and religious sects. . . . (3) The Scheme creates a favoured class and humiliates all non-Mussalmans by relegating them to the position of an unimportant class who were conquered at first by the Mahommedans and then by the British, but who never had any political or other greatness to boast of . . . . (4) It falsifies history (5) It gives the right to vote to very poorly qualified Mussalman, but denies the right to non-Mussalmans possessed of very much higher qualifications and (6) it has driven a wedge between class and class, particularly, Hindus and Mussalmans.

(The Modern Review, December, 1910).

Sir William Wedderburn's Mission of Conciliation

Sir William Wedderburn's mission to bring about better feelings between Hindus and Mussalmans has the support of the Aga Khan and Syed Amir Ali. The latter has prepared a memorandum on the points on which, he thinks, both parties should agree. The last point mentioned by the Syed runs as follows:

> 'As the Mussalmans are in a minority and are often unable to secure, in spite all good will, adequate representation on representative bodies, such as local and district boards and municipal corporations, recognition of their claims to communal representation on a fair and equitable basis.'

Or in other words, there should be a complete cleavage between Moslem and non-Moslem from village unions up to the Viceregal Council. Even the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme with its open favouritism does not go so far. No patriotic Indian endorse such a separatist proposal. M or non-Moslem, whoever will agree to a proposal, will be acting the part enemy to his own community as well the country at large. It is far better th some years a community should go unrep sented owing to its educational backness or other cause, than that it sh obtain representation at the sacrifice prospects of ultimate national solidarity of the principle of election of the fittes

Again it is not true that on the Mussalmans have not a fair representa on local bodies. In some provinces fair, in some (in the United Provinces instance) they have more than their share, in some they are inadequately re sented,—of course in every case on the of numerical strength. It would be bes Mussalmans, under these circumstances try to gain their object by progress in ed tion, capacity and non-sectarian public s and patriotism than by following Mr. A Ali's separatist policy. It will not d play into the hands of the opponents Indian nationalism.

The Gaekwad of Baroda said in a re speech in London that the feelings betw Hindu and Moslem in India were not re so strained as they were represented to This observation is perfectly true. Am the educated people party feeling has b fomented by the separatist policy and am the uneducated, fanaticism, worked upo designing men, produces "religious" ri The normal relations between the two c munities are not wanting in cordiality. ought not to allow any body, Hindu, Mus man or Christian, however exalted his p tion, to destroy cordiality of feeling am us for any reason whatsoever.

In this connection we quote below Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's letter, wri owing to his absence from the farew banquet given to Sir W. Wedderburn London. It contains the soundest polit advice to Indian Moslems. And as Blunt is known to be one of their sincer friends, we hope they will give it t best consideration.

Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt wrote would have given me the greatest plea

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to do honour in any from to Sir Willam Wedderburn, and especially now that he is returning to India as President-elect of the National Congress. No Englishman, in my opinion, deserves so well of India, or has worked for her so persistently or so successfully. If I had been able to be present at your entertainment, I should have liked to have added my voice to those who seek to awaken the Mahommedan community of India to a sense of the necessity there is for them, if they would share the full advantages of the coming self-government of their country, to hold aloof no longer from the Congress movement, which has already obtained so much in the direction of freedom from foreign domination, and which in the near future will certainly obtain for India more. Their abstention twenty years ago may have been then excusable in view of the attitude of their fellow-Moslems in Turkey, Persia and Egypt who have all declared themselves in favour of free institutions; a persistence in that abstention can hardly be other than unworthy and unwise.'

(The Modern Review, January 1911)

Sir William Wedderburn's Presidential Address

The tone of Sir W. Wedderburn's presidential address at the last Congress was unexceptionable. A few points in his speech, however, require some comments. He said that the King-Emperor Edward's promise of the "steady obliteration of race distinctions in making appointments to high office" has been given effect to by Lord Morley's appointment of Indians to his own Council and to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Local Governments. That these appointments have been made is true, and it is not necessary to underestimate their value. But the point is, whether of the total number of high appointments already existing or being continually created, the Indian share has remained the same, has increased, or has decreased? Will any body in a position to do so call for or prepare a return? We have misgivings on the subject. We find an uninterrupted stream of raw British graduates being appointed to the Indian Educational Service week after week, the only exception being the appointment of Babu Rajendra Nath Sen to a Chair in the Sibpore Engineering College.

Sir W. Wedderburn seems to think that the Extremist propaganda and methods have produced nothing but crime and suffering which, of course, every sane man must condemn and deplore. But we think it is worth investigating whether the presence of the Extremists in the country did not give rise to or at least stimulate the desire of the Government to rally the moderates (Lord Morley's phrase) by reforms and concessions. It would seem that though the Extremists have themselves suffered, their wickedness and excesses have obliged the Government to appreciate the worth of the Moderates hitherto pining away in the cold shade of neglect. Another indirect result has been a thorough discussion of what ought to be the political ideal of India. A third indirect result is the conviction produced even in the minds of the Extremists themselves that they cannot make India independent by physical force . . . . We only want men to think on the subject.

Sir William advocated the doing of Congress work by united effort. The three divisions of this work are, according to him: (1) Constructive work in India, educating and organizing public opinion; (2) Representations to the Government of India regarding proposed reforms; and (3) Propaganda in England. . . .

We are not blind to the fact that under present conditions, produced by the repressive laws regarding the press and public speaking and by the methods of the secret police, it has become very difficult and risky to do any political preaching among our countrymen. In England you are free to work on constitutional lines, so long as you can spend money to obtain the services of lecturers, writers, etc. This would, perhaps, necessitate our confining our attention to the work in England for the time being.

(The Modern Review, February, 1911)

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SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN THEORIES OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

Prof. PRIYATOSH MAITRA,
Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta

Modern Theory of Economic Growth is based on Keynesian Economics. And the source of Keynesian Theory is the Great depression of the thirties. This depression is the culmination of long standing disequilibrium between demand and supply. The disequilibrium gradually brings into existence the acute problem of unemployment. This disequilibrium results from economic inequality and economic inequality is a characteristic of an unbridled capitalist economy. And threfore, if capitalism is to survive, it must adopt the policy of public investments and a suitable taxation policy to eliminate economic inequality. This in brief is the approach of Keynes to economic crises and how to forestal them. Keynes feels that the Say's Law has become obsolete in these days of economics of monopolistic concentration. Say's idea of the automatic establishment of equilibrium between demand and supply through the interaction between free and competitive forces of demand and supply proved a 'boomerang' to Say' himself when in the latter part of the 19th century a mild economic crisis took place in European Economy through the maladjustment of demand and supply resulting from the growth of monopolistic concentration in the capitalistic economy. At this time the State took resort to the passing of some labour legislations some sort of Antitrust measures with a view to creating an environment where equilibrium between demand and supply would automatically be established. But the measures proved inadequate when because of the weakness of monopoly capitalism two Great World Wars and the Great Depression of the 30's in between took place and showed that capitalism of the 20th century can not survive without the help of the Third force represented by the State. Huge production resulting from the increased inves... flowing from growing monopoly capita... did not obtain markets because of ca... list exploitation on the one hand and ... centration of wealth on the other, and ... disequilibrium between the demand ... supply became acute. Hence Keynes sug... that the State should step in with a ... gramme of public works and public in... ment to act as a third force to fill up ... gap between the two forces, demand ... supply.

Keynes took these crises as short t... ones and thus suggested short run meas... to face the crises. But Hansen follow... Keynes gave a long theory of stagna... But unlike classical economists he was o... mistic about the future of the capita... economy.* Dr. Higgins wrote about h... "He presented the bright vision of a s... yet growing capitalist economy and arg... only that the achievement of such ... economy required appropriate monetary ... fiscal policies." Though optimist as ... was, Hansen did not look to the other ... of the problem. And this was the asp... on the one hand, of the accumulation ... huge production potential in the hand... the capitalist world after the Second W... War and, on the other, the contra... markets and the field of investment of ... huge productivity due to the rise of na... alist states in the East resulting from ... abolition of colonialism. Harrod-D... realised this problem. Two events h... influenced the modern theory of gro... One is the fear that since with the gr... of income the propensity for saving ... increased enormously and the investm... opportunities in the advanced capita... countries are being exhausted, there is e... to be stagnation in the near future. ... the other is the international situation ... conflict with communist countries as ...

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as with themselves, for the market has made imperative to think that without the possibility of continuous growth in these countries, capitalism would face its doom in the very near future.

Keynesian Theory was related to the short-run and periodical economic crises inherent in the capitalist economy. And the Post Keynesian economists developed their theory, relating to the long-run stagnation in the economy which was based on the short-run theory of Keynes, and this new approach contributed to the rise of the modern theory of Growth. It is, perhaps, needless to say that this modern theory of growth is not applicable in cases of stagnation in the underdeveloped economy. However, it has been pointed out that the modern theory of growth is the outcome of the crisis and contraditions of the present day capitalist-economy. The present day crisis of the capitalist economy has raised a pertinent question as to whether it is possible to raise income without creating long-run stagnation or inflation.

Hansen's theory of stagnation originated at the time of the Great Depression of the Thirties and the New Deal. According to Hansen in a matured capitalist economy net saving with full employment and investment grows but full employment with net investment does not grow and hence the maladjustment.

Whereas according to Harrod-Domar, Growth of capital is an important factor from the point of view of economic development and the investment of this capital has got two aspects; both these are equally significant for economic development. Herein lies the contribution of Harrod-Domar's approach. Previous economists considered the phenomenon from one aspect.

Classical economists considered only the aspect of increased productive capacity and of the growth of capital and did not look to the demand side closely associated with it, although at that time the aspect of increased productive capacity was much more pressing. Because, capitalism was at that time away from reaching its maturity and the condition of full employment within the resources of the economy as a whole was yet to be achieved and naturally the problem of want of demand was not there; rather there was a tendency towards increased opportunities for employment through increased investment of capital. But the growth of the free and competitive capitalist economy resulted into the increased concentration of capital in few hands and growing economic inequality leading to a huge gap with vast production on the one hand and lack of purchasing power on the other and, thus, it was not possible to maintain full equilibrium between demand and supply.

And according to the Marxist School the inherent limitations of the capitalist economy was responsible for the failure on the part of this economy to maintain equilibrium between demand and supply. In other words, the increasing urge to earn more and more profit and the desire to have all the economic resources concentrated in few hands have been gradually deceiving the largest and the most active factor in the process of production.

As a result, supply has been gradually denied of its demand because of the increased impoverishment of the working class. Then the huge capital thus accumulated was being exported beyond the boundaries of the mother country to capital-deficient countries. with a view to earning more profits. But the economic growth of these countries in the twentieth century has led to the crisis of stagnation in the economy of those countries of matured capitalism. And thus in Keynesian approach, stress has been laid on the problem of want of sufficient effective demand whereas, in that discussion the long run problem of increased productive capacity resulting from the increased investment passed off unheeded. This is, perhaps, due to the fact that at the time of Keynes's theory, this latter mentioned problem did not become so acute. But in the post Second World War era, rise of more communist countries and establishment of independent nationalist states in countries of Asia and Africa, have resulted into the contraction of markets of the capitalist industries of the developed countries. On the other hand, in the latter countries, disequilibrium between demand and supply became acute with the growing economic inequality in the economy.

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Hence Keynes after the 30's depression, warned the capitalist economies saying that one of the conditions of the survival of capitalism was to lessen the degree of economic inequality and thereby to keep the effective demand steady. Professor Domar, too, being afraid of the effect of the movement of capitalist economy said that excessive investment would decline with the excessive accumulation of capital and thus depression would result. Harrod and Domar therefore said, "This economy should move faster and faster to stay in the same place; otherwise it would slip downwards." According to Domar rise and expansion of monopoly affects the improvement and modernisation of techniques of production. And consequently opportunity of investment and employment decline rapidly. Thus commences crises.

Increased capital accumulation inevitably leads to crises in a capitalist economy because of the gradual shrinkage of the scope of their profitable investment in that economy and also due to contraction of the foreign markets with the growth of the economy of these countries. The principal theme of the Harrod Domar Theory is that the investment is the central point of steady growth because investment causes income and enhances productivity which further augments production or creates further employment and thus results into crises due to the limitation of the capitalist system to absorb these production forces or production. In other words, according to Harrod Domar model, it becomes impossible to maintain equilibrium between actual rate of growth and warranted rate of growth. Thus if Gn exceeds Gw inflation ensues and if vice versa, deflation takes place.

In this way we see that the Post Keynesian long-run and dyamic theory follows from the Keynesian short-run static approach to crises.

Keynes's warning against long-run dangerous reaction in the 'laissez faire' economy and Prof. Hansen's stagnation thesis made the Post-Keynesian writers optimistic about the creation of a condition for dynamic growth with full employment but without inflation. Sir Roy Harrod, the pupil of Lord Keynes, hence wrote, "To serve full-employment in the short-period with regard to ... may be necessary for securing a steady ... of progress, is short-sightedness!" (To... a Dynamic Economics P-74) Domar, ... pupil of Hansen worte: "My work on gr... began in his (Hansen's) class . . . . and ... investigation of this puzzle (Hans... theory of a constant rather than a ... income) . . . . led to other essays." (E... on the theory of Economic Growth).

In Keynes's Savings-Investment Th... creation of the static equilibrium condi... with full employment but wthout pos... rate of production has been stated. ... thesis of Keynes was the source of ... Post Keynesian theory of dynamic ... steady growth.

Thus basing on Keynesian theory of sh... run savings-investment theory the ... Keynesian writers began to study the po... bility of the creation of condition of dyna... equillibrium with a positive fixed rate ... production with full employment. Thus ... is seen, the difference between the sta... equillibrium of Keynes and the Post Key... sian approach of long run equillibrium ... only a step. That is, if real income at ... employment is to increase at the posi... fixed rate of production, or productivity is ... increase at the same rate of effec... demand, in other words, if balance gro... without inflation or deflation is to ... attained, rate of investment and sav... must be equal. This shows that the acce... ration principle of Keynesian savings-inv... ment theory has been added to that of inco... growth at the optimum rate. It may also ... said that Prof. Domar has combined Key... sian multiplier principle with the class... production function in order to bala... between demand and supply in a grow... economy with full employment.

In the Keynesian theory of short per... condition of supply, has been regarded ... static and an emphasis has been laid on ... expenditure reducing or demand reduc... aspect of the savings, whereas in the Po... Keynesian theory in contrast the capa... creating aspect of the investment and ... resource releasing aspect of the savings ... been greatly emphasied. And in ... way, classical concept of these fundame... factors influencing the supply side in an ...

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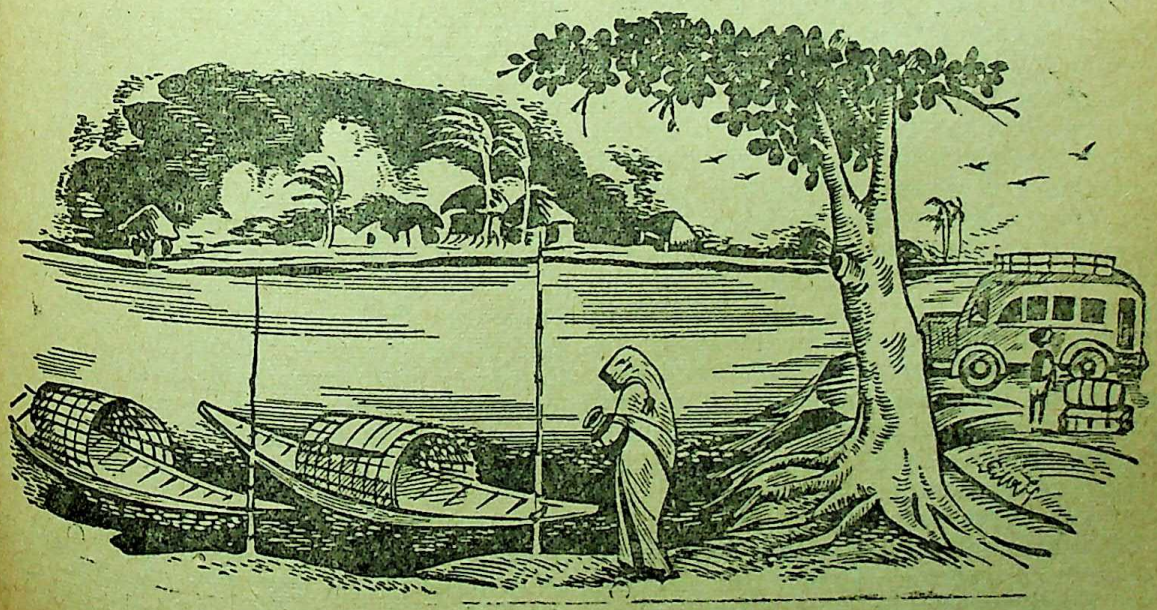
panding economy has been revied. Because the moment the condition of supply is included in the discussion, the factors of capital accumulation, technological progress, growth of population and other enterprenurial factors are to be cnosidered. However, Post Keynesian writers think differently from the classical writers. According to Post-Keynesian economists, for the sake of balanced growth demand can not automatically adjust itself with changed conditions of forces of demand and supply. From this point of view, Post Keynesian economists are fundamentally in agreement with the Keynes's opposition to Say's theory of supply creating its own demand and thus maintaining equillibrium to entail a self-adjusting economy. Not only this, they are also in agreement with Keynes's long run policy i.e., the policy of cumulative saving through budgetary surplus via social control and not of social ownership of the means of production.

In the famous Keynes plan, Keynes's expressed views on the scope of applying his savings-investment theory in the work of post war reconstruction and development of the world and the desirability of implementing such an application by the establishment of an "International Bank for Reconstruction and Development." According to Keynes balancing of the propensity to save of the rich countries with the propensity to invest in the poor countries could bring maximum welfare to both. Keynes was aware of the weakness and contradiction of present day capitalism and hence he propounded that instead of the previous system of laissez faire movement of capital, a planned investment of surplus capital of rich capitalist countries in the poor countries would be able to steer the rich countries away from crises. Dr. K. Kurihara wrote "Instead of letting the laissez faire international movement of capital determine the accidental development of capitalpoor countries, or of letting the colonial powers propitiate the unbalanced growth of money crops (ie., rubber, sugar, coconut oil and other primary commodities and raw materials, entering the countries industrially underdeveloped) in the colonies, and dependent countries, Keynes wanted to see a World Bank extend developmental loans to the capital-poor coutries on a technical and-political basis."

This reveals the real character of the Western Aid Policy in the underdveeloped countries and the limitation of the modern theory of growth.



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BOOK REVIEWS

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Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*. should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review.*

A FORGOTTEN EMPIRE : VIJAYANAGAR. By Robert Sewell. Publication Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting. Delhi, 1962. Pp. 407. Rs. 4.50.

The story of the rise and fall of the Empire of Vijayanagar is of surpassing interest to students of Indian history as it formed the largest and the most powerful Hindu empire at the beginning of the mediaeval (mis-called the Muslim) period of our annals. In fact, it fulfilled its great role as a bulwork of Hindu civilisation against militant Islam in the land to the south of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra rivers for nearly two centuries (c. 1336-1665 A.D.). The destruction of the capital city by the combined forces of the five Sultans of the Deccan, which was followed by the dramatic collapse of the Empire, was so complete that its history has to be recovered in recent times by the patient labours of scholars, both Indian and European. In this process of recovery the lead was taken by R. Sewell, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service from 1868 to 1894, and one of the recognised authorities on South Indian epigraphy and numismatics in his time. In the work under notice which originally appeared in 1900 he published the first English translation of two newly discovered Portuguese manuscripts deposited in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris and containing the most authentic account of the great Hindu empire by the two Portuguese chroniclers Domingos Paes and Fernao Nuniz. Furthermore, he first attempted a reconstruction of the history of the g Empire from its rise to its downfall u the first two dynasties and its slight re under the third dynasty. During the sixty years Vijayanagar studies have b enriched by the researches of a numbe Indian scholars among whom we may m tion S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, K. A Sastri, N. Venkataramanayya and T. Mahalingam. But the history still rem obscure at many points because of scantiness and conflicting nature of sources. Thus the work of Sewell still re its high value as a source-book not because it contains the only English tran tion of the two Portuguese chronicles ab mentioned, but also because it poses m of the problems which have not been so up to now. The National Book Trust w is sponsored by the Government of I has, therefore, been well advised in repr ing this work with all its valuable m and plans and its appendices. These contain succession-lists of kings of the t dynasties of Vijayanagar, genealogies o Bahmani Sultans and their three important successor dynasties of Bij Golconda and Ahmadngar and a succes list of Portuguese viceroys and governo Goa from 1505 to 1568.

U. N. Ghosh

UNDER THE SHELTER OF BAPU: *Balavant Sinha. Navajivan Publishing H Ahmedabad-14. Pp. 227. Price Rs. 3.50.*

This book was first published in Hind

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1956. The English garb of the book has been suitably abridged taking care that it loses nothing of its original value.

The author of this book was originally a soldier in the British Indian Army who first heard about Mahatma Gandhi in 1919 and was finally attracted to this great personality and had associated with Bapuji for 25 years of his life. His life of gross iron was turned into pure gold by the touch of that Great Soul and these reminiscences brings into broad relief the wonderful methods of Gandhiji to train up men and women for the national work of liberation which he undertook for his mother India and humanity. Many letters of Gandhiji have been given in translation which shows his minutest and deep insight into human nature. Here was a combination of mightiest intellect with softest of human heart full of kindness, sympathy and absolute dependence on God.

The book has been divided into 31 chapters and gives a lot of particulars of working of Sabarmati Ashram and Sevagram Ashram besides giving glimpses into the lives of many personalities and associates of Gandhiji. Acharya Vinova has written a foreword for this volume.

DIALOGUES WITH THE GURU : *Compiled by Mr. R. Krishnaswami Aiyar. Published by Chetana Limited, Bombay. Pp. 181. Price Rs. 5.00.*

The book is a record of the talks with His Holiness Sri Chandrasekhara Bharati Swaminatha (1892-1954) late Sankaracharya of Srigari Matha The conversations took place between 1925 and 1927.

Altogether 12 talks are recorded in this book and each given in a separate chapter, viz., Hinduism, Modern Education, The Means of Happiness, Fate and Free-will. The Legal Profession, Marriage Reform, Religious Neutrality, Religious Propaganda, The Utility of God, The Sandhya Worship, True Devotion and The Advaita.

The reader will find from these talks a universal man loving ond guiding high and low, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, Hindu and non-Hindu, sceptic and believer.

Prof. Paul Masson-oursel of the Sorbonne, Paris, in his introduction to this book rightly says "this mannual, which places the purest traditional knowledge within the grasp of modern Hindus should also be a matter of keen interest to India's Western friends, for it is disseminations of this kind alone that can prevent its civilization, with its so rich past and so rich future, from foundering in a chaotic humanism."

We have no doubt readers of every walk of life will find in these talks a practical guide for the solution of their religions, as well as, secular problems.

TWO MEMORABLE TRIALS OF MAHATMA GANDHI : *Compiled and edited by Mr. R. K. Prabhu. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14. Pp. 86. Price Re. 1.25.*

Gandhiji returned to his motherlond from South Africa in January 1915, and during the thirty-three years of life left to him he was thrice called upon to face regular trials before courts of law, first before a District Magistrate in Bihar, second, before a Bench of the Bombay High Court for contempt of court and, third, before the Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad for promoting "sedition."

The first case against him was withdrawn unconditionally and in the second case (March, 1920), he was told that he would be pardoned if he tendered apology to the court in terms drafted by the court, but, Mahatmaji declined. The Chief Justice and his two colltagues severely reprimanded him and cautioned him as to his future conduct and Gandhiji viewed the result of the trial as "an almost complete vindication of Civil Disobedience."

In the third trial (March, 1922), the most memorable of all three trials, perhaps the most memorable in the political history of India under British rule, barring that of Lokamanya Tilak, with which the judge himself likened it, in sentencing Gandhiji to a like term of imprisonment, namely, six years, as was awarded to the Lokamanya.

Besides the obove Gandhiji had to undergo "detentions" without any trial whatsoever for short and long periods, in jails and other places five times, the last being during World War II.

Mr. Prabhu has done a service by presenting in these pages the landmarks of the struggle which tht Father of the Nation waged against the British Rulers of the day to win freedom for India. The book is well documented and deserves a wide circulation.

A. B. Dutta

WHITHER INDIA ? . . . :*A symposium. Published by S. Ramkrishnan, Executive Secretary, Varatya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, for the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, New Delhi.*

The book under review is a collection of some articles which appeared in *Gandhi Marg*, a quarterly journal, devoted to promoting a study on Gandhi. Let me hope that sustained efforts, such as these will keep alive the idealism in some quarters. Today the picture is no happy one ; and one of the contributors has well said, 'The

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presentiments of Gandhi's last days have become the facts of subsequent history. We find ourselves amidst a moral break-down today. We have suffered loss of character.' For people, who are categorically charged of 'loss of character' by their trusted brothers-in-faith, to indulge in stilted talks of 'great human goal of social and economic equality', etc., as Mr. Nehru has done is, to say the least of it, amusing.

J. B.

KANGRA PAINTING OF THE BHAGAVATA PURANA : *By M. S. Randhawa, D.Sc., I.C.S., 96 pages of text, 20 colour-plates and 10 monotones. Published by the National Museum of India, New Delhi, March, 1960. Price Rs. 30.*

Mr. Randhawa has added another feather to his cap and presented a group of new documents for the students of the Kangra School. This new data is confined to one topic, namely, the illustrations of the *Bhagavata Purana.* This series of illustrations have been beautifully represented by 20 colour-plates on large scale and described in full page commentaries, with citations of the text printed in *nagari.* It is, therefore, a more valuable aid than a mere picture album though the pictures reproduced easily supersede the commentaries. The paintings fall into several groups—the most closely related are the plates 13 to 16, and evidently the best in the collection—in their lyrical charm. The author dates the whole collection between 1790 and 1806 synchronising with Sansar Chand's reign (1775-1823) which was cut off by the Gurkha invasion (1805-1809). Stylistically the plate XVII : Salvation of Sudarsan, which Archer had provisionally dated at 1785, is not in the full-fledged Kangra idiom, and may be of the earlier stage which Moti Chandra has classed as "Pre-Kangra." It is unfortunate that no definite clue is available as to the date of these paintings or the names of the painters. On the evidence of Baden Powell, they are ascribed by guess work, to an artist named Purkshu, one of the Court artists of Sansar Chand. Excepting the common idiomatic conventions of the Kangra School,—there is no stylistic unity (excepting the plates 13 to 16)—on which the whole group could be assigned o one single painter, so divergent are the manners and mannerism of the specimens cited. One outstanding characteristic is the emphasis on dramatising and story-telling at the expense of lyrical presentation. This is best demonstrated by the picture of quelling of Kalia Naga (Plate IX), which in its prosaic cinemotographic presentation represents different stages of the gestures of Krishna, as he dives into the pool. In this cheap stunt, the picture is miles behind the m cent and poignant presentation of the to the celebrated specimen in the Metro Museum, New York. But we need not about the uneven aesthetic merits of the rent pictures. This group of illustrations *Bhagawata* will be a great boon to our masses (80 per cent of our total populati whom the teaching of the Bhagawata—w in the original text, or in the vernacular of the *Prem-Sagara*—are all but closed From this respect the Kangra illustrator this great Vaishnava *Saga* throw a great lenge to our celebrated commentator Sri Swami, who failed to make the text acce to those who can neither read Sanskrit or H Incidentally, this demonstrates, what va aids to education are provided by the pr of our pictorial artists, as instruments of e tion, persistently neglected by our Ministr Education. This book should be in every s and college and bring knowledge without and fetch wisdom with delight.

Surya Pratap Shah

A great lover of art passses away

On the 21st December last died, at the co tively young age of 49 years, a noted citiz Varanashi, Sri Suryya Pratap Shah, son late Sitaram Shah, the well-known collecto Indian painting. In Free India, our new ci ship has called for many new qualification which the most important is the connoisse of art. And Surya Pratap Shah had deve as a great connoisseur of Moghul Painting which the finest collction in India has be family heirloom of the Shah family. This member of the family, whose death has widely mourned, both in Varanashi and a cutta, had carefully studied the masterpiece his family collection which he could cri understand and appreciate and could explain beauty and significance as historical docum many visitors, Indian and foreign, who fre called at his house which, on account of treasures, has been a great show-place famous city. And Suryya Pratap loved to w at his house any visitor who wished to se collection. Citizens of Calcutta will re with pleasure the great exhibition of Painting which he had arranged in Febru at the Hall of the Academy of Fine Arts in boration with Lady Ranu Mukherjee. For

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memorable exhibition, Suryya Pratap had compiled an erucite and properly illustrated catalogue which will remain as a worthy memorial of a great exhibition but which has a permanent value as a reliable guide to the study of Moghul Painting for all times to come. In India, connoisseurs of art are not too many, and, for this reason alone, the death of this young connoisseur of art has left a void in the public life of India which will be difficult to fill. It is our duty to record our cordial condolence to the members of the family of the deceased.

O. C. GANGOLY

THE INDENTURE SYSTEM IN MAURITIUS, 1837—1915 : *Shri S. B. Mookerji ; Forma, K. L. Mukhopadhyay. Calcutta, 1962. Price Rs. 5 only.*

India and Mauritius have been closely associated for more than a hundred years. The development of the island has depended upon the supply of Indian labour through the indenture system, specially during the period when the system was "at its peak" (1842-70). It is painful to think of the ill-treatment which the Indian immigrant had to put up with, and it is interesting to read about the "unofficial protector of immigrants," Adolf von Plevitz, who in 1871 forwarded a petition signed by 9,410 Indians and revealing in a lurid light the plight of Indian indentured labour. The prisons of the island were as bad as the mythical "Black Hole," if not worse. But the scene has changed and indentured labour have laid down solid foundation for Mauritian prosperity.

Two-thirds of the population of the island are now Indo-Mauritians. They are industrious and nearly a third of the area under sugar-cane is in Indian hands. They have entered the legislature. Young men of Indian origin have been coming to India for their higher education and also for contacting India for inspiration from its cultural heritage. Shri Mookherji's monograph, well-documented, should receive careful attention from those who are interested in the development of Indians outside India, not the least important aspect of Indian nationalism.

THE LIFE BEAUTIFUL : *By H. P. Vaswani, B-23 Nanik Nivas, 91 Warden Road, Bombay-26. October, 1962. Price Rs. 5.00.*

A book for daily readings—consisting of a few of the author's thoughts on what true life is, the true life which is also the beautiful life. Shri Vaswani has been a respected figure in literature, occupying a distinct niche, entranced by the music of Krishna's flute. Each day has a brief passage, and it is sometimes an anecdote drawn from various sources, sometimes a sentiment or idea, beautifully expressed. The eternal quest goes on through life, and the writer's mind is always tuned to this quest.

The introduction, emphasising *tapasya* and *yajna*, has a distinct note of its own and it is self-contained. It gives unity to the daily readings and sets the book in motion. The printing and the get-up are excellent, making the whole thing look like a lovely present to those who are moving onward through life.

P. R. SEN

PRABAD-RATNAKAR (In Bengali) : *By Professor Satyaranjan Sen. Orient Longmans Ltd., 17, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-13. Price Rs. 15.*

Prabad, in English, is proverb. To call it an adage, an English synonym of proverb, is to leave a sense of incompleteness. It is a short, pithy saying with the flavour of an aphorism and whose validity in driving home its underlying meaning is obvious to even the casual. It lends piquancy to the style and reflects, someway or other, the spirit of the language. *Ratnakar* is a mine, as it were, of gems. The title of the book has justified itself. The author has made a painstaking study of the proverbs that pass muster amongst the people who speak and write in Bengali. In a book of over 900 pages he covers the many-varied aspects of the social life of Bengal, and his manner of presentation is cyclopaedic. Bengali literature of acknowledged depth and vitality is all the richer by this dictionary of scintilating proverbs.

Joges C. Bose

"CHANDOGYA UPANISAD, SAMKHYA POINT OF VI5W" : *By Dr. Anima Sen Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Philosophy. Krishna Ghat Quarters, Patna University, Patna. Published by Monoranjan Sen, 65/64, Moti Mahal, Kanpur. Price Rs. 3.*

This is the first time that an original work of this kind has been produced by the author, namely, the interpretation of the Sadvidya of the *Chandogya Upanishad* from Samkhya point of view.

Before this, the author, a scholarly senior teacher of the Patna University, produced a valuable research work on "The evolution of the Samkhya School of thought—which is a historical study of the Samkhya system and which dispelled

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many misunderstandings in the minds of the students of philosophy, born out of a fragmentary and incomplete study of this highly fascinating subject.

Although the leading Upanishodic ideas are in favour of establishing monism or absolutism as final and ultimate, still the author who has studied seriously all Samkhya elements contends that the Upanishads can be interpreted from the point of view of the dualistic Samkhya as well, because the dualistic elements are forcefully prominent both in earlier and later Upanishads.

The presentation being in English, it will be easy to appreciate her work which has been developed on the basis of original Sanskrit texts. For this reason there is no room for d about the originality of the book.

In a preface of the book Mr. Kedor N Ojha, Darshansagar, Senior Professor of Ph sophy, Government Sanskrit College, Pa rightly says, "This novel production relatin the philosophy of the Samkhya School will cer tainly be an object of joy to those interested in Indian philosophy."

There is no doubt that the philosophers w prize this extremely valuable reseorch work this is the first attempt to provide the phi phical world with a Samkhya vrsion of Chandogya Upanishad.

B. M. B

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Indian Periodicals

Export Promotion Measures

Writing in the **AICC Economic Review**, under above caption, Shri P. C. Rawat says:

At present, we are exporting only 6 per cent of our national income which is clear from the following table:

Year	Total value of exports	National Income	Export as % of N. Income	Export Index 1951-52 =100
		(In crores)		
1950-51	596	95 30	6.3	83
1953-54	526	104 80	5.0	72
1956-57	614	103 10	5.4	83
1959-60	639	128 40	5.0	88

This table shows that economic development of India, as indicated by the rise in the national income at constant prices, has not been accompanied by an expansion of exports. There are causes explaining the failure of the exports to rise at a rate which is more than proportionate to the growth of national income. They are:

(1) Sharp income effect on the demand within the country for the exportable consumer goods as well as raw materials.

(2) The growth of money incomes in an inflationary situation creates market imperfections under which the producer finds it more profitable to sell the goods within the country rather than export them.

(3) Exports are hindered by rise in domestic cost because of inflationary situation. For example, rise in costs is likely to be considerable, if wages constitute a large share of the total cost and if the wage-earners are members of strong trade unions.

(4) Export efforts are also hampered by structural difficulties such as difficulties in getting capital and imported machinery.

(5) Other factors over which the exporting country has little control, like general decline in the world demand or increasing foreign competition.

(6) Un-coordinated approach of the Government in its fiscal, taxation, labour and population policies.

Cost reduction would be an effective remedy. Besides this, improvement in the quality and finding alternative uses would also help to create demand in the changing situations. One could easily take the case of sugar.

The Development Council of Sugar in India has estimated the probable consumption of sugar in 1961-62 at 2.25 million tons but the actual production in 1960-61 came to 3 million tons. There has thus been created a problem of surplus which should be exportable, but which cannot easily be exported because of high cost of production.

In the case of tea, domestic demand is increasing and there is strong competition abroad particularly in respect of certain qualities. Similarly the domestic demand of cotton textiles, vegetable oils, oilseeds, electrical goods and cement has greatly increased.

Although not at the same rate as the world trade generally, Indian foreign trade has also been expanding. Thus between 1955 and 1961, while the value of total world trade expanded by over 40 per cent, our foreign trade increased by 37 per cent. But on the other side of the picture, there is a growing deficit on our balance of trade.

In our Third Five Year Plan, we have estimated the export earnings at Rs. 3,450 crores, an average of Rs. 690 crores per year as compared to Rs. 645 crores in 1959-60. This will need an overhaul of the export system.

Quality control is the foremost problem which requires immediate attention, for one bad commodity sold in the market neutralises the credit earned by a hundred good ones. So pre-shipment inspection is a pre-requisite for export promotion. Quality control is essential not only for export markets but home markets too. For if you can make money by producing second rate shoddy goods for the home market why, strictly from a business view-point, should you manufacture first rate goods involving more labour and capital if the international prices are lower than home prices?

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So it has been proposed to set up 500 test houses to ensure good quality and specified specifications. They are subject to a quarterly inspection by the Government. A proposal is also being brought before the Board of Trade in respect of "quality control and inspection council of India."

Another difficulty which mars the incentives of exporters is the non-availability of funds. Banks are giving about 85 per cent to different exporters depending upon credit-worthiness of the exporter as far as the C. I. F. price is concerned. The exporter receives only international price advance. His money gets locked up for eight to nine months. There are developing countries of Africa and Asia where, perhaps, small-term deferred payments of 2 to 3 years may be necessary. The Mudaliar Committee has recommended a revolving fund to finance industries

The Export Risk Insurance Corporation already helps a great deal in export finance. It is a matter of great satisfaction that Shri Shah has declared the establishment of Export Import Bank with a capital of Rs. 10 crores. We have to follow the example of Japan where payment is arranged within 7 days.

Railway freight should be normal and shipping facilities should be available at competitive prices. In order to ensure quick transport of exportable goods, railways have been asked to introduce a system of fixing "For Export" labels on such consignments. A Director of Movement Transport and Freight is also being appointed to look into the bottlenecks with respect to export.

Increasing consumption is regarded as one of the signs of development. In a developing economy consumption is almost equal to production. But we have to save some thing for export even at this crucial stage.

Prices are touching high levels and inflationary situations are prevalent. Enhanced prices hamper exports. So it is essential to check internal consumption and prices.

Market research is a very important aspect of export promotion. We have to explore the possibilties of export on the one side and make them permanent on the other. The vicious circle of traditional items and traditional markets will have to be broken. In respect of underdeveloped countries, have to find out their needs and tastes order to make our goods saleable.

For example, 98 per cent of wo diamond, 55 per cent Gold, and 22 per c copper and uranium is found in Africa. have to find out the alternative uses different commodities in the markets of Ghana, Egypt, Congo, Sudan and Alge Similarly there is a great scope in South-East Asian countries for our produ

There are more than 60,000 exporte in this country. Among them 30,000 registered companies and firms. The m chant exporter is as integral and importa a part as the manufacturing exporter. A matter of fact, 60 per cent trade in differ commodities in export today is handled merchant exporters. So some scheme sho be worked out to give incentives to th merchant exporters in an organised way. present, a distinction is made between ma facturers and merchant exporters and previous record of export and import taken into consideration for granting licen This system may be eliminated so th every body has a free role in the task foreign trade.

It is essential that a rationalizatio scheme should be undertaken in the expo able products industries so that the cost production may be reduced and wastes m be eliminated to make our industries com titive. We are modernizing textile m and jute mills gradually. As a matter fact, 87 per cent of the jute spinning sec is already modernized.

Preference in respect of foreign change entitlement should be given to th industries which produce exportable goo

It is sometimes said that "we want salesman who can sell a refrigerator to Eskimo and we do not want a salesman w cannot sell a camel to an Arab." Due political and economic dependence, we mained a weak trading community. A independence we are trying to establish own old prestige. A proposal to establish Institute of International Trade is also u consideration of the Government which receive young men between the ages of who would be given training for specia zation in foreign trade regarding technic salesmanship, marketing, etc.

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Foreign Periodicals

BEHIND THE HIMALAYAN WAR

Writing in the **New Leader** G. F. Hudson, Director of Far Eastern Studies, St. Antho-ny's College, Oxford, says :

Why have they done it ? This is perhaps the question most often being asked in the West about the Chinese encroachments on what Indians consider to be their rightful national frontier, and about the extreme truculence Peking has shown in its dealings with New Delhi throughout the controversy over China's territorial claims. For all the areas in dispute are mountainous tracts : either uninhabited, except for seasonal transhumance like the Aksai Chin ; or peopled only by primitive tribes, as in the North East Frontier Agency. None of the areas are known to have any real economic value and they seem to be poor prizes for policies which must incur the national enmity of India and pose the most painful dilemma even for Indian Communists.

Ever since the Chinese Communists came to power, they have benefited from the sympathy and diplomatic support of Prime Minister Nehru's India. This support has been based on the idea that both India and China have a common interest and outlook arising from a common experience of Western imperialism and common aspirations for a new world order.

It has been India which over the years since 1949 has consistently pressed for the transfer of China's seat in the United Nations from the Nationalist to the Communist Government. It was India which in 1950 urged negotiations on the basis of North Korea's occupation of the greater part of South Korea, without any North Korean withdrawal from the territory seized by the invasion. And again, it was India which in the same year blocked Tibet's appeal to the U.N. against Chinese aggression, and three years later concluded a treaty recognizing China's sovereignty in Tibet without extracting in return any recognition of the Indo-Tibetan frontier where New Delhi believed it to be.

It might be thought, therefore, that no nation outside the communist block would be regarded in Peking with so much consideration and gratitude as India. Yet over the last four years the Chinese Communists have gone out of their way to insult, provoke and estrange India in a manner that the affairs a policy of neutralism which has actual frontier questions at issue do not seem adequate to explain. Although the boundary disputes are no doubt real enough in themselves, they appear to have been used also as pretexts for a policy designed to humiliate India and destroy the prestige of the present Indian Government.

To understand why this should be so, it is necessary to look at the contemporary situation in Asia apart from that confrontation of the Soviet Union and the Western democracies which is taken for granted as the overriding theme of world affairs. We often speak of it as a conflict of East and West, but for Asians, Russia is really a Western power which has been intrusive in Asia no less than the United States, Britain or France.

There is, from this angle of vision, a re-emergent Asia which stands in contrast both to Russia and the West, and there is a question of leadership and predominance in the new Asia. Japan aspired to that leadership, but suffered defeat in the last war and, although still far ahead of any other Asian country in industrial development, has not been an effective power factor since 1945. Moreover, its close association with the West has precluded Japan's having any strong influence in a continent of nationalist and socialist revolutionary ferment.

Consequently, it has been between Peking and New Delhi that the competition for leadership has come about. Both the Chinese Communist and Indian governments have claimed to be the champions of anti-imperialism and of a resurgent Asia ; both have raised the banners of national independence, of emancipation from Western tutelage and of "socialism." But the two regimes have nevertheless differed fundamentally : China has copied the totalitarian political system of the Soviet Union ; India, despite very adverse political and social conditions, has so far retained not only in form, but to a remarkable degree also in substance, the institutions of political democracy, personal freedom and the rule of law.

The competition has been not merely one of rival states or even of rival personalities, but of two opposed ideologies. And this has not been cancelled out because certain Indian leaders, in their recoil from Western tutelage, have adopted in world

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often been slanted toward the Communists.

For Russia, whose primary political concern is with Europe, and whose economic level is far higher than that of any Asian country except Japan, India has never appeared as a rival. Indeed, for many years now Nehru's Government has been regarded with benevolence by Moscow. Indian neutralism has been considered an asset to be exploited by Soviet foreign policy, particularly in the United Nations. Great trouble has been taken to influence India by persuasion, flattery and economic aid.

For China, whose primary political concern is with Asia and not with Europe, and which is striving to advance from an economic level comparable to India's, New Delhi is indeed a rival. Every gesture of friendship by the Soviet Union to India has only aggravated Chinese jealousy and resentment. The friendly support India has given Communist China counts for nothing in comparison with what Peking regards as India's excessive influence among the "uncommitted" Afro-Asian countries, and the fact that India can get economic aid from both the West and Russia, while China has cut itself off from all Western aid and has received far less than it expected from her Communist allies.

The economic setbacks suffered by Communist China over the last three years have made matters even worse. If the Great Leap Forward had gone according to plan, Peking would have been able triumphantly to point to the superiority of the Communist system over India's relatively modest program for achieving rapid result in economic progress. Instead the Great Leap's notorious failure has turned the account in favor of India, which has been a great frustration for China.

But even with their disastrous record of policies which in domestic affairs have brought grave economic dislocation, and abroad have involved both enmity toward the United States and bitter quarrels with the Soviet Union, the rulers of China have one great asset—their Army. In numbers of men under arms, it is the bigggest in the world, and though still lacking any nuclear capability, it is well equipped with conventional weapons. The temptation to use this Army against China's principal Asian rival, and in a direction where nuclear retalia- from the American Seventh Fleet need be feared (as it would be in any offe- against Formosa), must have been irre- tible.

The Chinese Communists have b wary in stating their war aims. They have claimed that their drive across Indi northeastern frontier was in respons Indian "aggression." They have also de- ed, however, that the McMahon Line fr tier no longer exists, so it must be assu that they intend to hold on to as much the territory of the Indian North E Frontier Agency as they can capture. O and above this, it is likely that they hope inflict on India such blows as will demo lize and disintegrate the Indian State. E they may well be wrong in their expecta —and every democrat in the Western w must hope that they are.

It is the tendency of all Communi and particularly, it seems, of Chinese Co munists, to overdraw on that inevita march of history which their doctrine le them to believe in, and to under-estim the resistance which their onslaughts w evoke. Still, there is little doubt that Pet has observed in detail the recent increase of strains and stresses in the Indian b politic, the looming struggle for the succ sion to Nehru's unique authority, the growth of Tamil separation in the So the unresolved conflict with Pakistan, quarrel with Nepal, the wavering attitu of Bhutan and Sikkim. Obviously it h that all these troubles will be aggrava for India by military defeat.

An India reduced to chaos and disi tion could no longer be a rival to Ch and Mao Tse-tung's Government could d sole the Chinese people for their disappo ments with the glory of a great milit and political triumph over a foreign Yet it is all a gamble, for nobody can k for certain how the Himalayan war w turn out. Since Mao started it, he is bound to win the first round. But h many rounds there will be and how it w end he cannot decide by his own will o The outcome will depend also on I national unity and resolution of India well as the degree of support it now ceives from the West.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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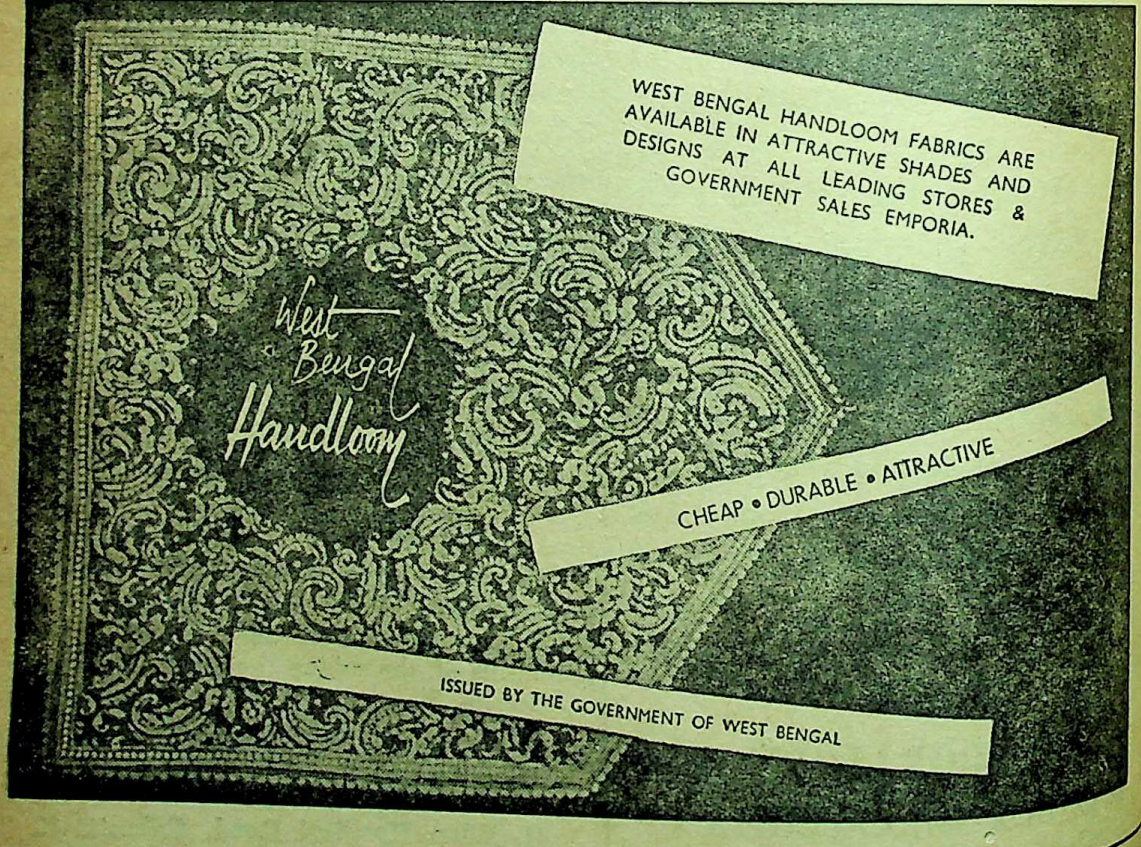

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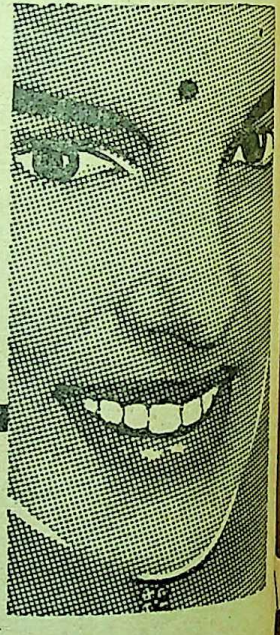

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Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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APRIL 1963

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NOTES

The World

Apart from the uneasy state of affairs on the Indian frontiers, there was very little worthy of consideration in World Affairs in the month of March.

In the Arab World there was another revolution. There was hardly a shot fired in this latest revolt by which the eighteen-month old government of Syria was toppled over and a new regime, friendly to the United Arab Republic Scheme of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, was established. The Syrians who always had Arab unity at heart have again turned favourably towards a Union of Arab States ranging—for the present—from Egypt to Iraq and Yemen on the Arabian Sea.

Eighteen months ago, Syria's "strongman", General Abdel Karim Zahreddin, broke off the alliance with Egypt at a moment when there was a considerable amount of resentment amongst the peoples of Syria against the rigid economic controls imposed on the State by the policy makers of Nasser's Cabinet. Together with that there were agitators who aided Zahreddin's moves by protesting against the political and administrative set up of the United Arab Republic in which Egyptians predominated, being not only numerically superior but being more well organized and disciplined. The cry against the conversion of Syria into a "satellite police State" brought about a quick severanec of ties. Some force was used to take over controls from the Egyptian army units and the Egyptian civil administrators posted in Syria and for a time it seemed as if Nasser was going to crush the revolt by force. But Gamal Abdel Nasser chose the path of peace. "Shall Arab fight Arab and shed his brother's blood"? he asked, and his decision was in the negative. The separation was accomplished virtually without any fighting. And it seems that Nasser's decision was wise.

The new regime in Syria, ushered in by Zahreddin with Nazem El-Koudsi as President, had an uneasy time. There were three major and many minor conspiracies for overthrowing the new set-up as there was a very considerable amount of fairly influential opinion amongst the public in favour of Arab unity and Nasser's generous acceptance of the popular verdict in Syria against the continuance of union with Egypt, left a very large number of the more advanced political thinkers amongst the Syrians with a sense of having erred. The Baath (Renaissance) Party amongst the Arabs of the "Middle East" are strongly in favour of an Union of all Arab States, ranging from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, but favours a loose federation without any dictatorship.

The revolt in the name of Arab unity in Iraq last month, with its blood-bath and a hectic week of hunting out Kassem the Dictator's men, set the reaction against Zahreddin and El-Koudsi on the move. President Koudsi tried to stave-off the overthrow of his Government by offering to unite Syria with the new revolutionary government of Iraq, but there was no response from Baghdad. Six Syrian Cabinet Minis-

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fers resigned as they saw the shadow of a change-over coming near. The Baath Party refused to replace them with their own men. And on March 8 Syrian Army officers seized power, proclaiming their dissatisfaction at the 1961 break with Egypt which had caused only suffering to the people of Syria. The Army gave the reason behind the revolt as being the failure of those in power to carry out the aims of the people of Syria and of showing no signs of even trying to do so. The aims of the revolt were given in a proclamation.

The proclamation said the revolt was staged "to give effect to the following principles : first, the aim of the Army movement is to redress the direction of the Army to the right path ;

"Secondly, the Army firmly believes in liberated Arab unity on a firm basis. Together with the people, the Army will act to secure this aim at the earliest possible time.

"Thirdly, the Army has no intention of establishing a military regime ; and

"Fourthly, the Army will honour all undertakings and international agreements, as well as the U. N. Charter, the principles of the Bandung conference, positive neutralism, and co-operation with countries on a basis of equality."

The Revolutionary Command also said it aimed at co-operation with the UAR, Iraq, Algeria, the Yemen "and all liberated Arabs elsewhere."

Observers in Beirut believe that Syria's relations with Jordan and Saudi Arabia will most likely be strained.

A 20-man Cabinet in which the Baath Party is strongly represented with the new Premier, Salah El-Bitar at the head, is now in charge. The new Premier was formerly Foreign Minister of Syria. There are only two military men in the new Cabinet, it is reported. At the present there are negotiations still going on to settle the terms for the union with Egypt, Iraq, and Yemen, the last State having signified its assent to the scheme.

In Yemen, Abdullah Sallal, the "Strong-man" in charge is still trying to consolidate his position—with the aid of large-scale military aid from Egypt. The royalist tribes, who are supported by Saudi Arabia and Jordan, are still attempting to restore to the deposed Imam his lost domains, but so far with little success.

The new Iraqui Government has come to terms with the Kurds who were in revolt against Kassem, and the people of Iraq may now have a breath of peace.

The situation on our northern frontiers has not changed either way since the Chinese withdrew along their unilateral plans to what they call "a line twenty kilometres behind the actual line of control" on a date also unilaterally selected by them. There have been the usual mendacious statements in notes—which have, in ominous tone sometimes—as well as fabricated accusations levelled against us of violating Chinese territory or air-space. The newspapers are full of reports about massive concentrations of Chinese troops and about other warlike preparations. Pandit Nehru has also continued with his warnings about the possibility—"at any moment and at any point"—of an offensive being launchd by the Chinese. And on our side there are occasional statements about our "preparations" for defence—mostly couched in vague terms and with time schedules that seem to take it for granted that we have all the time we might need and some more—despite the fact that a fully prepared and implacable enemy is at our thresholds !

Peace talks seem to be as far off as before and the Colombo proposals have been virtually repudiated by the Chinese despite their assurances to the Colombo conference delegates who went to Peking to place the proposals and their explanations of the terms before the Chinese authorities. The Chinese now pretend that the explanations of the terms given to them at Peking were substantially different from those given to our authorities by the delegates. This statement of the Chinese has been refuted by the delegates and by the leader of the delegation, Mr. Sirimavo Banderanaike, but the Chinese still maintain their stand. In short, there does not seem to be any chance of either Chinese intransigence or the menace of Chinese aggression abating in the near future.

The people are being exhorted in India by our leaders not to slacken their efforts to meet the enemy's challenge, but no direction is being given to the common citizen—except in the broadest and likewise vaguest of terms—as to how to help. The only positive gesture on the part of our highest executives has been in the demand for money—and gold—from the nationals of India, by way of taxes, direct

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indirect and controls on gold. It is needless to say that these demands and controls have not enhanced the upsurge of spirit in the people. Indeed, on the contrary.

It is not that the common citizen—from which term we would exclude the black-marketeer, the profiteer and other blood-sucking pets and proteges of our great ones—is unwilling to give to the limits of his resources, but he is unable to meet on the one hand the demands of the Finance Minister, which have gone up manyfolds in the case of the wage-earning middle-classes, and the limitless exactions of the profiteers and the black-marketeers. Our Ministry is quite clear regarding the demands and there is very little hope of any amelioration of the tax-demand, but it is very vague and vaccillating about the imposition of measures to control the rise of prices to unjustifiable levels and prices of the essentials of life are soaring as a result.

The picture is anything but rosy, thanks to the way we have of coupling gross inefficiency with all our plans, whether they are for developing the potentials of our land or for the utilization of the enthusiasm and energies of our peoples. Other countries and nations have learnt by experience the futility of asking the people to give of their best and to their uttermost unless the High Executives have a plan ready for the efficient protection of the same people from being bled white by blood-sucking profiteers. The experience of those who planned thus and carried the plan through is ready and available to our great ones, if only they would ask for it, but then our great ones know better—or so they think.

There is also a Cold-War of sorts on another Front on our hands, in the shape of Indo-Pakistani negotiations for a settlement of disputes. Four rounds of inconclusive talks have taken place already and a fifth round is proposed to be held at Karachi on and from April 22. The position at the end of the fourth round of talks, which were held at Calcutta from the 12th to the 14th of March, was fairly well summarised by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in its report which we append below :

"Except for the decision to have further parleys, nothing tangible is understood to have transpired in the Calcutta meeting to indicate any near settlement with regard to Kashmir. According to a conference source the gulf has not been narrowed down in any way. Their agreeing to meet again is described as the only achievement of the Calcutta deliberations.

Though the conference's progress in respect of its main burden—Kashmir—has been assessed as 'nil', it is credited for broaching two other important issues that vitally affect the relation between the two countries. They relate to the unauthorised infiltration of Pak migrants into Tripura and Assam (which Pakistan describes as eviction of Indian Muslims) and unresolved border disputes between India and Pakistan. These may not have any direct bearing on the Kashmir problem, yet their solution is considered to be very vital for both the countries as that would remove the 'irritating factor' disturbing the accord.

Both the Indian and Pakistani delegations are understood to have ageed that there should be separate Ministerial level talks to settle these problems. These talks, it is stated to have been agreed, need not necessarily be conducted by the present leaders of delegations of the two countries. Probably the Home Ministers or the Law Ministers of the two countries will take up the issues between them. Final decision in this regard, however, will have to be taken later as it requires ratification by both the Governments. The actual procedure to be adopted for those talks will also be decided then.

The fourth round of talks—held in Raj Bhawan's historic Council Chamber since Tuesday—ended on Thursday night with differences between the two countries remaining almost where they were at the end of Karachi talks last month. Informed sources made it clear that the approaches to the problem were as wide as before."

But, while Pakistan's attitude has been rigid and inflexible in its demands on India it has been pliable as putty *vis-a-vis* the Chinese ! The terms of the Sino-Pak pact as is being revealed slowly shows that Pakistan has given away 13,000 sq. miles of Kashmir territory to the Chinese while retaining a slice of area under discussion. Pakistan has been generous, possibly because of two very significant considerations. Firstly, the territory belongs neither to China nor to Pakistan and secondly, the alternative would be to upset previously laid plans, which might have been drawn up with Chinese collaboration long before the present Indo-Chinese hostilities. There is reason to suspect the existence of such plans, because of the open statement—made at New Delhi

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sometime in 1958 to the best of our memory—by the Chinese Ambassador to India to the effect that India would have to face a war on two fronts, *i.e.*, with China and Pakistan, in case of the dispute about frontier demarcations developing into hostilities.

Pakistan, of course, is one of the famed fortresses against Communist advance into the Near, Middle and South-East Asia, planned by Richard Nixon—who saw the possibilities during a lightning tour—and John Foster Dulles, and equipped by American aid, economic and military. She is indeed regarded as one of the main buttresses in the S.E.A.T.O. and CENTO fortifications. But evidently that does not entail any active opposition to the Chinese advance into South-East Asia.

Anyway the Sino-Pak pact was beautifully timed and the terms were also very skilfully drawn. Even a considerable portion of Ladakh —which has never been in the occupation, legal or otherwise, of Pakistan—which forms part of the terrain over which the Indo-Chinese war has been going on, has been given away to China by Pakistan. Pandit Nehru has called the whole thing "unfriendly", which seems to be a grossly inadequate term. But then Pandit Nehru is usually on his mildest and politest behaviour where Pakistan is concerned !

We wonder what new "unfriendly" move will be posed by Pakistan before her long-suffering neighbour on the eve of the fifth round ?

"Rajen Babu"

On February 28th at 10-15 P.M. died Shri Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India, at the Sadaquat Ashram in Patna. By his death India has lost the last of those true disciples of Gandhiji who attained prominence in the public eye. He belonged to that group of dedicated followers of Mahatma Gandhi who followed in the footsteps of their leader and preceptor unhesitatingly through all the trials and hazards that were part of the battle of India's freedom, and it was in the fitness of things that he was chosen to be the first President of our country after freedom had been attained. His devotion to the cause of freedom and the liberation of the spirit of India, as delineated by Gandhiji, was as true as that of any other prominent follower of the Mahatma, but he was unique inasmuch as that there was neither arrogance nor fanaticism to taint or qualify his faith as was the case with almost all others amongst the dedicated and the faithful of the Gandhian that attained eminence during freedom fight and after the liberation of India.

He was born as the fifth and the youngest child of a well-to-do householder of village of the Saran district in Bihar Mahadev Sahay by name, on the 3rd December 1884. His education started under a maulavi and the first alphabet he learnt to read and write were in the Urdu script, as was customary amongst almost all Hindi speaking peoples until Mahatma Gandhi advocated the cause of Hindi. He became proficient in Urdu and Persian at an early age. Later he became acquainted with Hindi language and literature to some extent. He was admitted to the English School at Chhapra in the lowest standard when he was nine years of age. But he secured such high marks in the annual examination that the headmaster of the school, Babu Kshirode Chandra Roychoudhury, gave him "double promotion." Later he went to Patna and secured admission in the T. K. Ghosh School.

When he was in the Fifth class and was only thirteen years of age, his father got him married to the young daughter of a Muktear. Very soon after that event an elder brother brought back from Allahabad the word "Swadeshi," and its meaning and significance made such an impression on young Rajendra Prasad that he started wearing India-made textiles from almost that very day.

Appearing at the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University from Patna, he secured the first place, for which he was awarded a scholarship of Rs. 20 per month and he got a further Rs. 10|- per month for standing first in English. This was the first occasion on which a non-Bengali student had secured the top place. In his autobiography Rajendra Babu wrote that "the proudest son most delighted at my achievement was my Bengali teacher, Rasiklal Roy, who purchased mangoes and sweets to celebrate the event and gave us a feast."

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His college career continued in Calcutta, at the Presidency College and at the Eden Hindu Hostel. He had a brilliant career as a student and he came closely in touch with the "Swadeshi movement," trough the political unrest that followed the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon, and through coming in contact with the "Dawn Society" founded by the late Satish Chandra Mukherji.

After graduating with first class honours and later obtaining the first place in the M.A. examination—both from the Presidency College—he obtained his B.L. degree in 1910. At first he took a teaching job at Muzaffarpur, but a year later he came to Calcutta to take up the profession of law at the Calcutta High Court. When the Patna High Court was established, he moved on there and soon built up a large and lucrative practice.

He had met Mr. Gokhale in 1910, when he had finished his education, and was invited by him to join the "Servants of India Society." This meant giving up the career and the prospects that lay before him and his elder brother, who had brought him up after their father had died, refused permission. Accordingly, Rajen Babu submitted to his elder brother's decision, though he had written in a letter to his elder brother that he had no ambitions. He compromised by combining his extensive practice at the Bar with public work on a limited scale, his principal public activity being centred around the Patna University which he wanted to free from the excessive official control that was excersised over it—and he succeeded in achieving that objective.

But he was not happy in this compromise with his conscience. In his letter to his elder brother written in 1910, he had written "……those who know anything know very well that happiness comes not from without, but from within," and further "Let us then not despise poverty. The greatest men of the World have been the poorest, at first the most persecuted and the most despised." He had also written in that letter that his mode of living had become so simplified that he did not need any special equipment of comfort."

In the midst of all these cross currents of thought and action, came Gandhiji in 1919, and Rajendra Prasad shook off all his bonds and followed the Mahatma in the investigations regarding the trouble in the Champaran indigo plantations, which later led to the Satyagraha movement there. And from then onwards he was one of the staunchest of the great and devoted band that followed the Mahatma.

It is not possible to attempt even a short summary of his activities as a political leader and a worker for the welfare and uplift of the poor people of India, in these editorial columns. We can only give the high lights of his career.

He became President of the Bihar P.C.C. in 1920 and a member of the Congress Working Committee two years later which position he retained till he was elected President of India in January 1950, excepting for the short period when he and eleven others of the "Old Guard" resigned after the election of Subhas Chandra Bose as Congress President for the second time. He went abroad for the first time in 1928 when he went to England to see a friend's case through in the Privy Council. He went to Vienna from London, to attend a no-war conference that was being held at a village near that city. In 1929 he went to Burma in order to mediate for some tenants at Kyatanga who complained that they were not getting a fair deal and appealed to him for help. His mediation proved helpful.

He was imprisoned repeatedly but in January 1934, while he was serving the term of 15 months' imprisonment given him in 1933, he was released in order to organize relief after the cataclysmic Bihar earthquake. He was elected President of the Congress in the same year. In 1939 he had to occupy the same chair again when he was chosen as President after Subhas Chandra Bose had resigned. He was again jailed in 1942 after the "Quit India" resolution was adopted.

He became Food and Agriculture Minister, after release, in the Interim Cabinet of 1945. In 1947 he again had to fill the chair as the Congress President after it became vacant through the resignation of

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Acharya Kripalani following disagreements with his colleagues. While Food Minister and Congress President, he was unanimously elected President of the Constituent Assembly. Prior to that he had served, together with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and two nominees of Mr. Jinnah, on the Partition Council presided over by Lord Mountbatten.

On January 26, 1950, when India's Constitution came into force, Shri Rajendra Prasad was nominated as the interim President of the Republic of India. After the first general election in 1952, he was elected the country's first President. He was re-elected, for a second term, in 1957.

His behaviour was dignified and correct throughout these 12 years. He set an impeccable code of conduct for his successors as President. As the "First Gentleman" of the Union of India, his personal charm lent grace to his office, exalted as it was. Indeed, the tribute paid to him by the Hindu in an editorial written after his death, represents the sincere sentiments of all who came in contact with him. We append below the two concluding paragraphs :

As President of the Constituent Assembly and later as the first President of India, which high office he filled with dignity and distinction for 12 years, Rajen Babu was one of the architects of Indian democracy. Though under the Constitution, the Presidentship is not a post of exclusive authority or power, he was able to exercise considerable persuasive influence on the Government by the sheer weight of his personality, his vast and varied experience and his undoubted integrity, as the authentic voice of Indian conscience. The public will get a full measure of the part he played in the making of policy only when all the correspondence that passed between him and the Prime Minister is published in due course.

Babu Rajendra Prasad was deeply concerned over the divisive forces that were rearing their heads in many parts of the country and the general weakning of moral restraints and social discipline. And he was anxious that the nation should recover its unity through a return to the ethical discipline and spirit of tolerance implicit in our culture. In his own life he fully embodied the Hindu conception of life as a bundle of duties. On the walls of his study and bedroom in Rashtrapati Bhavan, when he was President, he had his favourite couplet from the **Tulasi-Ramayana** inscribed, which translated into English meant. "Have courage and do not lose touch with God. Whatever role He allots to you, that you must fulfil." Of Rajen Babu it may be truly said he walked humbly with God in the path that Destiny had shown him. With his death, all of us are the poorer.

THE EDITOR

Defence of India

National defence and the defence of a political party of which the members do not total upto any noticeable percentage of the national population, cannot be considered to be the same or even essentially interdependent as a matter of course. The growth of political parties in India after 1947 has been on the basis of the political ambitions of persons who desire to be the leaders of the nation rather than on any realistic desire to make all Indians able-bodied, mentally active and generally prosperous. There have been "this scheme" or "that plan" galore during the sixteen years (apprx.) that India has been free ; but these emanated from the political party level and with the idea of glorifying the leaders of the political party as great thinkers and builders of the nation without reference to the needs of the 45 million individuals who constitute the nation. As a result there are more ill-fed rates, ill-fed persons and unemployed men and women in India to-day than there have been ever before. This does not show up the ruling political party as a nation-building organisation nor as a very powerful factor in national defence. For no nation can be assumed to be building itself up economically, ethically, militarily and in point of sound administration, which is not steadily and properly reducing its poverty, corrupt ways, weak defences and maladministration (which includes all slow moving, slow, corrupt and functionally useless organs of government). The Government that the Congress Party set up in India after 1947

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been just a continuation of the British imperial system of government, without the British officials who had been replaced by others whose ability and merit did not compare favourably with those of the British officials. The Ministers who adorned the offices everywhere in India were the nominees of the Congress and were not always selected out of the best men and women of India. By best one should understand persons with the best education, proved ability, background and general reliability. So that the Congress Party did not improve matters by bringing into the administrative machine crowds of persons who were no great help to the nation. They must have been of help to the political party or they would never have been brought into the picture. So that, we had a lot of **Party** building after independence and not so much **nation** building.

The Party first and the nation afterwards, has been the emotion uppermost in the minds of the Congressmen who hankered after power and position without being in any way qualified to manage the affairs of the nation. "Upstartism" has been the order of the day and no one ever questioned the rights of particular persons to undertake to do highly complicated types of national work without, in any way, being trained to do such work ; "political sufferers" belonging to the Congress Party were made much of and were easily granted privileges on the ground of having suffered imprisonment for national work. Many persons who never went to prison and had been close collaborators of the British imperial rulers of India, were also accepted into the inner circles of the Congress on the ground that they were friendly with the Congress "big shots." Wangling one's way into these sacred circles became the most effective technique of achieving success during the period 1947 and after, and many stars of the British Court found places in the independent **Darbar** of Delhi. Trades people who had been the closest associates of the British exploiters of India, became the trusted allies of the Congress groups and to them went permits, licences, contracts and orders in an unstinted manner. The skies of independent India thus became progressively clouded with point ideology of the political party which corruption and treachery. And when the Chinese attacked India, it was found that roads and bridges had not been built, supplies had not been obtained, production had been left untouched, good men had been removed to make room for useless favourites and a general atmosphere of unpreparedness and barren inaction pervaded every field of work in which National Defence had its roots. Excuses and explanations came up like weeds and froth in abundance to appease the nation's wrath and sense of humiliation, and, we were told, how our great idealism, love of peace, progress and non-alignment had prevented us from building up our defences and defence supplies. We readily accepted these highly unconvincing tales of great thoughts and emotions standing in the way of national defence and hoped for the best in our customary sluggish-mindedness. For, we too, (that is, the nation) shared the moral decadence and corrupt degeneration of those in whom we had vested our sovereign rights of self-rule. In an orgy of speech-making we were soon bamboozled into a quiet acceptance of every absurdity under the Sun as the quintessence of logic, pragmatism and diplomacy and we again began to look bovinely towards the political party men who promised us Utopia in 2063 A.D. and Valhalla at much shorter notice. Numerous pot-bellied persons began to move about as the last ditch defenders of the motherland, among whom were many tax-evaders, blackmarket dealers, gold-smugglers and other anti-social elements who were the backbone of the make-believe set up. The brave men who wanted to fight and to give their last coppers for **the defence of India** were given an alternative to make their sacrifice more extensive in a purely economic fashion. Law abiding nationals faced a given pattern of taxation, while unlawful money grabbers sat down to think out newer ways of cheating the nation. Tradesmen put up prices, unemployment stalked the poverty stricken ateliers, places of work were closed while glib tongues waxed eloquent in prase of the three to three thousand

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ruled India. The nation was not taken into confidence regarding defence preparations but was told how anything that the Party did or planned to do was a step towards better defence of India. The defence of the Party or the Party's ideas regarding defence apparently took precedence over the factual Defence of India.

As a sample of what sort of senseless verbiage often take the place of well thought out plans or arguments in high level policy matters in India under political party rule, one may cite Shree Morarji Desai's arguments in support of his Gold Control Order. Argument one is that if 22 carat gold is used for making ornaments it will lead to smuggling of gold; but if 14 carat gold is used there will be no smuggling or very little of it. The profits of gold smuggling being more than 100% why this should be so is nobody's business. Argument two is that all gold ornaments are a useless national waste and argument three is that giving gold ornaments to women is a base practice indulged in by men to trap women into slavery. Gold ornaments have been the time honoured method of saving practised by Indians. Had it not been so, Sri Morarji would not have been able to think of using India's stocks of privately owned gold for his own wasteful and other purposes. Regarding trapping of women and gold ornaments, Sri Morarji has been indulging in his libellous outbursts without thinking. For more gold ornaments are given in India to daughters than to wives or concubines. **Kanyadan** or giving a daughter in marriage requires **alankara** or ornaments and the major portion of India's demand for ornaments is for giving the ornaments to daughters. A responsible Cabinet Minister should never indulge in such assertions of doubtful taste, however strongly he may feel about grabbing gold for the nation. Other nations have controlled gold too in the past but they have never encroached upon private rights to the extent that Morarji is trying to do. And he is doing this quite uselessly for he has so far spent more on gold control than he got in return out of it. He may be thinking of prohibiting the wearing of rings and necklaces next or of searching private houses to get hold of gold; but that would make the position worse and he should be well advised to withdraw all his controls and to allow things to go on as before in an atmosphere of freedom, liberty and unrestrained individual preferences. For it has been lawful for thousands of years to buy gold ornaments and people will not easily think that buying gold ornaments is criminal conduct. A blackmarket will surely grow up in ornaments and people will buy and sell in it unlawfully in the same manner that they buy and sell liquor in Bombay.

We have said before this in these pages that according to all information, the Chinese depend on their man-power to win battles. They, of course, also use modern fire arms and not 1893 model muzzle loaders. Their industries as well as the industries of their collaborators manufacture the weapons and ammunition for the same. In India, we have not so far noticed any efforts being made to mobilise the nation militarily. A few scattered groups here and there and a slightly increased army of paid soldiers may not be the proper answer to a national army of 60 millions which China is reported to have. Our industries could have produced weapons for our soldiers but no attempt has been made to our knowledge to make use of the various plants in India for this purpose. This has possibly been a vital omission on the part of our leaders. During the recess period of a few months that the Chinese have provided us with by their cease-fire and withdrawal we should have trained up a very substantial volunteer force and also armed them with locally made weapons, for achieving both of which we have the potential. But have we done this? When the Chinese attack again, which our Prime Minister says they will sooner or later, shall we be in the same position as before? We have no knowledge. But we have grave doubts and apprehensions which mere speeches cannot allay.

A.C.

Who Knows the Real Position?

Mr. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa went to the U.S.A. for some purpose or

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nected with the defence of India and there he was reported to have said that the Indian Army consisted of 11 divisions of troops. Now that India is reported to be training up 6 new divisions, the story of India having only an 11 division army is being declared as incorrect. What we would like to know could be stated very simply. What was the real size of the Indian army and air force when China invaded India? What is the size now after several months of frenzied discussions, talks, statements, conferences and movements of missions, delegations, plenipotentiaries and what ? Lastly, what will the size be hereafter, stage by stage? Now that Indians will have to pay nearly three times in defence expenses and increasingly higher amounts for "developments", they should be told what they are being taxed so intensively for. Vague and casual references are not good enough. One may say that such information should be considered state secrets and that their disclosure will help the enemy. But did not the Chinese know all about the size, position, equipment, etc., of the Indian army in full details when they marched into India last year and occupied whatever they wanted to occupy down to the foot hills of the NEFA ? Are State secrets kept secret in India with large numbers of Chinese, Russian, British and American agents and informers in the ranks of our custodians of such secrets? Or are we wrong to assume that there are such persons who are paid by the Government of India for loyal service but who do not have any scruples in supplying information to our enemies as well as to others who are not our enemies? About our friends we have to remember that China also was a friend not so very long ago. Congress leaders were falling over one another to embrace Chou En-lai, telling "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" only the other day. Tibet was invaded and forcibly occupied by the Chinese with the tacit connivance of many countries who wanted to boost up Chinese morale in order to make the Chinese resent Russian bossing. Had there been any active opposition to the rape of Tibet at the time in the same manner as the world actively reacted to the Chinese incursion into India last year, the Chinese could never have proved a despicable lie as a fact of history. The foreign policy of the Congress leaders was weak and unsound to say the least about it. Whether that policy was dictated by the Anglo-Americans or by the eloquent silence of Russia in the matter of Sino-Tibetan relations, we shall never know. But we have a right to question the wisdom as well as the actions, plans of action and general outlook of the Indian leaders, who so nearly ditched the nation only a few months ago and escaped disaster only by chance or by the workings of unknown forces. In any other democratic country the leaders would surely have had to face a general election to remain in power and not escaped the consequences of their casual handling of national defence by sacrificing a scape goat.

We repeat that India requires a very large army and air force equipped with modern weapons. The weapons and ammunition should be made in India as far as possible and the industries of India should be made to co-operate in getting the work done to any extent found necessary. Running after buried treasures or women's bangles may have "stunt value" but the real work is to mobilise the human and mechanical resources of the country for defence purposes. A defence budget of nearly 1,000 crores of rupees should be sufficient to put up an army of 5,000,000 (five-million) persons and to build up an air force of 3,000 planes (in three years) with all other garnishings in the way of buildings, institutions, plants, imports, submarines, bases and what not. If this cannot be achieved **swiftly, certainly and effectively** by the present custodians of India's destiny, they should have the grace and the patriotic moral sense to make way for others who can achieve the objective. The idea that this man or that should be considered indispensible has been proved by history to be utterly wrong. All great and pseudo-great men and women have to go and to be replaced by others sooner or later. Wise men go when they feel that their inspiration is beginning to run dry.

A. C.

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Gold and Gold Workers

There are about 500,000 goldsmiths in India who work as filigree experts, lapidarists, meena (enamel) workers and general makers of ornaments and other articles made of gold. These people turn out annually many crores worth of goods which are sold by numerous jewellery shops all over India. The total number of these shops will be a few hundred thousands and well over a million persons work in these shops as salesmen, managers, guards, etc. It will not be wrong to assume that the gold business keeps employed over 2,000,000 two million persons and that about a crore of people depend on this business for their living. By a simple stroke of his pen India's Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, has completely blasted the very foundations of this great economic institution, which has been serving the people of India for thousands of years as a necessary part of their social life. For ornaments have been used by Indians for religious, matrimonial and economic purposes for as long as Indian history goes back. Gold coins, objects of art and ornaments exist in India that were struck and made more than two thousand years ago. Exquisite works of art in filigree, inlay, enamel and gem-setting exist from the days of the Rajputs and the Mughuls in which gold has been used in an intricate and integrated manner. Shri Morarji's assayers will only be able to determine the quantum of gold in these ancient masterpieces of the jeweller's art by melting them down, that is, by destroying them. Old Persian enamel has sold in London and New York at ten times the price of gold and the same may be true of ancient Indian jewellery. Shri Morarji's idea that he can convert and restrict all goldsmith's products and craft to a basic metal alloy composed of 14 parts of gold and 10 parts of copper, silver, nickel or zinc is about as useful from the craftsman's point of view as a suggestion that guns should be made of bricks. Ignorance is a blessing and it is folly to admit facts and, we suppose, the Gold Controllers of India, with the authority of the State to back their actions motivated by unreal assumpt... will go heavy footed into action and ... to smash up time honoured customs ... private rights and possibly cause the ... truction of art treasures of great nati... value by timid and uninformed ow... The gold control orders have no ... basis except that these may stop gold ... gling and help Goverment amass a ... of gold obtained at Rs. 62.50 per tola. J... ing by what goes on, one may safely ass... that neither smuggling has ceased ... have government succeeded in obtai... quantities of gold at less than half the ... ket price. In the circumstances S... Morarji should modify his ideas of g... control. But, he is contemplating hars... methods of enforcing his will. We wo... if common sense and the logic of hum... facts are the bases of democracy, or ... the autocratic fervour of a few men ... achieve ideological objectives. West... democracies have no ideology other tha... maintain freedom and liberty and to p... vide sound government. It is only in ... latively backward countries that we fi... mad **Mullahs** declaring **Zihad** on fun... mental evils like killing enemies, eat... beef or pork and similar things. The nig... may be made hideous by **kirtan** or bha... "singers", processions may disrupt tra... for hours, beggars may ply their trade ... ly on the main roads of great cities, ... rupt practices may engulf all basic ... partments of the social organisation, in ... name of preservation of democratic rig... but beer must be drunk only in hotel ... rooms or on the sly, gold or ornaments ... not be worn, though platinum and ... monds could be, and all social prog... must rest exclusively on sanctimonious ... sertions made **ad nouseum.** To go back ... the dying goldsmiths and the owners ... employees of jewellery shops, who h... now joined the endless columns of the ... employed in the country excepting such ... them as have joined the lawless ... ground dealers, we have to say that ... vast picture of destitution is the produc... the fundamentally wrong economic p... followed by the Congress leaders who ... India. They have no faith in their

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countrymen, but run to foreigners for whatever help they need. War or Peace, progress or development, all must be made in the outside world. It is high time that Indians reciprocated their feelings by having no faith in them.

A. C.

Dying for the Nation

Whenever, there is war in Europe one finds the flower of the nation in uniform. Sons of aristocratic families and learned University men of military age join up as privates and officers in the army, without any inducement other than the call of patriotism. We cannot expect men above sixty to join up but they can do war work if called upon. But surely there are millions of Indians of military age who have not offered their services to the nation, and among them must be thousands who belong to the political parties of India directly or by family ties. We have heard of many Indian leaders giving money to the N.D.F. or ornaments or land for the nation's good but we do not know of any Congressman or members of the C.P.I. joining up to fight the Chinese. If these people are too old to fight, surely they have cal parties. We want to see these youngwhom they can inspire to fight for the nation's dfeence? But we only hear of ounces of gold or rupees that are contributed by people for national defence. At voting time thousands of youngmen go about in cars to collect support for political parties. We want to see these youngmen driving and getting fit for service at the battle front. If they cannot join up, they should be forced out of vote collecting and having refreshments at the cost of unknown paymasters. In short, no professional political workers should be permitted to thrive who will not be ready to fight the enemies of the nation. In fact, there is an amazing reluctance among politically minded persons of all ages to recognise the realities of national defence. Some think that they will rouse the world to come to India's help militarily by the sheer force of their eloquence. Others think diplomacy will achieve national defence. Such persons naturally cannot inspire the youth of the nation to come down to brass tacks and to get ready to fight the enemy physically. They also think talk and the shouting of **Jai Hind** will drive the Chinese out of Indian territory and prevent Pakistan from making free gifts of India's acres to the Pekinese. The realities, however, are different. The world will not come to India's aid except in a cursory and makebelieve manner and even if the world gave weapons to India the soldiers to use the weapons must come from within the nation. "Diplomacy" has put us in the present defenceless position and we should not put our trust in such subterfuges. The most important thing in war is man-power. Both for fighting and for the production of weapons we need hard working and courageous people, who will face the enemy in their undaunted millions. Our leaders have been, willy nilly, the followers of a philosophy of **Ahimsa** and they are naturally not so wholehearted in their advocacy of actual physical combat and they cannot, therefore, inspire the youth of the country to get ready for a fight. Until we get over this difficulty, India as a nation cannot go into action with full vigour. "Fight if you must" is not a strong enough dictum.

A. C.

More Totalitarian Than Communists

When Desai or the other smaller finance ministers of States unfold their schemes of procuration of revenues, one begins to feel that these men are surely taking the wind out of the Communist sails and that "new Congress" is surely more fanatically Communistic and totalitarian than "old Lenin." For under Desai's able management, exploitation of man by man will soon cease and no man will earn any profits by trade, industry or commerce. If any businesses run, the entrepreneurs will be "India's National Capitalists" earning six per cent on their investments and handing over all surplus profits to the State. "They have done this deliberately" and not by walking into the preserves of Communism unwit-

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tingly. Morarji has a message to give to India and his message is "change your mental outlook, give up all old superstitions about property, income and profits and live for the State and the State alone." Morarji will be a Guru to the nation. His sneezes, coughs and sniggers will have a sacred and secret meaning. "Lure of Gold," "entrapping women" and similar phrases are the beginnings of a new language, of a new ideology. We who earn no profits, not even 6 per cent, but live in a hand to month fashion and **hold our heads high** in freedom unchallenged by the didactic excesses of career makers of Political Parties, view Morarji's words with distaste and think he is after entrapping all Indias into slavery of the State. We have no desire to be employees of the State en masse. For we think that preservation of the individual's rights and freedom is the very essence of human liberty and freedom. We are also not convinced that all private business is immoral and steeped in corruption. Some are, but so are many State departments. Private employers try to exploit workers, but so do State departments. There is injustice, unfair practice and victimisation at private as well as public level; but while one can fight back one's Private bosses, the State as an employer will be terrifyingly over size and unassailable with its employees utterly at its mercy. And one can always harbour hopes of rising to greater heights by personal effort and someday becoming an employer oneself—if private enterprise remains a force in human economy. But who can hope to be anything but a cog in the wheel or a target for a firing squad, once the State takes over all management of all production, distribution and consumption? We, therefore, do not wish to see the Morarji idea grow. Not for money; for he who steals my purse steals trash; but if he tries to steal my personal freedom and the right to do as I like, go where I like, spend as I think best, he will then be trying to steal my immortal soul and will be incurring my wrath and the disfavour of all my fellow humans. The Morarji idea is the thin end of the wedge of Communism that is being driven into the free heart of India. This must be resisted, disowned and discarded. Let the State make a capital levy to get over difficulties, but in a fair and straight fashion; not by totally demolishing the foundations of private rights.

A.C.

Secret Stimuli for Chinese Arrogance

When China discarded the path of morality and adopted the ways of marauders and bandits to establish an empire, she began to push into other peoples' territories in the unscrupulous manner of medieval invaders. Tibet came after Korea and the blatant disregard for truth and history displayed by China in Tibet bears comparison with the actions of Huns, Sakas, etc., who only thought of conquest. But behind all this, one notices a sort of silent approval by the powers who said nothing to China except in a weak and casual manner.

Russia, for instance, left China to do all the dirty work for Communism in the hope perhaps, that if China got involved progressively with a number of other nations, she would lose strength and Russia will emerge in glory where China will incur only disfavour and enmity.

America, perhaps, did not dislike the growth of China as a rival Communist Power to Russia and she may have had hopes of China clashing with Russia over her Asiatic possessions and Mongolia. Pakistan as the paid agent of America, played up to China, perhaps, under orders of her big boss and her actions, to all appearances directed against India were, perhaps, directed against Russia. Boosting of Chinese morale may have been the reason for America and Britain accepting the ruthless conquest of Tibet as a **fait accompli** and India accepted it too in order to be in fashion.

The British worked hand in hand with America and the more Chinese arrogance increases at the cost of others, the happier should be the position of Britain.

A. C.

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TAX EXPLOSION IN THE NEW BUDGET

The incidence of the new and additional taxation proposed in the current year's Union Budget, unprecedented in magnitude as it undoubtedly is, and as so readily admitted by the Union Finance Minister himself, was not, however, entirely unexpected. The increasing needs of Defence in the context of the national emergency posed by the Sino-Indian armed conflict and the need for much heavier Third Plan allocations during the current fiscal year especially in respect of the needed adjustments to Defence production, were already clearly visualized. In the current year's revenue allocations, for instance, Defence appropriations alone account for a gross Rs. 867 crores which is Rs. 491 crores higher than last years's allocations on this account and the whole of the estimated additional tax yield proposed in the current Budget will be much more than wholly absorbed by this one head alone. In a sense, therefore, the present heavy, even unprecedented level of additional taxation proposed in the current Budget, would be regarded to have been quite inescapable. What, however, would seem to be especially curious in this regard is the other comparatively insignificant allocations to Defence in the Capital Budget.

The Finance Minister, it is significant, has lumped all his Defence allocations in the Budget for all the services together without, customarily, giving any details about their particular use. This prevents any intelligent public assessment of the extent to which the different sectors of the armed services are intended to be strengthened. But a general conclusion can and has been drawn from the comparative figures of revenue and capital allocations on Defence account which seem to indicate that while the strength of the armed services in respect of increased personnel is clearly intended to be considerably expanded, not corresponding attention seems to have been paid to the need for countervailing stepping up of manufacture of Defence equipments and stores. Possibly the obvious lag in this regard is expected to be set off against lend lease foreign assistance and/or arms gifts that are expected to be derived from abroad. In a broad sense, however, the needs of Defence and their impact on the Budget, especially on its revenue side, heavy as it has been, does not seem, as in the past years, to have aroused any very keen public interest despite the continuing naional emergency in this context. This may not be regarded as quite healthy.

The need for additional taxation was visualized even before the overwhelming needs of Defence in the context of the suddenly massively developed threat on the country's integrity emerged in October-November last year. But when Parliament was obliged to make additional appropriations for Defence in its last November session widening an earlier Budgetary deficit to the substantial level of some Rs. 190 crores, the need for immediate countervailing taxation to cover the gap was widely felt. In fact the need of an immediate tax budget for the purpose seemed, to an eminent school of Indian economic thinkers with which we entirely agreed in these columns, to be especially urgent in the context of the much heavier order of fiscal mobilization that, it was visualized, the situation would be bound to pose in the immediate future and the corresponding need for mopping up the existing condition of excess demand as an essential condition-precedent for a favourable climate for raising the much larger resources for Defence and development that would thus be bound to eventuate shortly. The Union Ministry of Finance, however, did not seem to be much concerned, despite the inflationary pressures which had already been found to have been mounting then and seemed to be quite complacent about its ability to take adequate measures in its oncoming General Budget which was then less than only four months ahead.

In any case, it was clearly visualized, in the context of the country's mounting Defence and development needs, that heavy additional taxation would be an inevitable corollary of the situation as it existed and as it was likely to develop. It was, for instance, already agreed that as one of the expedients of raising the national defence potential to a level of effectivenes would call for a doubling of the armed forces every year over the next few years, the wages and allowances of the additional presonnel that would thus be expected to be drafted into our armed services during the current year alone would be expected to absorb an additional Rs. 250 to Rs. 300 crores. There would, inevitably, have to be other expenses directly related to the expansion of the armed personnel. Additional taxation of the order of Rs. 275 crores would not, in the circumstances, be considered illegitimate, unprecedentedly heavy as it has been.

It would, nevertheless, be wholly pertinent to examine the especial methods of additional taxation adopted in the present context and to determine to what extent, or otherwise, they would be calculated to strengthen our national fiscal bases.

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The taxation proposals outlined are expected to fetch an additional Rs. 266 crores net, after allowing for the share of the excise duties that would accrue to the States and would be raised in the following manner :

Ser. No.	Item	Rs. Crores	Per cent of total
1.	Customs	87	33
2.	Excise & Union Territories' Sales Tax	108	40
	Total	195	73
3.	Super Profits Tax	25	9
4.	Surcharge on Income Tax and Tax rationalisation	46	18
	Gross total	266	100

The above estimate of yield in additional taxation does not, however, disclose a full measure of the additional tax effort due to a number of factors. There is the matter of the rather pernicious habit of under-estimating tax revenue which has been in evidence over the last few years. The order of such under-estimation would be evident from the following figures :

Year	Budget estimates of revenue Rs. crores	Actual revenue receipts Rs. crores	Excess Receipts Rs. crores
1959-60	722	812	90
1960-61	819	909	90
1061-62	967	1,054	187

But even apart from this habitual propensity to under-estimate revenue, in the current year's estimates other tax-effort factors have also been eliminated from the assessment. Thus, the accrual of the estimated Rs. 19 crores from the rise in railway rates, which was done with the express purpose of easing the pressure on the General Budget, has been excluded. Besides, accounting conventions leave out the additional revenue of very nearly Rs. 5 crores estimated to be derived from a revision of the postal rates, and which have also been ignored. Then, again, the premium of Rs. 33 crores on War Risks Insurance, a non-refundable receipt, is basically a revenue receipt although credit has been taken for it in the capital account. If these were to be added to the total estimated yield from the new tax proposals, it would be expected to gross Rs. 323 crores and to which, further, may be added the estimated Rs. 40 crores to be derived from the Compulsory Savings Scheme, making an aggregate total of Rs. 3[illegible] crores. What would seem to be especially sig[illegible]ficant in this context is that of this amount, dis[illegible] imposts, including war risks insurance a[illegible] compulsory savings, which are essentially in t[illegible] nature of a property tax, amount to Rs. 144 cr[illegible] which is 40 per cent of the total, and indirect levies, including revision of railway and post[illegible] rates account for Rs. 219 crores or 60 per ce[illegible]

An analysis of the direct imposts will re[illegible] the significant fact that the Union Finan[illegible] Minister has, very adroitly, desisted from de[illegible] fresh tax measures, except for the Super Pro[illegible] Tax and the Compulsory Savings (which, [illegible] essence is really a new tax measure), but h[illegible] provided for the estimated additional revenues [illegible] way of surcharges on existing tax levels all [illegible] which will accrue to the Centre alone without a[illegible] of it having to be disbursed to the States as wou[illegible] be necessary in the event of an upward revis[illegible] of the bases of the taxes themselves. They a[illegible] briefly :

(i) An additional surcharge ranging fr[illegible] 4 to 10 per cent on incomes *after tax* of ind[illegible] duals, Hindu Undivided Families, Unregister[illegible] Firms and Association of Persons. The assess[illegible] will be enabled to reduce their liability to [illegible] surcharge to the extent of 3 per cent on the first Rs. 6,000 of their residual income and 2 per cent on the balance, by electing to pay a compul[illegible] deposit in lieu of the tax.

(ii) The higher exemption limit of the ex[illegible] ing Income Tax Surcharge to Hindu Undivi[illegible] Families (Rs. 15,000) and individuals and r[illegible] registered firms (Rs. 7,500), will be abolished.

(iii) A surcharge of 20 per cent on Inco[illegible] Tax will be levided on registered firms.

(iv) The exemption of jewellery of the va[illegible] of upto Rs. 25,000 for purposes of liability to Wealth Tax will be withdrawn.

(v) The permissible deduction as cost expenditure on remuneration and perquisites Companies will be limited to a gross Rs. 6[illegible] per year for any individual employee.

(vi) A Super Profits Tax will be leviable Companies, the Tax being leviable whe[illegible] Company is disclosed to have an income, *tax*, exceeding 6 per cent of its net assets, is, share capital plus reserves, but exc[illegible] development rebate reserves); the rate of the being 50 per cent of the net earnings above below 10 per cent, and 60 per cent on net ea[illegible] above 10 per cent.

So far as individual incomes are concer[illegible] the following table will demonstrate the im[illegible] of the new levies :

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Tax liability of individual wage earners
(Married with more than one child)

Annual Income	Tax at 1962-63 Rates Rs	Tax at 1963-64 Rates Rs.	Deposit at 1963-64 Rates Rs.
1	2	3	4
5,000	42	94	149
7,500	217	333	149
10,000	479	680	250
12,500	786	1,075	294
15,000	1,171	1,544	337
18,000	1,901	2,293	384
20,000	2,272	2,856	515
25,000	4,044	4,821	479
30,000	6,247	7,192	535
40,000	11,065	12,340	639
50,000	16,907	18,474	722
60,000	23,570	25,370	789

N.B. Failing deposits at the prescribed scale, the tax liability would be the sum of the figures in cols. 3 and 4.

There would seem to be some justification for this additional levy on incomes between Rs. 5000 and Rs. 20,000 as their present tax burdens are comparatively small. An assessee with an income of Rs. 5,000 wholly earned, married and with more than one child to bring up, at present pay only Rs. 42 as tax; his liability will now increase to Rs. 94 by way of tax and he will moreover be required to deposit in compulsory savings a further sum of Rs. 149, which will be available to him after five years with 4 per cent per annum tax-free addition. At the Rs. 20,000 level, his tax liability was Rs. 2,272, but it will now increase to Rs. 2,856 with an additional deposit burden of Rs. 415.

But apart from those who pay income tax, the compulsory deposit scheme will also embrace a further very large area comprising empoyees, land-owners, house-owners, shop-keepers, professionals etc., and it is expected to net an aggergate amount of between Rs. 65 and Rs. 70 crores of which Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 crores will go to the States, the balance accruing to the Centre, estimated at Rs. 40 crores. Of this total amount, income tax payers are expected to contribute only about Rs. 12 crores, the balance representing a large area which was hitherto considered unreachable.

The impact of these taxes might have been two-fold in their effects, first as a welcome measure of promoting small savings and, what is far more significant, also as a measure of disincentive against excesive comsumption, enabling resources thus relased to be moved into defence and development efforts. Such a view of these imposts, however, presumes that the price factor will not unduly burden individual expenditure, especially in the essential consumer sectors. With pressure on prices increasing, such expectations could be wholly nullified and even the welcome promotion of additional small savings by way of the Compulsory Savings Scheme may create corresponding depredations in the tempo of the present rate of small savings by way of the various other small savings and postal savings bank measures.

The ceiling imposed on Company salary-cum-perquisites would, on the face of it, seem to be a welcome and legitimate measure in the right direction. This will, one hopes, help to put a curb on the trends which have, for some years, been increasingly in evidence in the private sector of salaries and perquisites to staff beyond any comparison with those in the public sector. This was tending to not merely create an unhealthy differential in private and public sector top-level amenities and wages, but also to the creation of a highly favoured community of mercantile employees out of all proportion to what might be described as the average upper midde class income levels in the country. But some trepidation is naturally felt as regards the possible impact of this ceiling on foreign collaboration in Indian industry and, to a corresponding extent, on foreign investment in such enterprises. This is a matter which seems to require careful consideration and reassessment.

The one item among the Finance Minister's new tax imposts which appears to have come in for the most presistant criticism is the newly devised Super Profits Tax, especially among the business community, who regard it as most ill-conceived. The Union Finance Minister's justification that there was no correlation between the rates of corporate tax and profits and the need for corrective measures in this regard, does not seem to be convincing to the critics of this measure who, instead of enabling an amount of some Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 crores to be raised through this measure, would even prefer an upward revision in the standard rate of company taxation from the present level of 55 per cent to 60 per cent, to bring about a corresponding result. But, despite the criticism of the business community and their friends, the principle upon which the Super Profits Tax has been predicated would nevertheless seem to be basically sound as a measure of arresting the trends of excessive profiteering by industry and business. The bogey that this measure will

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be a deterrant against private foreign investments in the country and will, to that extent, arrest development progress. The methods of assessing Super Profits at anything above 6 per cent of the equity capital plus reserves (excluding, of course development rebates reserves) may be considered too stringent. There may be scope for revision of the formula upon which super profits may be estimated, and a certain measure of relaxation provided to exempt profits upto a higher level than already proposed. That may also answer apprehensions that this measure might prove a disincentive to foreign investments in the country. But basically the principles upon which the Super Profits Tax has been predicated would seem to be both legitimate and sound.

It has been argued that the purpose of limiting trends of excessive profiteering might have been as well served by levying a proportionately higher rate of tax on distributed profits as a measure of maintaining incentives to private foreign investments in India, which have been showing signs lately of a declining trend. This may not, on assessment, be an altogether unwelcome trend since private foreign investments raise certain very complicated issues and are, in any case, far more expensive than honest-to-goodness loans in the long run. The finance Minister, however, is known to favour foreign equity investments in India and this argument may have been advanced as a measure of inducement towards revising his scheme of the Tax. Incidentally, it must also be mentioned, that the Union Finance Minister's expectations that the Tax will be likely to have a beneficial effct on prices is wholly misconceived for it can have no direct effect on commodity prices in a seller's maket where excessive profits are, clearly, the result of shortages in the economy and are consequently, in the nature of monopoly profits.

It must be recalled that historically, a Super Profits Tax has been found to have worked with commendable results. Such a tax called the Excess Profits Tax was first devised in Britain during World War II in the 1939-40 British Budget with a view to mopping up the excessive profits that were estimated to accrue from massive war contracts and war production. The methods of assessing normal profits were of course different and took into account the nature and history of different categories of business, but the incidence of the tax initially imposed on the excess profit thus calculated was far heavier. It was, at first, 80 per cent and was later raised to a full 100 per cent with the proviso that 20 per cent would be later refunded after the war emergency was over. India was also found to copy the measure to a certain extent and the results were not entirely unwholesome. On a comparison, Mr. Desai's new Super Profits Tax would be found to have a certain measure of legitimate justification and, in any case would only have the effect of imposing a burden on a community which is well able to bear its impact. But here also, there would seem to have been a tradition al underassessment of possible yields. For, on the showing of existing company profits, the Rs. 36 crores yield would be more nearly Rs. 36 crores than the Rs. 25 crores estimated by the Finance Ministry.

Coming to an assessment of indirect levies included in the current Budget's new tax proposals, here, again, we find that basically no new tax proposals have been formulated and the entire purpose of increasing revenue resources sought to be served by upward revision of and surcharges on existing levies. The overall proportion of the indirect levies, we have already demonstrated, accounts for approximately 60 per cent of the total additional tax burden on the country and comprises a wide range of customs and excise duties and the rates of inter-State sales taxes. This is expected to yield an additional revenue of approximately Rs. 30 crores, most of which will accrue to the States themselves.

In the matter of customs duties three types of changes have been proposed. In the first instance, increases in certain duties have been proposed. Secondly, a general surcharge has been levied on all duties and, thirdly, the countervailing duties on goods on which the excise duties have been raised, have been increased. In applying the countervailing customs duties a small significant change in method has also been devised which will have the effect of increasing the incidence of any given rate of the duty. The increases proposed in the customs duties cover a wide range of goods including raw cotton, rubber, cine films, tobacco, dyes, hardware, electrical and other appliances, motor vehicles parts etc. Substantial duties have also been proposed on mineral oils including kerosene and diesel over the existing levels so as to make them correspond with the new higher excise duties. Goods on which import duties have been increased consist mainly of raw materials, intermediates and capital goods. On certain goods the incidence of the increase is 33 per cent of the existing level and on others as much as 50 per cent.

Apart from the straight increase in duties it has also been proposed to levy a general surcharge of 10 per cent on all duties presumably with the proviso that the higher rates of the import duties would be

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cluded from calculation. But a significant change has been proposed in calculating countervailing duties which will, henceforth, be calculated on the landed cost inclusive of basic import duties and not on CIF basis as hitherto. The increase in import duties has been estimated to yield Rs. 65.98 crores. The 10 per cent surcharge and the increase in countervailing duties both following the increase in excise duties and the new base to which they are applied are, together, expected to yield a further Rs. 26.79 crores, making up an aggregate from import duties of Rs. 92.77 crores. It has also been proposed to abolish the export duty on tea in order that the export of this important foreign exchange earner may be stimulated, but its effect is partially offset by proposing to discontinue the refund of excise duty on exported tea. But there will, nevertheless, be some gain to the tea industry, especially on its export incidence as its effect will be to result in a net loss of revenue of the order of Rs. 5.38 crores to the Government. After taking this into account, the net increased customs revenue is estimated at Rs. 87.39 crores.

In excise levies, the most striking feature is the complete absence of any new duties. This may have been done to avoid any possible difficulty in collection and also, possiby, to minimise the burden of additional collection expenses. This will also leave unexploited a fairly wide field which might, otherwise, have been brought within the purview of the excise collectors. Presumably, more excise duties of a fairly large order are to be expected next year.

The actual changes proposed in the current year's excise duties fall into two distinctive groups, —one on those where certain direct increases in the rate of excise has been proposed, and those on which a surcharge has been levied. The surcharges are not, however, at a uniform rate and the only apparent difference between the two groups of commodities is that under the latter the accrued revenues will wholly go to the Centre without any part of it being required to be ceded to the States. Of the goods on which incrased excise duties have been levied, the most important are the mineral oils, which would be expected to yield an additional Rs. 48.40 crores. Kerosene, which is an essential consumer commodity affects almost all sections of the community and the effect of the increase of the duty on motor spirits and diesel oil has already had the effect of increasing freight rates. This would be bound to have a pervasive impact on cost of production and raise them alll along the line. Other goods on which excise has been increased, include tobacco, both manufactured and unmanufactured, copper, straw board and iron and steel products. The gross receipts estimated from these increases including those on mineral oils would be Rs. 60.28 crores. The surcharges on excise duties at varying rates which cover such a wide range of goods, most of which enter into essential consumer consumption, such as cotton yarn, electric bulbs, tea, coffe, soap, cosmetics, and a whole range of others, would account for a net excise revenue to the centre, inclusive of the basic increases in excise duties, of Rs. 106.61 crores. It is clear that these extensive increases would have the immediate effect of raising the prices of a wide variety of consumer goods, a large number of them, being of an essential nature, as a direct result of these tax proposals. The indirect effect of excise increases on intermediate goods and raw materials will push up cost of production which will be reinforced by the rise in freight rates following the increased excise imposts on motor spirit and diesel oils. A general upward movement of the price structure, in consequence, is a foregone inevitability.

In certain quarters these eventualities appear to have already been visualized, but justified on the plea that this will serve as a salutory disincentive to consumption, enabling corresponding resources to be moved into Defence and development effort. While this might hold good in respect of luxury and semi-luxury items. it cannot certainly apply in the case of commodities entering into essential consumption for living nor in respect of vital raw materials of production. The net effect of such a tax effort would be bound to vitally depress the already very sketchy living levels in the country and would, therefore, be found to conform to no known and soud canons of public finance. A sound taxation policy stipulates that the mode of taxation should not, first, *unduly depress* the peoples' normal living standards (a certain measure of effect on living levels in a national emergency is here, clearly conceded) and, secondly, that their effect should not be such that any of the burdens of the present generations may have to be passed on to posterity, *as far as possible*. It follows as an inevitable corollary that the need for resources, as far as possibe, should be sought to be covered by measures of direct taxation. Indirect imposts especially on consumer commodities should be avoided except for certain specific purposes. One of these legitimate purposes could be that of providing a disincentive to excessive consumption as a measure of sound public policy.

None of these canons of what are normally regarded as sound bases of public taxation would appear to have been observed in formulating the tax budgets of the central government and, the

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State Government follow the example of the Centre as a matter of course. The result has been to increase over the past several years, the burden of indirect imposts on the consumer to an unprecedented extent. This is reflected in the increasing proportion of indidect levies in our tax budgets from year to year. The over all burden of per capita taxation in the country has been increasing at accelerating rate from year to year ever since Independence. The per capita gross taxation level in 1950-51, the year of take-off of the First Plan was estimated by the then Union Finance Minister at Rs. 8 per head which included both Central and State taxes. Of this the proportion of indirect taxes was only a very small per centage of the total. Since then, it has progressively increased, with a more than corresponding increase in the burden of indirect imposts, many of which have ben increasingly covering a wide range of essential consumer goods. The burden of the Centre's share in the per capita distribution of taxes in the country alone, rose to Rs. 12.70 in 1955-56, to Rs. 20.75 in 1960-61 and, in the current Budget, it is calculated to have risen to as much as Rs. 29.75. Added to this there is the burden of State taxes to be taken into account which would raise these figures by a further considerable amount. And, on the whole, more than 60 per cent of this burden is accounted for by indirect imposts upon the people.

What is most significant in this connection is that a large proportion of the people's indirect tax burdens is covered by imposts upon essential consumer commodities. The effect of such imposts, inevitably, is to raise the price of the commodities by far larger margins than the actual incidence of the tax sought to be covered thereby. The actual tax burden on the people, where this is concerned, is therefore, far heavier than what the Government seeks to take out of their pocket. With their per capita income level at the stage it is, despite the improvements therein sought to have been achieved by reason of the two Plans, the significance of the burden, especially in their bearing upon living levels, would seem to be quite obvious.

Even then, it is asy to concede that a certain measure of indirect taxation even upon essential consumer commodities, might have to be imposed capable especially in the contxt of our present Defence and development needs. But the manner of covering these needs would seem to leave a great deal to be desired. If certain essential consumer commodities have at all to be taxed, and some of them, like mill cloth of medium quality are, indeed, very heavily taxed, we do not see any reason why recourse could not be had to taxing salt again which would have the effect, on the one hand, of modilizing considerable resources and, on the other, of so evenly distributing the burden that its net impact on the individual, however poor, would be likely to be only infinitesimal. A tax, for instanc, of Rs. 3.00 per maund on salt would bring in revenue enough to cover almost the entire amount of proceeds from similar taxes on a whole range of other essential consumer goods and, yet its net effect on the individual consumer, however poor, would be to the extent of only a few nai paise per mensem. We do not understand the sentimentality that may have prevented recourse to such an obvious expedient.

Taken all in all, the Union Finance Minister's current year's Budget,—and we have never been able to see much imagination or fresh judgment in his previous ones—is one of the sorriest efforts we have ever seen in the field of public finance. What is even more deplorable is that despite its obvious contents of confusion and distress, he is likely to get away with his iniquitous proposals and the whole country will be made to pay for the folly of having placed him in the position which he happens to occupy in the governance. The Finance Minister is supposed to have a team of high level experts at his disposal and if this were the best advice they could provide in the way of budgeting for an emergency we cannot entertain any very good opinion of their abilities. The Budget has yet to be adopted by Parliament and it is not entirely impossible that in course of the debates that must be held the Finance Minister, although it would seem to be highly unlikely, may yet be induced to revise his iniquitous and crippling measures.

Karuna K. Nandi

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THE INDIAN LEGISLATURES AND THE DELEGATION OF LEGISLATIVE POWER

By Prof. D. N. BANERJEE

I

The object of this article is to deal with the question whether our Legislatures can delegate any legislative power to any authority in India, and if so, to what extent. In recent years this question arose in 1951 when the President of India made a "special reference"[1] to the Supreme Court of India for opinion under Clause (1) of Article 143 of our Constitution. The circumstances which led to this special reference by the President and the points referred to the Supreme Court for opinion will appear from the full text of the reference, dated 7th January, 1951, as reproduced below :

"Whereas in the year 1912 the Governor-General of India in Council acting in his legislative capacity enacted the Delhi Laws Act, 1912, section 7 of which conferred power on the Central Government by notification to extend to the Province of Delhi (that is to say, the present State of Delhi[1a]) or any part thereof, with such restrictions and modifications as it thought fit, any enactment which was in force in any part of British India at the date of such notification;

"And whereas in 1947 the Dominion Legislature enacted the Ajmer-Merwara (Extension of Laws) Act, 1947, section 2 of which conferred power on the Central Government by notification to extend to the Province of Ajmer-Merwara (that is to say, the present State of Ajmer), with such restrictions and modifications as it thought fit, any enactment which was in force in any other Province at the date of such notification ;

"And whereas, by virtue of the powers conferred by the said sections of the said Acts, notifications were issued by the Central Government from time to time extending a number of Acts in force in the Governors' Provinces to the Province of Delhi and the Province of Ajmer-Merwara, sometimes with, and sometimes without, restrictions and modifications, and the Acts so extended and the orders, rules, by-laws and other instruments issued under such Acts were and are regarded as valid law in force in the Province (now State) of Delhi and in the Province of Ajmer-Merwara (now State of Ajmer), as the case may be, and rights and privileges have been created, obligations and liabilities have been incurred and penalties, forfeitures and punishments have been incurred or imposed under such Acts and instruments ;

"And whereas Parliament with the object **inter alia** of making a uniform provision for extension of laws with regard to all Part C States except Coorg and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands enacted the Part C States (Laws) Act, 1950, section 2 of which confers power on the Central Government by notification to extend to any Part C States (other than Coorg and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands) or to any part of such State, with such restrictions and modifications as it thinks fit, any enactment which is in force in a Part A State at the date of the notification and also confers the power on the Central Government to make provision in any enactment so extended for the repeal or amendment of any corresponding law (other than a Central Act) which is for the time being applicable to that Part C State ;

"And whereas section 4 of the Part C States (Laws) Act, 1950, has repealed section 7 of the Delhi Laws Act, 1912, and the Ajmer-Merwara (Extension of Laws) Act, 1947, but the effect of the provisos to the said section is, notwithstanding the said repeals, to continue, **inter alia** inforce the Acts extended to the Provinces of Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara or the States of Delhi and

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Ajmer under the provisions repealed by the said section ;

"And whereas notifications have been issued by the Central Government from time to time under section 2 of the Part C States (Laws) Act, 1950, extending Acts in force in Part A States to various Part C States sometimes with, and sometimes without, restrictions and modifications ;

"And whereas the Federal Court of **India in Jatindra Nath Gupta** v. **Province of Bihar** (1949, F.C.R. 595) held by a majority that the proviso to sub-section (3) of section 1 of the Bihar Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1947, was **ultra vires** of the Bihar Legislature **inter alia** on the ground that the said proviso conferred power on the Provincial Government to modify an Act of the Provincial Legislature and thus amounted to a delegation of legislative power ;

"And whereas, as a result of the said decision of the Federal Court, doubts have arisen regarding the validity of section 7 of the Delhi Laws Act, 1912, section 2 of the Ajmer-Merwara (Extension of Laws) Act, 1947, and section 2 of the Part C States (Laws) Act, 1950, and of the Acts extended to the Provinces of Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara and various Part C States under the said section respectively, and of the orders and other instruments issued under the Acts so extended ;

"And whereas the validity of section 7 of the Delhi Laws Act, 1912, and section 2 of the Ajmer-Merwara (Extension of Laws) Act, 1947 and of the Acts extended by virtue of the powers conferred by the said sections has been challenged in some cases pending at present before the Punjab High Court, the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of Ajmer, and the District Court and the Subordinate Courts in Delhi;

"And whereas, in view of what is hereinfore stated, it appears to me that the following questions of law have arisen and are of such nature and of such public importance that it is expedient that the opinion of the Supreme Court of India should be obtained thereon ;

"Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred upon me by Clause (1) of Article 143 of the Constitution, I, Rajendra Prasad, President of India, hereby refer the said questions to the Supreme Court of India for consideration and report thereon namely :—

'(1) Was section 7 of the Delhi Laws Act, 1912, or any of the provisions thereof and in what particular or particulars or to what extent **ultra vires** the Legislature which passed the said Act ?

'(2) Was the Ajmer-Merwara (Extension of Laws) Act, 1947, or any of the provisions thereof and in what particular or particulars or to what extent **ultra vires** the Legislature which passed the said Act ?

'(3) Is section 2 of the Part C States (Laws) Act, 1950, or any of the provisions thereof and in what particular or particulars or to what extent **ultra vires** the Parliament' ?"

II

We have given above, at the risk of some prolixity, the full text of the special reference with a view to enabling the reader to understand properly the legal points involved. Arguments in this reference were heard by the Supreme Court on the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th and 30th of April, 1951.[2]

The Supreme Court, however, was not unanimous in its opinion on the legal points referred to it by the President. By a majority[3] consisting of Fazl Ali, Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjea, Das and Bose JJ.,[4] it held[5]—

(1) that "section 7 of the Delhi Laws Act, 1912, and section 2 of the Ajmer-Merwara (Extension of Laws) Act, 1947 are wholly **intra vires**" ; and

(2) that "the first portion of section 2 of the Part C States (Laws) Act, 1950, which empowers the Central Government to extend to any Part C State or to any part of such State with such modifications and restrictions as it thinks fit any enactment which is in force in a Part A State is **intra vires.**"

By another majority, however, consisting of Kania C.J., Mahajan, Mukherjea and Bose JJ.,[6] the Supreme Court held that the latter portion of section 2 of the Part C States (Laws) Act, 1950, "which empow-

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the Central Government to make provision in any enactment extended to a Part C State, for repeal or amendment of any law (other than a Central Act) which is for the time being applicable to that Part C State, is **ultra vires**"[7] the "Indian Parliament which passed the Act."

It should be clear from what is given above that the Supreme Court has held by a majority that our Central Legislature can delegate legislative power in certain circumstances to any authority in India. And what applies to the Central Legislature also applies, under the provisions of our present Constitution, to our State Legislatures **mutatis mutandis.** The legal principles on which the Judges on the majority side based their oponion are to be found in the two extracts from the two judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England as quoted hereinafter. A frequent reference was made by them to these extracts in the course of their expressoins of opinion on the legal points referred to the Supreme Court by the President. They did this not because the legal principles embodied in those extracts were binding on them but because they agreed with their soundness and propriety.

Let us now see the two extracts referred to above. The first extract is from the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (delivered by Lord Selborne) in what is known as the **Empress** v. **Burah (And Another)** case.[8]

It runs as follows :—

"The Indian Legislature has powers expressly limited by the Act of the Imperial Parliament which created it, and it can, of course, do nothing beyond the limits which circumscribe these powers. But, when acting within those limits, it is not in any sense an agent or delegate of the Imperial Parliament, but has, and was intended to have, plenary powers of legislation, as large, and of the same nature, as those of Parliament itself. The established Courts of Justice, when a question arises whether the prescribed limits have been exceeded, must of necessity determine that question : and the only way in which they can properly do so, is by looking to the terms of the instrument by which, affirmatively, the legislative powers were created, and by which, negatively, they are restricted. If what has been done is legislation within the general scope of the affirmative words which give the peower, and if it violates no express condition or restriction by which that power is limited (in which category would, of course, be included any Act of the the Imprial Parliament at variance with it), it is not for any Court of Justice to inquire further, or to enlarge constructively those conditions and restrictions."

The second extract is from the judgment of the Privy Council in **Hodge**[9] v. **The Queen** (1883, L.R. 9 App. Cas. 117). This case arose out of the Liquor Licence Act, 1877, of Ontario, which "anthorised the Licence Commissioners to make regulations, create offences and annex penalities." "It was contended," says Das J., "that the local legislature had no power to delegate such powers to the Commissioners and that the maxim[10] **delegata potestas non potest delegare** applied. This argument was repelled by the Privy Council in **Hodge** v. **The Queen.**" Delivering the judgment of the Privy Council Lord Fitz-Gerald made the following observations,[11] among other things :

"It appears to their Lordships, however, that the objection thus raised by the appellants is founded on an entire misconception of the true character and position of the provincial legislature. They are in no sense delegates of, or acting under any mandate from, the Imperial Parliament. When the British North America Act enacted that there should be a legislature for Ontario, and that its legislative assembly should have exclusive authority to make laws for the province and for provincial purposes in relation to the matters enumerated in section 92, it conferred powers not in any sense to be exercised by delegation from or as agents of the Imperial Parliament, but authority as plenary and as ample within the limits prescribed by section 92 as the Imperial Parliament in the plenitude of its power possessed and could bestow. Within these limits of subjects and area the local legislature is supreme, and has the same

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authority as the Imperial Parliament, or the Parliament of the Dominion (of Canada), would have had under like circumstances to confide to a muncipal institution or body of its own creation authority to make by-laws or resolutions as to subjects specified in the enactment, and with the object of carrying the enactment into operation and effect. It is obvious that such an authority is ancillary to legislation, and without it an attempt to provide for varying details and machinery to carry them out might become oppressive or absolutely fail."

Further :—

"It was argued at the bar that a legislature committing important regulations to agents or delegates effaces itself. That is not so. It retains its powers intact, and can, whenever it pleases, destroy the agency it has created and set up another, or take the matter directly into its own hands. How far it shall seek the aid of subordinate agencies, and how long it shall continue them, are matters for each legislature, and not for the Courts of law, to decide..... The provincial legislature having thus the authority to impose imprisonment, with or without hard labour had also power to delegate similar authority to the municipal body which it created, called the Licence Commissioner."

"The result of the above observations," says Das[12] J., "naturally was that 'if by-laws or resolutions are warranted, power to enforce them seems necessary and equally lawful'. Nobody can deny that the Act in question actually delgated real legislative power to the Licence Commissioners, for the power to create offences and to annex penalties cannot but be a part of real legislative power. Indeed, the Privy Council in judgment proceeded on the footing that it was a delegation of legislative power but held that it was ancillary to legislation, that such power of delegation was co-extensive with the power of legislation itself, that as long as the legislature had not effaced itself, such delegation was permissible and that it was for the legislature to decide how much power should be delegated and for how long such delegation should continue and that these were not questions for the Court to decide."

In the course of his expression of opinion on the legal points referred to the Supreme Court Das J., who was, as now before, with the first majority, referred to the judicial declarations quoted above and to one or two other judicial decisions and observed[13] that "it is possible to deduce from them the following principles :—

'(a) that a legislature established by or under an Act of the British Parliament is in no sense an agent or delegate of the British Parliament ;

'(b) that the power of such a legislature is circumscribed by the Act by which it is constituted and the legislature cannot go beyond it, but within its ambit it is supreme and its power is as large and of the same nature as that of the British Parliament ;

'(c) that the principle of non-delegation founded either on the doctrine of separation of powers or on the theory of agency, has no application to the British Parliament or to legislatures constituted by an Act of the British Parliament ;

'(d) that in the ever present complexity of the conditions with which governments have to deal, the power of delegation is necessary for and ancillary to the exercise of legislative power and is a component part of its content ;

(e) that the operation of the act performed under the delegated power is directly and immediately under and by virtue of the law by which the power was delegated and its efficacy is referable to that antecedent law ;

'(f) if what the legislature does is legislation within the general scope of the affirmative words which give the power, and it violates no express condition or restriction by which that power is limited, then it is not for the Court to enquire further or to enlarge constructively those conditions or restriction;

'(g) that while the legislature is active within its prescribed sphere there is, except as hereinafter stated, no degree of or limit to its power of delegation of its legislative power, it being for the legislature to determine how far it should seek the

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of subordinate agencies and how long it shall continue them and it is not for the Court to prescribe any limit to the legislature's power of delegation; and

(h) that the power of delegation is, however, subject only to the qualification that the legislature may not abdicate or efface itself, that is to say, may not, without preserving its own capacity intact, create and endow with its own capacity a new legislative power not created or authorised by the Act to which it owes its own existence'."

As will appear from what follows, Das J. approved of these principles, and also stated.[14]:

"Short of self-effacement the legislature can freely delegate its legislative power. As long as the legislature retains its own power of control, there can be no objection to delegation, for if the delegatee does anything foolish or wrong the same may at once be put right by the legislature by removing the delegatee and appointing another in his place or taking up the matter in its own hands."

Again:[15]

'I entirely agree.....that the legislature must not abdicate but must retain its control so as to be able to withdraw the legislative power conferred on the subordinate authority whenever it may become necessary. The reported decisions to which reference has been made above (in the course of his expression of opinion) clearly establish that, short of such abdication or effacement, the legislature may freely delegate its legislative powers and it is not for the Court to decide how much authority should be delegated or for how long such delegation should continue. I also agree that the law made by the legislature must be within the ambit of its legislative powers and it cannot go beyond that ambit .....In my opinion, the power to make law with respect to a subject includes the power to make a law delegating the power to make a law with respect to that subject.....It cannot .... be denied that every legislature must, in any event, have some power of delegation of its law-making power .....this power of delegation is implicit in or ancillary to the legislative power itself....."

Finally, referring to the Constitution of India Das J. observed:[16]

"In my judgment there cannot logically be any limit to the power of delegation of the Indian Legislature acting within its sphere. The only rational limitation upon the exercise of this absolute power of delegation by the Indian Legislature as by any Dominion Legislature is what has been laid down in the several Privy Council and other cases from which relevant passages have been quoted above (in the course of his expression of opinion). It is that the legislature must not efface itself or abdicate all its powers and give up its control over the subordinate authority to whom it delegates its law-making powers. It must not, without preserving its own capacity intact, create and arm with its own capacity a new legislative power not created or authorised by the instrument by which the legislature itself was constituted. In short, it must not destroy its own legislative power. There is an antithesis between the abdictaion of legislative power and the exercise of the power of legislation. The former excludes or destroys the latter. There is no such antithesis between the delegation of legislative power and the exercise of the legislative power, for however wide the delegation may be, there is nothing to prevent the legislature, if it is so minded, from, at any time, withdrawing the matter into its own hands and exercising its law-making power. The delegation of legislative power involves an exercise of the legislative power. It does not exclude or destroy the legislative power itself, for the legislative power is not diminshed by the exercise of it. A power to make law with respect to a subject must....include within its content the power to make a law delegating that power. Having regard to entry No. 97 in the Union List and article 248 of our Constitution, the residuary power of our Parliament is wide enough to include delegation of legislative power of a subject-matter with respect to which Parliament may make a law. Apart from that consideration, if a statute laying

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down a policy and delegating power to a subordinate authority to make rules and regulations to carry out that policy is permissible, then I do not see why an Act merely delegating legislative power to another person or body should be unconstitutional if the legislature does not efface itself or abandon its control over the subordinate authority. If the legislature can make a law laying down a bare principle or policy and commanding people to obey the rules and regulations, made by a subordinate authorty, why cannot the legislature, without effacing itself but keeping its own capacity intact, leave the entire matter to a subordinate authority and command people to obey the commands of that subordinate authority? The substance of the thing is the command which is binding and the efficacy of the rules of conduct made by the subordinate authority is due to no other authority than the command of the legislature itself. Therefore, short of self-effacement, the legislative power may be as freely and widely delegated as the Dominion Legislature, like the British Parliament, may think fit and choose... In my opinion, the true tests of the validity of a law enacted by the Indian Legislature conferring legislative power on a subordinate authority are: (i) Is the law within the legislative competency fixed by the instrument creating the legislature? and (ii) has the legislature effaced itself or abdicated or destroyed its own legislative power? If the answer to the first is in the affirmative and that to the second in the negative, it is not for any Court of Justice to enquire further or to question the wisdom or the policy of the law".

"It is said", added Das J., "that it will be dangerous if the legislature is permitted to delegate all its legislative functions without formaly abdicating its control or effacing itself, for then the legislature will shirk its responsibility and go to sleep and peoples' life, liberty or property may be made to depend on the whim of the meanest police officer in whom, by successive delegation, the legislative power may come to be vested. I do not feel perturbed. I do not share the feeling of oppression which some people may possibly entertain as to the danger that may ensue if the legislature goes to sleep after delegating its legislative functions, for I feel sure that the legislators so falling into slumber will have a rude awakening when they will find themselves thrown out of the legislative chamber at the next general election. I have no doubt in my mind that the legislature after delegating its powers will always keep a watchful eye on the activities of the person to whom it delegates its powers of legislation, so that as soon as it finds that the powers are being misussed to the detriment of the public, the legislature will either nullify the acts done under such delegations or appoint some more competent authority or withdraw the matter into its own hands. There is and will always remain some room of abuse whenever wide legislative powers are committed in general terms to a subordinate body, but the remedy lies in the corrective power of the legislature itself and, on ultimate analysis, in the vigilance of public opinion and not in arbitrary judicial fiat against the free exercise of law-making power by the legislature within the ambit fixed by the instrument of its constitution. It is not for the Court to substitute its own notions of expediency for the will of the legislature. This, I apprehend, is the correct position in law. In my judgment, if our law is not to be completely divorced from logic and is not to give way and surrender itself to sterile dogma, the widest power of delegation of legislative power must perforce be conceded to the Parliament. A denial of this necessary power would 'stop the wheels of government' and we shall be acting 'as a clog upon the legislative and executive departments'."

The views of Das J. as quoted above, were in essence shared by the four other Judges of the Supreme Court, namely, Fazal Ali, Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjea, and Bose JJ., who along with his constituted the first majority of the Court referred to by us before. Thus, for instance, we find in the expression of opinion by Fazl Ali J. on the points referred to the Supreme Court by the President, the following,[17] among other things:—

"(1) The legislature must normally discharge its primary legislative function itself and not through others.

"(2) Once it is established that it has sovereign powers within a certain sphere, it must follow as a corollary that it is free to legislate within that sphere in any way which appears to it the best way to give effect to its intention or policy in making a particular law, and that it is

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utilize any outside agency to any extent it finds necessary for doing things which it is unable to do itself or finds it inconvenient to do. In other words, it can do everything which is ancillary to and necessary for the full and effective exercise of its power of legislation.

"(3) It cannot abdicate its legislative functions, and therefore while entrusting power to an outside agency, it must see that such agency acts as a subordinate authority and does not become a parallel legislature.

"(4) .....there are only two main checks in this country on the power of the legislature to delegate, these being its good sense and the principle that it should not cross the line beyond which delegation amounts to 'abdication and self-effacement'."

And with regard to what is generally known as delegated legislation Fazl Ali J. observed :—

"This form of legislation has become a present-day necessity, and it has come to stay—it is both inevitable and indispensable. The legislature has now to make so many laws that it has no time to devote to all the legislative details, and sometimes the subject on which it has to legislate is of such a technical nature that all it can do is to state the broad principles and leave the details to be worked out by those who are more familliar with the subject. Again, when complex schemes of reform are to be the subject of lgislation, it is difficult to bring out a self-contained and complete Act straightaway, since it is not possible to foresee all the contingencies and envisage all the local requirements for which provision is to be made. Thus, some degree of flexibility becomes necessary, so as to permit constant adaptation to unknown future conditions without the necessity of having to amed the law again. The advantage of such a course is that it enables the delegate authority (*sic*) to consult interests likely to be affected by a particular law, make actual experiments when necessary, and utilize the results of its invstigations and experiments in the best way possible. There may also arise emergencies and urgent situations requiring prompt action and the entrustment of large powers to authorities who have to deal with the various situations as they arise. There are examples in the Statute books of England and other countries, of laws, a reference to which will be sufficient to justify the need for delegated legislation. The British Gold Standard (Amendment) Act, 1931, empowered the Treasury to make and from time to vary orders authorising the taking of such measures in relation to the Exchanges and otherwise as they may consider expedient for meeting difficulties arising in connection with the suspension of the Gold Standard. The National Economy Act, 1931, of England, empowered 'His Majesty to make Orders in Council effecting economies in respect of the services specified in the schedule' and proved that the Minister designated in any such Order might make regulations for giving effect to the Order. The Foodstuffs (Prevention of Exploitation) Act, 1931, authorized the Board of Trade to take exceptional measures for preventing or remedying shortages in certain articles of food and drink. It is obvious that to achieve the objects which were intended to be achieved by these Acts, they could not have been framed in any other way than that in which they were framed. I ave referred to these instances to show that the complexity of modern administration and the expansion of the functions of the State to the economic and social sphere have rendered it necessary to resort to new forms of legislation and to give wide powers to various authorities on suitable occasions. But while emphasizing that delegation is in these days inevitable, one should not omit to refer to the dangers attendant upon the injudicious exercise of the power of delegation by the legislature. The dangers involved in defining the delegated power so loosely that the area it is intended to cover cannot be clearly ascertained, and in giving wide delegated powers to executive authorities and at the same time depriving a citizen of protection by the courts against harsh and unreasonable exercise of powers, are too obvious to require elaborate discussion".

More or less similar views were ex-expressed[18] by Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjea and Bose JJ. on the question of delegated legislation in the course of their expressions of opinion on the specific legal points referred to the Supreme Court by the President.

III

We have stated above the opinion of the majority of the Supreme Court on the legal points referred to the Court by the President of India as well as the grounds on which that opinion was based. It may be noted here incidentally that what the majority observed with regard to the necessity for, and the constitutionality of, delegated legislation in essence is in consonance with the views expressed on the same

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questions by the British Committee on Ministers' Powers in its Report published in 1932. For example, we find in this Report,[19] among many other things:

"The system of delegated legislation[20] is both legitimate and constitutionally desirable for certain purposes, within certain limits, and under certain safe-guards. We proceed to set out briefly.....the reasons which have led us to this conclusion:

'(1) Pressure upon Parliamentary time is great. The more procedure and subordinate matters can be withdrawn from detailed Parliamentary discussion, the greater will be the time which Parliament can devote to the consideration of essential principles in legislation.

'(2) The subject-matter of modern legislation is very often of a technical nature. A part from the broad principles involved, technical matters are difficult to include in a Bill, since they cannot be effectively discussed in Parliament.....

'(3) If large and complex schemes of reform are to be given technical shape, it is difficult to work out the administrative machinery in time to insert in the Bill all the provisions required; it is impossible to foresee all the contingencies and local conditions for which provision must eventually be made. The National Health Insurance Regulations,....illustrate particularly well this aspect of the problem.

'(4) The practice, further, is valuable because it provides for a power of constant adaptation to unknown future conditions without the necessity of amending legislation. Flexibility is essential. The method of delegated legislation permits of the rapid utilization of experience, and enables the results of consultation with interests affected by the operation of new Acts to be translated into practice. In matters, for example, like mechanical road transport, where technical development is rapid, and often unforseen, delegation is essential to meet the new positions which arise.

'(5) The practice, again, permits of experiment being made and thus affords an opportunity, otherwise difficult to ensure, of utilizing the lessons of experience. The advantage of this in matters, for instance, like town planning, is too obvious to require detailed emphasis.

'(6) In a modern State there are many occasions when there is a sudden need for legislative action. For many such needs delegated legislation is the only convenient or even possible remedy. No doubt, where there is time, on legislative issues of great magnitude, it is right that Parliament itself should either decide what the broad outlines of the legislation shall be, or at least indicate the general scope of the delegated powers which it considers are called for by the occasion. But emergency and urgency are matters of degree; and the type of need may be of greater or less national importance. It may be not only prudent but vital for Parliament to arm the executive Government in advance with almost plenary power to meet occasions of emergency which affect the whole nation—as in the extreme case af the Defence of the Realm Acts[21] in the great War (1914-18), when the exigency had arisen; or in the less extreme case of the Emergency Powers Act, 1920 (10 & 11 Geo, 5, C.55), where the exigency had not arisen but power was conferred to meet emergencies that might arise in the future.....There is in truth no alternative means by which such measures to meet great emergencies can be made possible; and for that reason this means is constitutional."

In this connection, however, the Committee on Ministers' Powers also observed in its report:

"But the measure of the need should be the measure alike of the power and of its limitation. It is of the essence of constitutional Government that the normal control of Parliament should not be suspended either to a greater degree, or for a longer time, than the exigency demands. We end these observations with a truism. Emergencies are exceptional: and exceptions cannot be classified in general language. We therefore make no attempt beyond stating the principle abovementioned, to lay down any general rules about the delegation by Parliament to the executive of powers to legislate on occasions of emergency. It may suffice for purpo

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of more limited exigency to arm particular Departments of State with power to pass emergency regulations for dealing with specific difficulties suddenly arising and calling for instant preventive or remedial steps in their special field of administration. Epidemics are a good example of the latter need; and we may recall that as far back as 1832 an Act (2 & 3 Will. IV, C.10) passed in consequence of an outbreak of cholera gave the Privy Council power to make general regulations to prevent the spread of the disease. ..... For these reasons a system of delegated legislation is indispensable. Indeed, the critics of the system do not seek to deny its necessity in some form. Their complaint lies rather against the volume and character of delegated legislation than against the pracice of delegation itself;.....We agree with them in thinking that there are real dangers incidental to delegated legislation....."

Referring to these dangers, the Committee mentioned the following,[23] among others:

"(1) Acts of Parliament may be passed only in skeleton form and contain only the barest general principles. Other matters of principle, transcending procedure and the details of administration, matters which closely affect the rights and property of the subject, may be left to be worked out in the Departments, with the result that laws are promulgated which have not been made by, and get little supervision from Parliament. Some of the critics suggest that this practice has so far passed all reasonable limits, as to have assumed the character of a serious invasion of the sphere of Parliament by the Executive. The extent of its adoption is, they argue, excessive, and leads not only to widespread suspicion and distrust of the machinery of Government, but actually endangers our civic and personal liberties.

"(2) The facilities afforded to Parliament to scrutinize and control the exercise of powers delegated to Ministers are inadequate. There is a danger that the servant may be transformed into the master.

"(3) Delegated powers may be so wide as to deprive the citizen of protection by the Courts against action by the Executive which is harsh, or unreasonable.

"(4) The delegated power may be so loosely defined that the area it is intended to cover cannot be clearly known, and it is said that uncertainty of this kind is unfair to those affected.

"(5) While provision is usually made—
(a) for reasonable public notice, and
(b) for consultation in advance with interests affected, where they are organized,

this is not always practicable, particularly where the public affected is general and not special and organized....."

"Each of these criticims," observed[24] the Committee on Ministers' Powers in the context of British constitutional law, "is important, but they do not destroy the case for delegated legislation. Their true bearing is rather that there are dangers in the practice; that it is liable to abuse; and that safeguards are required. Nor do we think that either the published criticisms or the evidence we have received justifies an alarmist view of the constitutional situation. What the system lacks is coherence and unformity in operation. Its defects.... are the inevitable consequence of its haphazard evolution.....For the most part the dangers are potential rather than actual; and the problem which the critics raise is essentially one of devising the best safeguards."

And one of these safeguards, according to the Committee on Ministers' Powers, is the right of appeal to the Court of Law on points of law. "In our opinion," remarked[25] the Committee, "the maintenance of the rule of law demands that a party aggrieved by the judicial decision of a Minister or Ministerial Tribunal should have a right to appeal from that decision to the High Court on any point of law. In matters which really pertain to administration, jurisdiction is often appropriately assigned to Ministers or Ministerial Tribunal rather than to the ordinary Courts of Law, but we see no justification for sheltering them from the Courts of Law in so far as the exercise of their jurisdiction involves a judicial decision; and we are of opinion that to confer such

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immunity upon them is contrary to the constitutional principle underlying the rule of law. It is, in our opinion, of great practical importance that a uniform and simple prcedure should be established for all such appeals.....The decision of the High Court on an appeal should be final. But we recognise that there may occasionally be legal questions of unusual importance, and for these we would give the High Court and the Court of Appeal power to give leave to appeal further."

It should be evident from what has been shown above that the views of the majority of our Supreme Court on the question of delegated legislation were essentially in agreement with the views on the same question of the British Committee on Ministers' Powers. We may also state here that the views of the majority on the question of delegated legislation were, as will appear from what follows, in agreement, more or less, with the views of even Lord Hewart, Lord Chief Justice of England, on the same question, as set forth in his well-known work entitled **The New Despotism**, originally published in 1929.

"It is tolerably obvious," observed Lord Hewart[26] in the context of British Constitutional law, "that the system of delegation by Parliament of powers of legislation is within certain limits necessary, at least as regards matters of detail, because it is impossible, if only for want of time, for Parliament to deal adequately and in detail with all the matters calling, or supposed to call, for legislation. Indeed, without a drastic alteration of its methods of procedure, it would be impossible for Parliament to deal adequately with even a comparatively small part of the present day volume of departmental legislation. It may also be conceded that the system, if not abused, and subject to proper safeguards, may have its uses. It is the abuse of the system that calls for criticism, and perhaps the greatest abuse, and the one most likely to lead to arbitrary and unreasonable legislation, is the ousting of the jurisdiction of the Courts."

IV

In conclusion, we should like to say that we have stated in this article the opinion of the majority of our Supreme Court on the points of law referred to the Court by the President of India under Article 143(1) of our Constitution as well as the grounds on which that opinion is based. And under Article 145(5) of the Constitution the opinion of the majority of the Supreme Court is the opinion of the Court. According to this opinion our Legislatures have under the Constitution, as we have seen before, the power, in certain circumstances and subject to certain safeguards, of delegating law-making authority to a person or a body of persons. Incidentally, we have also dealt in this article with reference to British constitutional law, the nature, purpose, and the dangers of delegated legislation.

Now the question is: how far is the opinion referred to above binding on the Courts in India? Our submission is that although it is an opinion of the Supreme Court on a reference made to it under Article 143(1) of the Constitution and not a judicial decision by it in a specific case formally brought before it by a litigating party, it is under Article 141 of the Constitution binding on all Courts within the territory of India. Article 141 says: "The law declared by the Supreme Court shall be binding on all Courts within the territory of India." And we submit that the expression of opinion referred to above by the Supreme Court is a declaration of law on the legal points referred to it by the President under Article 143(1) of the Constituion.

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1. Special Jurisdiction: Special Reference No. 1 of 1951:—*In re the Delhi Laws Act, 1912, the Ajmer-Merwara (Extension of Laws) Act, 1947, and the Part C States (Laws) Act, 1950*. See *The Supreme Court Reports* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *S.C.R.*), 1951, Vol. Parts III to X, pp. 747-54.

* "Delhi, which up till the 17th of September, 1912, was a part of the Province of Punjab, was created a Chief Commissioner's Province on that date and on the following day the Governor-General's Legislative Council enacted the Delhi Laws Act (Act XIII), 1912, which came into force on and from the 1st of Octo-

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1912."—Mukherjea J.—See *ibid*, p. 960.
2. See *ibid*, p. 755.
3. See *ibid*, p. 748.
4. Kania C. J., and Mahajan J. dissenting.—See *ibid*, p. 748.
5. See *ibid*, p. 748 and pp. 1124-1125.
6. See *ibid*, p. 748 and also pp. 1124-1125.
7. Fazl Ali, Patanjali Sastri and Das JJ. held, however, that "the latter portion of section 2 of the Part C States (Laws) Act, 1950, is also *intra vires*."—See *ibid*, p. 748.
8. Also known as *The Queen* v. *Burah* (1878, 5 I.A. 178) : See *ibid*, pp. 1041-1042 ; also *The Indian Law Reports*, 1879, Calcutta Series, Vol. IV, pp. 180-81.
9. See the *S.C.R.*, 1951, Vol. II, August to December, 1951, p. 1045.
10. This maxim "in simple language means," says Fazl Ali J., "that a delegated authority cannot be redelegated, or, in other words, one agent cannot lawfully appoint another to perform the duties of agency. This maxim however has a limited application even in the domain of the law of contract or agency . . ."—See *ibid*, p. 806.
11. See *ibid*, pp. 1045-1047.
12. See *ibid*, p. 1047.
13. See *ibid*, pp. 1067-1068.
14. See *ibid*, p. 1048.
15. See *ibid*, pp. 1057-1058 also p. 1072.
16. See *ibid*, pp. 1075-1080.
17. *Ibid*, pp. 830-31 and 851-53.
18. See *ibid*, pp. 853-85 ; 859-1010 ; and 1101-1124.
19. See Cmd. 4060 (1932), as quoted by Gooch in his *Source Book on the Government of England*, D. Van Nostrand Company, New York, 1939, pp. 156-70 ; also see p. 399.
20. Delegated legislation may take many forms. For instance, in England delegated legislation may appear under such different names as 'regulations', 'rules', 'orders', 'warrants', 'minutes', 'schemes', 'bye-laws', or 'other instruments'.—See *ibid*, pp. 158-59.
21. "The earlier Acts were replaced by the consolidating and amending Act (5 & 6 Geo. 5, 6, 8)."—See *ibid*, p. 167n.
22. See Gooch, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-69.
23. See *ibid*, p. 169.
24. See *ibid*, p. 170.
25. See *ibid*, pp. 408-409.
26. See Lord Hewart, *The New Despotism*, Ernest Benn, 1945 Ed., pp. 81-82.

ANCIENT INDIAN LIBRARIES

By DIPAK KUMAR BARUA, M.A., DIP., LIB.

The romantic story of India's culture unravels the secret of her vitality and wisdom. From time immemorial India has been endeavouring to increase the wealth of her knowledge and wisdom. And the natural outcome of such a persuit were the Vedas, Upanishads, Tripitakas and Jaina Agamas which are the veritable mines of human knowledge and experience. The problem of preserving the valuable sayings of ancient sages was not acute when these were memorised and orally handed down from disciple to disciple. But the question of preservation and organisation of this huge mass of literature in every field of human knowledge became a burning problem after the invention of writing materials and the introduction of printing instruments. The same story is repeated in Egypt, Crete, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Greece, Rome and and other seats of ancient civilization and culture. As the entire Library Economy is **solely** concerned with the proper organisation and dissemination of knowledge, so its history is closely related to that of Learning.

India, too, maintains a long and glorious tradition in the organisation of libraries for the maintenance of manuscripts of birch bark and palm-leaves. The history of libraries in India is as old as the history of Learning. But it should be noticed that libraries in those hoary days were all located in and associated with the temples, monasteries and educational institutions. Public libraries in the modern sense of the term were not developed nor, perhaps, were in existence in ancient India. The resons for the absence of such public libraries are quite obvious. The most potent cause is

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that education was concentrated into the hands of few aristocrats of the society. Only the people of high caste had access to learning.

However, the 'Bharati-Bhandara' and 'Saraswati-Bhandara,' Sanskrit equivalents of 'Library,' are quite old and implies the modern academic libraries.[1] But as the handwritten manuscripts were very rare and costly so the necessity involved the permission sometimes to copy the manuscripts. Thus due to non-availability, costliness and religious sanctity, the donations of manuscripts to the temple "bhandaras" were regarded as great acts of merit.

The first mention of libraries and reading rooms is noticed in a record of Buddhist kingdoms left by the Chinese traveller Fa-Hien who came to India in the 5th Century A.D. In his account we find the mention of the Jetavana Monastery with its libraries and reading rooms. "The libraries were richly furnished not only with Buddhistic literature, but also with Vedic and other non-Buddhistic work and with books on the arts and sciences taught in India at that time." But that monastery with its libraries and other buildings before the beginning of the 7th Century, as seen by another Chinese scholar named Hiuen Tsang, was in desolate ruins.

Fa-Hien also came into contact with many manuscripts in a Mahayana monastery in Central India (Patna), where he stayed for three years, learning Sanskrit books and Sanskrit speech and writing out the Vinaya rules.[2]

Hiuen-Tsang saw a Palace Library in Kashmir and noticed that twenty clerks were engaged there to copy out manuscripts for him. Hiuen-Tsang spent two years studying Sutras and Sastras in Kashmir and fully utilized the Palace Library.[3]

We further know through the records left by this Chinese Pilgrim about the Kanchipura monastery in South India, which was famed for its reputed teachers and the library.

But the most fully developed and the most widely used and well organised was the Library of the University of Nalanda, the ancient seat of learning. The Nalanda authorities had realised that a monas... without a library was futile. So an elabo... scheme was adopted for a well-planned ... splendid library within the University ... meet the varied demands of numer... teachers and students who were engaged ... the study of different branches of learn... Curiously enough the library campus ... know as Dharma-ganja "Mart of Religi... Here were located three monumental b... ings properly called Ratna-sagara, Ra... dadhi, Ratnaranjaka[4]. Of these, Ratnod... was a nine-storeyed sky-scraper which c... tained the largest library in India in th... periods,[6] a speciality being the collection ... rare and sacred works like Prajnaparam... sutra and Tantric books.[6] The scholars ... the University remained busy day and ni... in writing sacred texts and Buddhis... treatises which were then stored in t... University Library.

I-tsing, another hard-working Chin... scholar, stayed at Nalanda for about ... years (A.D. 675-685) and collected th... about four hundred Sanskrit texts amou... ing to five lac verses.[7] This fact points out ... that Nalanda was well-equipped with a ri... collection. According to his observati... when a Buddhist monk expired at Nalan... his collection of books was added to t... Library and other properties including ... Buddhistic works either sold away or d... tributed.[8] Evidence of financial aid for ... library is found in an inscription kn... as the Nalanda Copper Plate of Devap... deva discovered at Nalanda. It records t... Balaputradeva, king of Java, reque... Devapala, a contemporary king of India, ... make a grant of five villages for the m... tenance of a new monastery at Nalanda ... portion of this endowment was kept as... for the purpose of copying books for ... University Library as is evident from ... expression "Dharmaratnasya lekhanartha... in the epigraph.[9] In short, it was the Libr... that made Nalanda University "the em... diment of the highest ideal of education ... a visible monument of the role which ... played as the Teacher of Asia."

A Tibetan account (Pag-Sam-Jon-Z... relates the destruction of the library ... After the Turushka raiders had ...

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incursions in Nalanda, the temples and Chaityas were repaired by a sage named Mudita Bhadra. Soon after this, Kukutasiddha, Minister of the king of Magadha, erected a temple at Nalanda, and while a religious sermon was being delivered there, two very indigent Tirthika mendicants appeared on the scene. Some naughty young novice-monks in disdain threw washing-water on them. This made them angry. After propitiating the Sun for twelve years, they performed a sacrifice and threw living embers and ashes from the sacrificial pit into the Buddhist temples. This produced a great conflagration which consumed Ratnodadhi.[10] The proof of the destruction of the buildings by fire is also corroborated by an inscription.

Another most illustrious library can be traced in the famous Vikramasila monastery which, in origin, was a later contemporary of Nalanda, being established by Dharmapala, a distinguished Pala monarch of Bengal, and became prominent during the periods of decadence of Nalanda. It burished in the days of Tantric Buddhism when occult sciences and magic had become favourite subjects of study. Consequently Tantra was given prominence in the production of books in Vikramasila under the welcome patronage of numerous learned monks. With its own publications the Vikramasila, in course of time, become a "true university" with a "collection of books." The academic Council of the Vikramasila University was in charge of the libraries which, in addition to storing books, undertook also the work of publication. It was the library which took steps to renew the worn out and damaged manuscripts and made liberal provision for meeting the constant demand of the outside public, particularly of Tibet, for copies of books in its possession. The copying work was to some extent done by the monk-teachers and students, but clerks also had to be engaged to cope with the increased demand.

The Tabkat-I-Nisari[11] presents a vivid and sorrowful description of the destruction of the Vikramasila University and its Library. It is sometimes presumed that the invaders headed by Bukhtiyar Khilji destroyed the library thinking it to be a Fortress by mistake. Only a few books were carried away by the monks when they fled the Monastery to Tibet and other places outside India during the period of invasion.

Another important centre of learning in Magadha was the Odantapuri Monastery which was endowed with a magnificent library of Buddhistic and Brahmanical works by the Pala emperors. Abhayakarahupta, the head of the Mahayana School in Odantapuri, was a great writer and rendered many books into the Tibetan language. This splendid library of Odantapuri was destroyed during the sack of the Monastery and the massacre of its monks by the Muslims in A.D. 1197.[12]

The famous university of *Valabhi*, situated near modern Wala in Kathiawar, had a great library at its disposal. Epigraphic records show that the University Library of Valabhi was patronized by royal personalities. The Maitraka Kings, who were ruling there during circa 480 to 775 A.D., were also great patrons of learning ; they used to offer direct grants for the purpose of meeting the general expenditure of the University as also for strengthening its library as is evident from "Saddharmasya pustakopacayartham"[13] in the grant of Guhasena I, dated 559 A.D. It was observed by both Hiuen-Tsang and I-tsing that most of the monks of Valabhi were specialized in Hinayana Buddhism as opposed to Nalanda.

Hiuen-Tsang, the celebrated Chinese scholar, also relates that there were flourishing libraries in a monastery in Central India under the famous scholar Nagarjuna in Southern Kosala which is identified with Vidarbha or modern Berar. The account of this foreign traveller runs thus : "the Monastery had cloisters and lofty halls, and the topmost hall was the library". It might have contained a large number of books on Mahayana Buddhism in view of the fact that the brethren were all Mahayanists.

At Nagai in Hyderabad, there existed a big temple college in the 11th century, where two hundred students were instructed in

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Vedic lore, two hundred in Smritis, one hundred in epics, and fifty-two in Philosophy. The Library of the institution employed six librarians.[14]

The Chalukyas of the 12th century A.D. of Anahilawada (Patan) maintained another grand library which was renowned for its rich collection.

Beside the above libraries there were numerous small libraries attached to temples all over India. The Bhavisyapurana relates that manuscripts may be placed in a matha or monastery for the use of all people and that he who arranges for the reading of books in the temples of Siva, Visnu or the Sun reaps the merit of the gifts of cows, land and gold.[15]

Ancient literary documents, too, supply us much information about the State and private libraries of India.[16] It is said that the poet Bana kept a reader for his own private purpose. From this information it can be presumed that he had a library of his own.[17] Hiuen-Tsang describes that the Kushana king Kanishka possessed the sacred writings of the Budhists engraved on red copper plates.[18] From a grant to Kanheri Monastery in Western India by a Bengalee merchant Avighakara we find that provisions were made for the purchase of books.[19] Thus all these incidental references inform us of many libraries—small or great, state or private, academic or institutional—in ancient India.

So the history of libraries in ancient India commences from the inception of the Buddist period and closes at the emergence of Muslim power here. Indeed India, the seat of learning and ancient culture, always has welcomed the establishment of new libraries. These monastic libraries of those days laid the foundation-stone of modern academic and public libraries. Thus the surging wave of library movement that was noticed during the golden period of Buddhism became more and more active in subsequent centuries through the active patronage of the emperors and the eager growing urge for learning of the people.

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POPULATION GROWTH, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ORDER

By Prof. G. L. CHATTERJEE

Dr. B. R. Sen, Director-General of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organisation, addressing an audience of 3000 food industry executives from non-communist countries said "According to FAO estimates 10 to 15 per cent of the world population between 300 to 500 million, were hungry and another 1000 million suffered from varying degrees of malnutrition. Never before in the history of mankind have so many people been subject to so much under nourishment". Dr. Sen further said "The expansion of world population has put a tremendous new pressure on the food supplies of the developing countries."[1]

The developing countries who are trying through various methods of economic planning for development are today faced with this very basic problem, and for a solution of which they have directed all their resources. After some years of development activities they find themselves at the very point from which they had started. It would not be very improbable, if a timely curb is not put to the alarming rate of population growth, that these countries may find in the not too distant future to have rather made economic regress. In this context we quote a few lines from the speech of U. Thant. While inaugurating the U.N. Economic Decade, U. Thant said "Progress toward a higher average level of living in the world as a whole is held back also by the shifting balance of population distribution which results from higher rates of population growth in developing countries than in wealthier countries. As the developing countries account for a larger proportion of world population increases, they tend to offset the improvement of conditions in the world as a whole which would otherwise be brought about by the gains in individual countries".[2]

The rapid growth in population in the developing countries, in recent times has been primarily due to :

(1) Political stability in most of the countries of the world, including these countries, have provided the necessary conditions for their people to live a settled domestic life. This has given them a good opportunity to multiply. The U.N. has plans even to settle the nomads. The refugees have also been given enough assistance for resettlement, in every part of the world, either by governments receiving them or the U.N.O.

(2) Local wars are very few these days as compared to that in the past century or earlier.

(3) With the end or near-end of slavery, feudalism and colonialism the common men have gained political rights and life expectancy amongst them has increased.

(4) Democracy and vast extension of the welfare activities of the state coupled with the miracles of medical science have granted the common men safer and longer life. There was a remarkable increase of population in India after 1921. One of the reasons for it was surely the fiscal autonomy convention of 1919 which enabled the State Government to give better medical aid to the people and also permitted them to participate in the working of the State Government.

(5) International Organisations like WHO have also helped to lessen the death rates in the underdeveloped countries. The International Food Organisation has also helped to feed the ever surging hungry mouths.

(6) And possibly the problem of population growth in the countries would not have been so acute had the ruling colonial power been more considerate at the early stages of it. No colonial power taught the ruled people seriously the advantages of family planning and the dangerous contents of unlimited population growth. For their scant respect for human lives in the colonies they had possibly thought that the Malthusian's dictum would operate in them and the equilibrium in population would be automatically established.

The average *per capita* income of the developed world is about $1200 per annum; that of the under developed world is about $126 per annum But the whole story in not complete till one looks at the figures of the countries at either end of the scale, for he will find at one end the figures of $2700 and at the other end of it so meagre a sum as only $50. But unfortunately there has been a much higher rate of population increase in the

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underdeveloped countries in comparison with the developed countries of the world. The U.N. Demographic Year Book 1959 records an increase of 1.8 per cent population per year in Asia in comparison with only 0.7 in Europe.

The average world birth rate for the period 1954-1958 was estimated to be about 35 per 1000 population. Africa has the highest estimated birth rate: 45 per thousand. Asia, the next largest continent, has an overall rate of 39 per thousand. And the poorest regions have the highest birth rates. It is 46 per thousand in South East Asia and Tropical and Southern Africa.

As we have already said the under developed countries were not forewarned about the consequences of an unlimited family, in consequence of the introduction of modern medical benefits. Even when family planning was introduced, the attempts were very feeble. The contraceptives were costly, their usage and effectiveness known to a very limited number of people and, above all, there was a powerful social resistance against their application. Even a person like Shri C. Rajagopalachari has been preaching against the idea of family planning in India. The Chinese Government has not accepted family planning, not because economic development is thus possible, but bcause it can thereby fight wars with additional man power. Their main aim is not economic growth but military might. And for such countries there can be no population problem even when their people are starving and are dependent on foreign aid for supplies.

Under developed countries must have savings from national income, to be utilised for development purposes. Savings are only possible when there is surplus. And there can be surplus income in a country only when the country has a higher income, population and standard of living more or less remaining the same. The most formidable hindrance to capital accumulation in the under dveloped countries to-day, is the ever increasing population, which liquidate the surplus of income, which otherwise would have occured.

The fast growing population of these under developed countries have a short span of life. It is 34 years in Burma, 40 in Cambodia, about 49 in India and 35 in Pakistan. According to the U. N. Demographic Year Book 1959 the people of African countries have as short a span of life as in India. In contrast we find the people of the developed countries have a much longer life span. The averag life of an Austrian is 71 ye that of the French near 68 and of an American

Death at an early age means loss of h capital. If the people die at the working age country is deprived of the human capital it developed from years of investment on them. The is a large percentage of children in these countries who are ill-fed and ill-clad. "A feature of populations of the Asian countries is that there a larger proportion of children and this means that the support of this child population is a serious drain on the limited resources of these countries. There are for every three adults in these countries two children to support, while the corresponding figure in more developed countries in the West is only one child for every three adults."[3] A considerably large proportion of a child population is not only a burden to the nations, but when the children are forced to work, the matter becomes worse. Why do they work? It is because the income of the adult workers taken together is not sufficient for a bare subsistence for the family. Children workers are thus deprived of the opportunities of education, they generally get bad treatment from their employers, they are badly exploited and above all they face a situation in life which does not permit them to develop their finer qualities. The graphic description that Marx had given of exploitation of child labour in 19th century England, is not very uncommon even in the world of to-day which is in the second half of the 20th century. In the words of UNESCO, "Premature employment of children is rife precisely in those areas where there is mass under employment of the whole active population (and it is in the under developed countries) so that from the point of the community it is obviously unsound".[4] The ILO's Asian Regional Conference which met at Tokyo for the protection of the young workers in Asian countries, recommended that persons below 14 years of age should not be employed as labourers. And children who are above this age but not fully grown up adults should be first medically examined before they are given employment. All children upto the age of 14 should get free education. But these are solemn resoulations. Even in India we find a considerable proportion of labour working in agriculture who are children, though it is a declared policy of the Government of India to introduce free and compulsory education upto the primary stage.

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The surplus labour, for all time existing in these under developed countries, are mostly unskilled and semi skilled. These countries are mostly dependent on agricultural products for living. All trade, either internal or external, are primarily in agricultural commodities. But the methods of culivation are primitive. There is maldistribution of agricultural land holdings. The largest number of pople live in S and E Asia, who depend on agriculture, but land is most unevenly distributed here. Many of the countries in these regions have passed land reform laws. Communist China forcibly redistributed land on attainment of power. India, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and many other countries have done so by lawful process.

All land reform measures are of very little use in these countries so long as they are dependent upon primitive methods of cultivation. The condition is more or less the same as Prof. Bauer has said about Indian agriculture, in the under developed countries of S E Asia, Africa and the Middle East. He says "About one half of the national income, as officially calculated, is derived from agriculture and its ancillary activities, largly subsistance or near subsistance production. The landard equipment is a wooden plough (often no more than a bent bough) and even simple iron ploughs are rare. The use of fertilisers is extremely limited."[5] Even remaining as agricultural countries, they can solve their problms of underdevelopment, and population pressure, if there could be scientific agriculture. A country like, Holland, primarily depending on its agricultural products, has such a high degree of economic growth. The people have as good a standard of living as that of many advanced industrial countries of the world. According to Prof. Colin Clark "About the same density of settlement prevails in Denmark as in Soviet Russia, but product per man in one case is five tims what it is in the other. Many people are concerned about the density of the agricultural population in India, and it is undoubtedly high. But equally high it is in Italy where the average cultivator produces about thrice as much as does the Indian. The most successful farming as judged by the ability to obtain the highest product at the highest density of settlement is to be found in Denmark and the Netherlands, with Belgium and Britain not far behind. In Denmark the high figure is obtained with a density of settlement of 10 men engaged in agricultural work per square Kilometre of cultivtable ceptivies are freely distributed to the people of land, in the Netherlands with 17.... However the Netherlands farmers have provided very concrte evidence that agricultural lands can be worked and yield a high product and sustain a high density of poulation."[6] In the same paper Prof. Colin Clark asserts that with the Danish standard of cultivation the world can easily support 12,000 millions of population.

There being a very large surplus population in these countries, with social and religious customs making it obligatory for the well-to-do to keep a large number of persons employed, the marginal producivity of such workers is not at times more than zero. According to Prof. W. Arthur Lewis, "An unlimited supply of labour may be said to exist in those countries where population is so large relatively to capital and natural resources, that there are large sectors of the economy where the marginal productivity of labour is negligible,—zero, or even negative. Several writers have drawn attention to the existence of such 'distinguished unemployment, in agricultural sectors, demonstrating in each case that the family holding is so small that if some member of the family obtained other employment the remaining members could cultivate the holdings just as well. The phenomena is not, however, by any means confined to the country-side. Anothr large sector to which it applies is the whole range of casual jobs, the workers on the dock, the young men who rush forward asking to carry your bag, the jobbing gardener and the like."[7] Prof. Lewis has also treated the utility of the work of most retail traders, domestic servants and office peons as superfluons.

In these underdeveloped countries labour of woman is mostly misplaced. They work in their homes. A notable feature of economic growth would be that women leave household work, which can be done much better or more cheaply outside and be engaged in offices, factories, workshops, etc.

There is a worldwide attempt to tackle the population problem at national and international levels. At the national level the age of marriage has been raised in many countries by law and in some law and social change both helped it forward. Taxing a couple after a number of children is being seriously thought over in a number of countries. Japan had once legalised abortion, though it gave it up later on. And the Indian Parliament has discussed this issue. Contra-

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upto a certain income limit in India. For family planning, sterilisation has been thought to be the best method. According to Dr. Chandrasekhar, "The dilemma before an under-developed country like ours is that whereas population control is, indeed, to check the threatened decline in alrady poor living standards of her people, successful practice of family planning methods requires a far higher general living standard than is the case with her ; of course, a way has to be found to cut through the vicious circle."[8] Prof. Chandrasekhar having discussed all the other methods of birth control, like voluntary abstinence, contraceptives and late marriages, comes to the conclusion, "The only answer to meet the demand is sterilisation, the method of permanent conception control."[9]

At the national level, besides sterilisation many other methods have been suggested for solving the problems of explosive population growth in the under-developed countries. All these methods including that of sterlisation have been applied together for attacking the problem from all corners. Inter-regional migration, scientific agriculture and intensive cultivation and industrialisation are some of the more important ones.

Unfortunately very little suitable land is left uncultivated in the thickly populated agricultural countries of S.E. Asia whose people, who are mostly agriculturists,—migrate from one region of their country to another, in order to get land for better living. In Africa, the method of cultivation was to till a piece of land for some years and raise crops and then leave it fallow for some years. It is no more practiced there. In the words of Prof. Arthur Hazlewood, "It is fairly safe to say, however, that the population of Africa is increasing and that in some places it is growing quite quickly. In many parts of Africa crops are grown by what is known as shifting cultivation. A piece of land is cleared of forest or bush and planted with crops. Crops are grown on this land for a year or two, and then the farmer moves on to a different piece of land. . The first piece of land is allowed to go back to bush and may not be used for growing crops for many years. During these years the land is rested and gets back its fertility. When population increases and farmers try to produce more there may be no room to carry out shifting agriculture in the old way. The farmer stays longer on one piece of land. The land is allowed less time to rest. As a result its fertility falls and agriculture becomes less and less productive."[10] The problem of falling fertility [illegible] scarcity of land in the absence of industrial [illegible] lopment, can only be solved by means of [illegible] agriculture. India and Italy have the same [illegible] of agricultural population. But the Italian [illegible] earns twice that of his Indian counterpart. [illegible] mark, a primarily agricultural country, has [illegible] population pressure much higher than that [illegible] Brazil, Sweden, Greece, France, Austria [illegible] Ireland. But the value of agricultural production [illegible] agriculturist in Denmark is much higher than [illegible] of the farmers in these countries. In this [illegible] we again quote Prof. Colin Clark, "Any obser[illegible] tion of these facts must make us realise [illegible] immense improvements are possible in agri[illegible] tural productivity in most parts of the world. [illegible] improvements cannot, of course, be had for [illegible] asking. To get them an immense dissemination [illegible] education and technical knowledge will be need[illegible] new equipment to a steadily increasing deg[illegible] and capital to provide equipment, live stock [illegible] buildings. Whether there is any hope of obtain[illegible] this capital is a question."[11]

With the birth of UNO and a liberal in[illegible] national outlook the developed countries ha[illegible] directly or indirectly been trying to solve the[illegible] problems of the under-developed countries. T[illegible] various agencies of UNO like ILO, FAO, U[illegible] IBRD and its affiliated agencies, GATT [illegible] Technical Assistance Board, have all been tr[illegible] to help the under-developed countries to deve[illegible] speedily. But lack of funds has been the [illegible] obstacle for quick realisation of the aims of t[illegible] organisations. It has been confessed by no le[illegible] person than U Thant. The Secretary-General [illegible] UNO maintains, "There is the problem of [illegible] quate long-term capital flows and assistance [illegible] the wealthier countries to the developing [illegible] tries. True, in the later part of the last decade [illegible] total net flow of capital and assistance to [illegible] income countries increased considerably. [illegible] flow, however, remains considerably less than [illegible] per cent of the combined national income [illegible] wealthier countries. Worse still, much of [illegible] made available on a basis that offered no [illegible] assurance of its continuity to individual [illegible] tries, it remained split up amongst a multip[illegible] of sources, forms and purposes and the sh[illegible] multilateral aid through the United Nations [illegible] tem remained small."[12]

The scope for easing the pressure of [illegible] lation in the underdeveloped countries [illegible]

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international mobility is very limited, as every country has sovereign rights within its territory. It has become these days very difficult for the people of the under-developed thickly populated countries, to migrate to the developed or sparsely populated countries of the world. They are afraid of types of danger from it. They are afraid of the fact that they may thereby lower the standard of living of their own workers. Because the immigrant labour who have a lower standard of living may work at low wages and for their competition in the market the native labour may also be forced to accept lower wages. This will thus lower their standard of living. The recent Immigration Bill in Britain has been mainly for these reasons, as it was found the workers hailing from Commonwealth countries like India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ireland and other Afro-Asian countries, accepted jobs at lower wages and thus weakened the power of the British Workers to bargin for their higher wages. It has been also apprehended by the countries absorbing surplus labour from under developed countries, that the presence of a very large number of such people may create political complications. The Ceylon Government is much afraid of the plantation workers of Indian origin. And as such many of them have been debarred from enjoying any political rights. Even a liberal person like Prof. Colin Clark has expressed his views against allowing the Hindus of India to be settled in Australia. This he said in a lecture in Australia. He thinks that as the Hindus do not inter-marry with the local population they are not desirable immigrants on social and political grounds.

The Government of India had recently raised a slogan that, the country should prefer to prosper through trade than aid. That is, it should pay more of its international obligations, mostly imports, by exporting an equal amount of goods and services, rather than deferring their payment or to obtain them as gifts and assistance. Development through trade is a good idea indeed. But for this also the under developed countries are not very strong. The reason being that most of the commodities they produce can be produced as well in the developed countries and for those which cannot be produced, synthetic substitutes are being experimented upon. Moreover, the demand for the products of the under developed countries is very inelastic whereas that of the developed countries, which are mostly industrial is elastic. Almost all the edible oils, hides and skins, cotton, sugar, cereals and pulses and a host of them are as well produced in Europe, Canada, USA, Australia, and New Zealand, as in South-East Asian countries, Latin America and Africa. There is an attempt being made to produce synthetic rubber and petroleum paper is being used for Indian and Pakistani Jute products. Ghana, which has a monopoly of cocoa production and whose economic prosperity is dependent on it, is always afraid of artificial cocoa products. An attempt in this direction is being made in USA. "If scientists in Ameria discovred (as they have been trying to do for a long time) a way of making very cheaply a substitute for cocoa, the value of Ghana's production and income would fall very much."[13]

Here, we reproduce some very important lines from an article of Mr. Ashoka Mehta, the P.S.P. Chairman, explaining the trade position of the under develoved countries vis-a-vis the developed countries. "As the situation is in the world today, there is a growing gap between the earnings of foreign exchange on exports and needs of imports on the part of the countries set on stepping up their development. If the world is to foster growth this imbalance has to be corrected. In trade the progress is agonishingly slow. Prices of raw materials and agricultural products continue to fluctuate and on the fluctuations is imposed the trend of the downward prices and demand. Schemes of stabilisation of prices continue to be in their infancy. Various propoals about insurance remain in discussion stage".

"As industrialisation progress in the developing countries they need export outlets for their fabricated products. It is here that the demand for a one way free trade in industrial products from the developing countries have been made."[14] A recent issue of the Monthly Bulletin of Agricultural Economics and Statistics issued by the FAO states that since 1955, the prices of goods exported by primary producing countries have never looked up. It may also be noted that even in 1955, they were lower than those in 1952-53. It thus appears that the decline in the export prices of primary goods is a long standing phenomenon. Over and above price falls there is also decline in total value of exports of the under developed countries. 'In the first half of 1961, as compared to the first half of 1960, the value of agricultural imports was 9 per

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cent less in USA; 3 per cent less in UK, 4 per cent less in France and 7 per cent in West Germany'.[15]

Re-armament and international tensions have also badly affected the problems of economic under development and population pressure of the under developed countries.

According to the U.N.O. Economic and Financial Committee Resolution, the World is spending for arms about $120 billion annually which is at least two thirds of the entire national incomes of the under developed countries. Disarmament, the resolution states, would provide new jobs and better standards of living for countless millions of people in the less developed countries.

Had the U.N.O. been successful in its disarmament plans, much of the resources of the developed countries of the world utilised for killing man would have been presrved for saving him from hunger and disease. It would have made for them available larger resources to be diverted to the under developed countries. Disarmament would have also released much of the national resources of the under developed countries utilised for defence purposes to be used for development purposes.

Though there has been only feeble attempts for co-operating in the development of under developed countries by the wealthy nations, there is no reason for anyone to be pessimistic. Liberal thinkers have realised its importance and the developed world has shown some increasing interest in it.

"Our wealth (USA) is a valuable weapon. No other country has its equivalent. It is presumptively a valuable instrument for reducing the tension that grows out of privation, helping to organise international order and thus possibly to ensure survival.

In recent times no problem has been more puzzling to thoughtful people than why, in a troubled world, we make such poor use of our affluence. Some failure of statesmanship has been regularly assumed. Now it is clear that the trouble lies much deeper. It is an aspect of our economic attitudes. It will be present as long as these remain unexamined."[16]

The U.N., report on the economic development of under developed countries under the Caption 'The International Flow of Long-Term Capital and Official Donations 1959-61' points that the flow of long-term funds to the developed countries is estimated to have from the equivalent of 0.6 per cent of the bined gross product of the developed enterprise countries in 1960 to 0.7 per cent 1961.

While some part of this rise represe their increased contribution to international tutions, notably capial subscriptions to a of newly established multilateral lending cies, the major part was accounted for by bi transactions with under developed countries.

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1. Reported in *Hindustan Times*, 12th tember, 1962.
2. Reported in *Commerce*, 23rd June, page 1114.
3. *The Journal of Industry & Trade FE Number*, March, '61, Population Proble Living Standards in ECAFE Region, page 4
4. Quoted by V. P. Pandey: *Children Agriculture*: Journal of University of S 1958, page 83.
5. Prof. P. T. Bauer: *Indian Econo Policy and Development*, page 15.
6. Prof. Colin Clark: *Population Gro and Living Standard. The Economy of Under Development* Compiled by A. N. Agarwal S. P. Singh, pages 37, 38 and 39.
7. Prof. W. Arthur Lewis: *Economic velopment with Unlimited Supply of Labo The Economics of Under-development*: Agar and Singh, page 402.
8. 9. *AICC Economic Review*, 7th S 1962, page 36, India's Population Problem Dr. I. Chandrasekhar.
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ORIENTOLOGY IN THE U.S.S.R.

By Dr. Kalidas Nag

My dear friend and collaborator, Atmaram Kanoria, has requested me to send for the Special Number of *Pushpanjali* a paper on the subject little known so far in India.

Indology or 'Indian Studies' is known to many Indian scholars, but, that Orientology now has also a claim to our attention was proved to me by an invitation from the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science to visit Moscow (August, 1962) and to contribute to the proceedings of the International Congress of Orientologists at the Central University of Moscow. I attended as a Government of India Delegate and a Collaborator of the Indian Council of Cultural and Scientific Division, New Delhi.

My passport, visa, foreign exchange, etc., were duly secured by Professor Humayun Kabir and his colleagues and thanks to our learned Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's kind references, Shri Morarji Desai personally took interest in my mission, allowing me not Rouble, but Dollar exchange. My dear sister, Smt. Ila Pal Choudhury, M.P., kindly sent me in her car to the Delhi Airport, whence I flew in the Russian Jet Plane 'Aerofloat' which took me from Asian Delhi to European Moscow within six hours, and the pilot who heard that a disciple of Tagore and an ex-member of the Rajya Sabha is travelling, personally looked after me and showed me rare pilot maps in the Russian Plane. So I got technical and scientific commentary throughout my historical tour covering Kashmir and China, and the area now disputed between Pakistan, India and China. So, taking a bird's eye view of the Kashmir Valley, I was shown to my right the whole of Tibet—grabbed by China now—on the one side and Gandhara and Afghanistan to my left which reminded me how many devoted Chinese Buddhist pilgrims have come across the Gobi Desert into the cool valley of Kashmir and India from the days of Fa Hien—400 A.D., Hiuen Tsang—640 A.D. and E-Tsing—700 A.D., by the authentic principal routes across Kashmir and Khotan, Kansu and China, then via Korea to far off Japan, as I have described in my two big volumes *Discovery of Asia* (800 pp) and *Greater India* (900 pp). After completing and recording my impressions in 1700 pages as reviewed by the *Statesman* (10 December, 1962, Sunday), I am called by my friend Kanoriaji to give my impressions of the 'Oriental Congress' in Moscow. Atmaram Kanoria's Stenographer from his Calcutta office kindly took notes from my book of jottings, and I record here for the first time my impressions on my Cultural Pilgrimage to the U.S.S.R.

Mr. M. A. Dyakov, Head of the Department, Indian History, at the Institute of the Peoples of Asia and Vice-President of the Soviet-Indian Cultural Society, Moscow, recently reported that in the old days before the Revolution of 1917, the Russian Orientologists knew only old classical languages of India like Sanskrit and Pali, for, they were interested in the religion and philosophy of India only, but recently they are studying contemporary history, literature and the geography of India and therefore, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Aurobinda Ghosh, Tilak, Ramakrishna Paramhamsa and Swami Vivekananda—whose centenary we are celebrating this year—are being studied and translated. In the Russian Universities we find lecturers (Indian ladies and gentlemen) who are duly appointed on handsome salaries to teach not only dead languages but also living languages of modern India ike Bengali, Tamil and Telegu. So Hindi, Urdu—common to India and Pakistan, are being encouraged along with many other less advanced languages of Central Asia and South-East Asia.

As early as in 1466, a Russian merchant Athenasius Nikitin came overland from Russia to Iran. When he heard about the profitable Indian trade, he decided to visit India, a quarter of a century before the Portuguese Vasco De Gama came by the sea to Calicut. Nikitin spent over six years in India (1466-1472). I had the rare privilege of handling his contemporary diary at the famous Lenin Library at Moscow. Nikitin deserves thus a monument as the first over-land visitor to arrive in India from the West.

A young officer of Sultan Babar .Khwaja Hussain, (1532 A.D.) suggested a trade agreement between Russia and India and the Russian Mykasimov came to Kabul and intended to reach Delhi, but permission was refused to him. In 1695, under the reign of the great Tzar Peter the Great, a Russian merchant S. Malinkov was deputed to visit India. In 1696, he disembarked at

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Surat and then visited Agra and Delhi and was received by the Emperor Aurangzeb. On his return journey, Mykasimov died at Srivan, Persia. So, in spite of failures to establish a direct commercial and cultural relationship, Russia and India were coming closer to each other.

An Indian Colony of merchants was established in Astrakan on the Volga estuary. The Indian Colony, consisting of artisans, weavers, metal workers and Indian sadhus, came from Baku, the famous oil centre on the Caspian, to Astrakan where some Zoroastrian or Parsi temples (Bori-Jalamukhi) developed into a place of pilgrimage. Indian surveyors were invited to come to Moscow as were found from the legal documents preserved in the Astrakan Provincial Archives (1665). (Indian temple in Suhawhanyazarvy with Devnagri and Gurumukhi inscriptions). So I published in our journal of Greater *India Society* (1937) a paper by our friend D. V. Disalkar on "Hindus in Afghanistan, Persia and Russia in 1783" (1783), when Calcutta was thinking of establishing the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784). The earliest group of Russian philologists learned Sanskrit from the schools of Khazan and Moscow. The Russian scholar Petrov (d. 1876) studied oriental languages both in Moscow and St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) where I found scholars showing me rare handwritten manuscripts in Sanskrit, Devnagri, Hindi and Bengali. In 1836 Petrov published a translation of the Sitaharana, episode of the Ramayana of Valmiki, with a glossary and grammatical analysis. So Petrov was given a scholarship to go to Berlin and to the British Universities where there were larger collections of Sanskrit MSS in Oxford and London. Petrov returned in 1841 and was appointed to the Chair at the University of Kazan, and was known to Tolstoy the great writer. He encouraged the study of the spoken languages of India as well as of the sacred Avestan language of the Parsis. So just as Indology was making progress, Rev. S. Bhisurin wrote important books on the history and geography of China, Tibet, Turkestan and Mongolia (1841) and useful books on Buddhist religion and mythology; and from Amsterdam, Holland, came to join the Russian writer Mr. Issaac Jacob Schmidt (1799-1847) who studied Mongolian and Tibetan languages. The Russian Oriental Museum, now a grand collection. was founded within 1818.

In 1844, our Asiatic Society of Bengal pre- sented to the Russian Emperor 14 rare bo Sanskrit, Tibetan and Arabic which were deposited in the First Asiatic Museum, R The renowned Czarina Catherine II began, i end of the 18 century, taking interest in our B yana story and collected pictures which are today in the Art Museum of Austria. In P the Russian Orthodox Christian Mission co the great Russian Buddhalogist, Prof. V. Wasilyave (1818-1900) who made a compar study of Sanskrit and Tibetan and Chinese, who compiled the Tibetan-Russian Dictio (7 volumes). Just as the world-famous Sa Dictionary was published from St. Peters (1855-75) under the great scholars Boeht and Roth, and reprinted in Germany, Leipzi 1923-25, so the Chinese Russian Dictionary came invaluable for the study of Chinese-B hist texts. Then came the great Indologist Pr sor Minayev (1840-1890) who actually trav in India, the Himalayas, Burma and Ce (1874-1880). He was a great organiser of cr tal research till his death in 1934 in the So Russia. The College of Orientologists publis in their journal *Zapiski* his illustrated articles the Gandhara sculptures preserved in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, which I visited after Moscow tour. There worked Prof. Stcherbats who wrote on the central philosophy of Bud ism, the Dharma, and on Buddhist Nirv (1927). His pupil Professor Overmiller co nued his studies in Sanskrit and Tibetan tex

Turks were Buddhists before their co sion to Islam and their Buddhistic culture studied by Professor V. Redlov (1918-1 whose invaluable works were published in Russian series "Bibliotheca Buddhica". I f the Russian translation of the English versio the Gospel of Ramakrishna (1914) and the sian translation of Swami Vivekananda's le together with "Raga-yoga" presented to Leo toy deeply interested in Oriental Philos While visiting the Russian libraries I found complete translations, by Prof. Kalyanov Sanskrit to Russian, of our great books *Ramay* and *Mahabharata*, including Tulsidas's *Ramay Manasa.*

The above brief survey will convince Indian readers about the value of learning Russian language in order to keep pace w various languages of our vast continent of whose tribal languages also, like Tibetan

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Mongolian, I found being studied by Russian scholars who are not only Sanskritists, but Orientologists in the total sense. As they were studying Pelhevi, Afghan and other old Iranian languages, so they appreciated the philosophy of the *Bhagavat Gita* and the *Upanishads* along with their commentaries. Thus Orientology and Sanskrit is studied thoroughly, not only in England or Germany or France, but also in the big Universities and schools of Leningrad, Moscow, Tashkent and neighbouring Afghanistan. The Russian delegates to the Congress had the courtesy of putting their questions if any in pure Hindi and not in English though they could speak most of the European languages. So, as Indians, we had the satisfaction of watching *Hindi* used as an International medium language and our pleasure and privilege will be to supply in Hindi script as many valuable Russian books in Indian languages as possible.

If they learn Russian, our students could join the Friendship University in Moscow, named after Lumumba the African martyr, which gives free education to foreign students and I found not only white Europeans but black ebony-coloured African students crowding the corridors of the Russian Universities. And after their conquest of the outer space, Russians have lots of things to teach in science also, theoretical and practical. So, in helping science, the Russian doctors and biologists have made great contributions as I found from their nursing homes and hospitals. Thus knowledge, not for the sake merely of knowledge, but for the improvement of living conditions, was taught by the Russian scientists and savants. (Vide Education in U.S.S.R. by Dr. F. Korolov of the Academy of Education Sciences.)

With these words I gave my concrete suggestions through the pages of the well-known journal *Pushpanjali* so ably managed by my friend Atmaram Kanoria.

ELECTIONS IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

By SURESH RAM,
World Peace Brigade, Dar es Salaam.

Lying between latitudes 10 degrees south and between longitudes 22 degrees and 33 degrees east, Northern Rhodesia (or Zambia, as it is called by its people) has an area of 290,323 square miles (including about three thousand square miles of inland water). Its population is about two and a half million, among whom a little less than eighty thousand are Europeans and about ten thousand are Asians, coloureds and other races. The people of Zambia went to the polls on 30th October last to elect 45 members of their Legislative Council. It was the first time in the life of most of them that they had an opportunity to choose their own candidates. It was my good fortune to be in Zambia on this occasion and make a personal study of the situation.

Northrn Rhodesia is one of the countries comprising the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It has the status of a British protectorate with a Governor at its head. Until 1939 the Government of Northern Rhodesia was conducted entirely by officials. Unofficial members (all Europeans) were then appointed to the Executive Council, but it was only from 1949 that an unofficial member was given a portfolio. Under the 1959 constitution the Executive Council is composed of the members, four officials (the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General, the Minister of Finance, and the Minister of Native Affairs) and six non-official members nominated by the Governnor, and the Legislative Council (LEGCO) with a Speaker and thirty members (six officials, two nominees of the Governor and 22 elected on a qualitative franchise).

But popular dissatisfaction led to fresh constitutional proposals which were put forward by the U.K. Government in 1961. Under these proposals the strength of the elected members to the Legco was raised to 45 composed of three elements:

(1) 15 members elected by voters on the lower roll,—the franchise being confined to those who were literate in

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English and had an income of £120 per annum, or were literate in vernacular and were a member of one of the several categories mentioned in the Constitution.

(2) 15 members elected by the voters on the upper roll,—the franchise being confined to those who had an income of £720 per annum or had an immovable property worth £1500 or had other qualifications as mentioned in the Constitution.

(3) 15 national seats in which candidates would have to secure some support from voters on both rolls.

(N.B. National seats form the most complicated part of the Constitution. Of the 15 members, 14 are to be elected from seven double-member constituencies and one from a *single* member constituency. Four of the double-member constituencies would each return one European and one African Member, and the single-member constituency would elect an Asian. To qualify for election to a national seat, it is proposed that a candidate must obtain 12½ per cent or 400 votes (whichever is the less) of the African votes cast in the election and 12½ per cent or 400 votes (whichever is the less) of the European votes cast in the elections. To qualify, candidates must also obtain at least 20 per cent of the votes cast by the one or the other of the two rolls.)

During this elction the total number of the voters registered on the lower rolls was 92,255 (largely African) and 37,330 (largely European) on the upper roll. It is easy to see that while this qualified or limited francise gave voting rights to less than one-twelfth of the African adult population, it enabled more than three-fourths of the European adults to exercise their vote. The principle of 'one man, one vote granted to the European was thus denied to the native in his own country. Nevertheless, the polling went on very smoothly and peacefully, which testifies to the remarkable patience of the people of Zambia, in the face of a very complex and weighted electoral pattern.

There were four prominent parties in the field—the United Federal Party under the leadership of Sir Roy Welensky, the parent Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Liberal Party under Sir John Moffat, the African National Congress with Mr. Nkumbula at its head, and the United National Independence Party (UNIP), having for national president, Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda well-known leader of Northern Rhodesia and inspiring symbol of African nationalism. A few seats were also contested by the Rhodesian Republican Party, the Barotseland National Party and some independents.

The seats secured by various parties on the occasion were as follows :

Roll	UFP	ANC	UNIP
Lower	0	3	12
Upper	13	0	1
National	2	2	0
Asian Seat	0	0	1
Total	15	5	14

Out of the seven constituencies on the national roll, five were frustrated. Also elections could not be held for one upper roll seat due to the death of one of the candidates. Thus one seat in the upper roll and ten in the national roll remain vacant. Bye-elections to them are to be held next month.

The actual figure of valid votes on the Lower and Upper rolls are given below :

Roll	UFP	ANC	UNIP	Res
Lower	180	16,268	58,658	31
Upper	21,855	729	4,519	3,4

The percentage of votes acquired by various parties is as under :

Roll	UFP	ANC	UNIP	Res
Lower	0.23	21.56	77.77	0.4
Upper	71.65	2.38	14.81	11.1
Both Rolls	20.80	16.35	59.64	3.2

These tables speak for themselves. They clarly show that the Liberals, the Independents and other minor groups have no hold on the people. It is also conspicuous that the votes have been, in general, cast on racial considerations. Those on the upper rolls have voted for the Europeans or the UFP-supported candidates standing for limited franchise and for the continuance of the Federation, and the Africans, dominating on the lower roll, for UNIP and A

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both of which stand for universal adult franchise and for dissolution of the Federation and the establishment of an independent, sovereign and democratic State of Northern Rhodesia.

The position in the main industrial belt of Zambia, known as the Copper-belt, needs separate mention. The polling of the working class in that area was 85.81 per cent and UNIP secured as much as 91.03 per cent votes. The details are :

	Constituency			
	Central	East	West	Total
Regd. Voters	18,947	14,959	6,395	40,301
Valid Voters	16,418	12,725	5,442	34,585
UFP	100	—	—	100
ANC	1,947	829	225	3,001
UNIP	14,371	11,896	5,217	31,484
% won by UNIP	87.53	93.48	95.86	97.03

The above unequivocally shows that the United National Independence Party enjoys the solid confidence of the industrial labour of the country. Having secured 77.77 per cent votes on the lower roll and 59.64 per cent on both the Lower and Upper rolls combined, its position as the most popular party of Northern Rhodesia is unquestionably established. Had the constitution been straightforward, giving one vote to one individual, it would have easily swept the polls and delivered the goods.

During the election campaign, there was a sort of alliance between the United Federal Party and the African National Congress. It was commonly believed that the two had made a pact. But this fact was denied by Mr. Nkumbula. He said that the alleged pact was a lie made up by his party's enemies because they wanted to brand ANC with UFP which has Federation as its main policy. The only points which the two parties do agree on are communism and intimidation. Mr. John Roberts, leader of UFP in Northern Rhodesia, described the pact as "simply a non-aggression agreement in three national constituencies."

Besides, there was set up an anti-UNIP movement comprising of ANC and UFP and some others. It was financed by vested interests. It had issued plenty of literature against UNIP. Two of its publications must need be mentioned. One is a leaflet with a picture of Mr. Kenneth Kaunda with a snake coiled round his neck. It is a call to voters to strangle Kenneth and his party and do away with them for all the time. The other is a well-printed pamphlet calling upon the Asians not to be deceived, to stand together against UNIP and vote wisely. It is full of shameless and horrible lies, stating that Asians are subjected to fear in Kenya, to boycott in Uganda, to blackmail in Nyasaland and to intimidation in Tanganyika. Also the word went round that every European voting for UNIP would be regarded as a traitor. Happily, the Asian could easily distinguish wheat from chaff and sent their UNIP-supported candidate on their special seat by a majority of over five hundred votes. It is sad to note, however, that the European brethren could not take a charitable and broader view of the scene and were rather carried away by the UFP propaganda.

It goes without saying that UFP enjoys immense financial resources. Also it has the backing of the commercial establishments. Mr. Gerald Percy, organising secretary of the Liberal Party, declared in a public meeting on 23rd October that there were some companies in Northern Rhodesia which were guilty of gross intimidation, because they had conveyed to their employees that they were not allowed to take any part in politics unless they supported the UFP. He stated that he had in his possession documentary proof of this and would produce it to any one who doubted him.

For a week during these elections, I accompanied Mr. Kenneth Kaunda on his tour. I was impressed by the fact that he utilised his meetings as media of people's education. Often they took the shape of a sminar. He would speak for about twenty minutes and then invite questions. Doubtless, he paid spcial attention to his European audiences. He would patiently answer their queries and disarm them of their fears and misgivings. Here are two telling instances.

At Choma in Southern Province, a European met him and had a brief talk for three minutes. Thereupon he remarked, "Mr. Kaunda ! I never thought that you were such a thorough gentleman. What we have been talking convinces me of your sincerity and non-racial attitude." When asked what had led him to think otherwise so far, he said, "The picture that the newspapers and UFP people have painted of you was very repulsive and disgusting. I took you to be gangsters out to destroy everything European. I now realise how mistaken I was, Oh !"

Something more wonderful happened at

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Mufulira in the copper belt. Full of rage and disgust, an English lady came to Mr. Kaunda's meeting. She had with her a five pages long letter, which she had written labouriously, a day earlier. As usual, Mr. Kaunda addressed the House for some time and then replied to the queries from the audience, they heckled him as much as they could. But Mr. Kaunda was all patience and met their points with reason and forbearance. This had a tremendous effect on the lady. She immediately wrote another letter, confessing that she was completely shaken after "listening carefully to your policy and hearing the magnificient way in which you handled the hecklers, including myself." She closed this letter with the prayer that "God will use you in a magnificient way to whichever purpose he chooses." An inspiring example of conversion of heart !

At still another meeting, consisting largely of Asians, he pointed out that there would be no distinction of colour or race in free Zambia. He welcomed Asians and Europeans not only because of their various capabilities, but as fellow human beings. He declared :

"It is wrong to look at the colour of a man. None of us, I as a black, you as a brown, he as a white, had any choice in the colour of our skin. We did not apply for the same to God. It is Divine will and His dispensation that we find ourselves in different colours of skin. But none is to be looked down or condemned for this colour, any more than a flower for being red, yellow, white, violet or pink. We are children of the same Father and must live and act as such."

In a grand public meeting held at Lusaka on Sunday, October 27, 1962, he made an impassioned appeal to the European community to join the indigenous population and reconstruct the country anew.

"The polls on Tuesday, the 30th October, are a challenge to the white man. It is for him to accept the hand of friendship offered by the African citizen and join with us to build a new country. In case they refuse, let me give the warning, the black man will go to the Legco during the next election without the white man's vote. Please rest assured that the doors of the UNIP are open, always open to all of you. Come ... join on your own so that we may smash ... Federation once and for all and have a ... sovereign and democratic Zambia."

The present situation in Northern Rhod... is one of deadlock and stalemate. Neither ... is in a position to form the Government. Talks for ... coalition are going on. But much depends on ... bye-election to be hold on 10th December, ... The Liberal party had now asked its members ... sympathisers to support the UNIP hereafter. ... the other hand, the UFP is looking forward to ... into power. But its opposition to universal ... sufferage indicates that it does not regard ... Africans as fit to rule their own country. I ... shocked to listen to a TV-talk at Ndola on ... November last. In the course of his observa... on the elections just held, a successful U... candidate remarked that the Europeans will ... never agree to the rule of the African majo... over Northern Rhodesia, any more than ... Australians in Australia would agree to that ... the aborigines there or Americans in America ... that of Red Indians there. The comparisons ... very distressing indeed and betray the clo... mind of the European community.

Thus a grave national crisis has overtak... the state of affairs in Northern Rhodesia. T... Europeans are reluctant to part with power. ... Africans are as adamant to seize it and live ... free citizens in their land of birth. Mr. Ken... Kaunda has stated that his party would continue ... to struggle for freedom both inside and outs... the Legco on peaceful and non-violent l... They would know no rest until their Zambia ... free.

The burden, however, of resolving this cr... rests on the British Government. The Afr... electrotate, as we have seen above, has given ... clear verdict. It is for Whitehall to make a ... passionate assessment of the situation and ... ceed ahead to fulfil their cherished aspirati... The 'wind of change' is blowing fast throughout ... the country and its people cannot and should ... be denied their birthright. It is for Britain ... to take the right step and contribute to the ... and prosperity of Northern Rhodesia, nay, of ... entire continent of Africa.

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GOLD CONTROL

By CHITTAPRIYA MUKHOPADHYAYA,

Closely following the hectic days of the Chinese attack, has come the 'Gold Control Order',—a measure that is perhaps of even more far-reaching effect than any single measure taken in recent years. Paucity of gold in the vaults of the National Exchequer,—about which the people in general was made conscious only recently, —has been found to be the biggest stumbling block in our war effort.

At the peak of the 'Emergency', the patriotic people of our country, characteristically swayed by emotion, effectively demonstrated their sense of solidarity and support by donating liberally their gold ornaments and tangible assets to the National Defennce Fund; donors had the satisfaction that they could at least demonstrate in a big spectacular way what they could really do when the occasion arose.

Unfortunately, however, the "sacrifice" was not big enough! Faced with a mounting deficit, both in the domestic budget as well as in the external balance of payments position, the Government seized the opportunity at the crest of public enthusiasm and immensely churned up spirit of 'patriotism'; it came forward with the 'Gold Bond' offer. Valued at the international price of Rs. 62.50 per tola,—far below the prevailing "market" rate in our country,—the Bond offered a handsome interest and assured the prospective buyers of the Bond that the sources from which they earned the Gold would not be questioned.

But, the 'hoarded' gold,—with its obvious disadvantage of remaining "unproductive" or of not yielding any interest, did not respond enthusiastically to the offer even at the height of patriotic ostentation. Apparently, gold continued to be regarded as a favourite and dependable form of asset to all sections of the people; to the poorer people it conveys "real" saving for the 'rainy' days in this era of vanishing purchasing power of the rupee; and to the richer people,—many of whom have in the past few years denied a share of their earning to the State, this was surely the most convenient means of concealing the 'surplus money."

As the market price of gold recovered after the initial state of confusion following the measures to release the hoarded gold, the Government at last came forward with the strong measure of putting an end to the chaos by pegging the price of gold to the internationally accepted rate of Rs. 62.50 per tola and by requiring all and sundry to declare their gold stock; while new ornaments would have to be made with lower gold contents. Inventory of existing ornaments would not have to be furnished for the present.

The effect of such a sweeping measure has, as was expected, gone far; jewellers are panicky, so are the smugglers; safe-deposit vaults of the banks have been relieved of their deposits; jewellery-shop-keepers, with their display counters vacant, are keen on disposing of the 'old' stock of ornaments for which a huge demand prevails.

Opinion differs both on the advisability of curbing the use of gold as well as on the effectiveness of the measures taken. According to some, trading in gold had reached scandalous proportions in our country long ago; and this inordinate lust for gold has proved to be not only out of tune with the present-day social conditions and norms but was positively detrimental to the economic requirements of the country. Most of the gold has to be imported and this means drainage of foreign currency whether the commodity is openly imported or smuggled and unless this imported commodity is put into some produc-

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tive use, the money spent for its import is lost absolutely. Others consider that gold, being a precious and durable metal that is valued and recognized by people all the world over, should not be 'debased'; they propose that while price-control is a necessity, an abrupt jolt to the market,—so long virtually recognized,—would lead to unhealthy practices. If gold is considered as a metal worth preserving even by the States for settling their accounts, could it be expected that the ordinary people would shake off the age-old, customary practice of attaching not only commercial but also a notional value to the metal ?

Leaving out ornaments from the purview of the inventory that is now required to be furnished to the authorities, and absence of any measure, right from the beginning, for putting the 'hall mark' of purity on every bit of gold bullion or ornament, provides an obvious lacuna, according to many observers, in the Gold Control Order. Lower price would invariably tend to push up demand amongst the millions who have grown wary about the stability of the rupee and have pinned their faith in the ever-increasing appreciation in the value of gold. Gold ornaments, instead of being manufactured by indigeneous jewellers in the open market (with smuggled gold though !) would now travel in finished form from the various smuggle-centres abroad ; absence of a perennial stock in the open market would act as a stimulus to retention of whatever stock people may now possess ; bonafide jewellery work would,—as some suggest,—now be replaced by illegal manufacturing of ornaments in the millions of private houses and the backyards of the jewellery-shops. While some arrests take place here and there for unlawful work or for possession of undeclared stock, those who are familiar with the working of 'controls' of scarce goods in high demand in post-war India, know it too well how it works. 'Prohibition' has worked that way, so has the ownership and transfer of landed property after the abolition of zamindari, and such has been the fate of all other measures. Two 'prices' and two 'markets' prevail : the 'fair' or the 'open' price is meant for law-abiding people with less 'connection' and inadequate resources; the other market obviously not recognized by law, flourishes in the 'under-world' flouting the law with impunity. The same fate, according to pessimist theoreticians, awaits the Gold Control Order that has failed so far to the whole hog, and the millions of buyers of gold would now be compelled, under threat of the law, to carry on transactions by the backdoor.

If 'confiscation' of the existing gold stock is ruled out as being unconstitutional more stringent measures should have, as these experts say, been taken for a comprehensive inventory of all gold stock including jewellery (leaving out a bare minimum of a few tolas), and for recording of all transactions in a manner as would bring the whole matter to the surface. While procrastination in such cases invariably leads to more complications, (demonetization of Rs. 1000 paper note in 1945 may be recalled in this connection), the Government does not show all the cards at a time and prefers relying on the innate goodness of the people for the time being. Rebutting current criticisms about the measures taken so far, the Government, on the other hand, calls many of the accusations as baseless, while some hardship is inevitable to jewellers, it is argued that many of them are either pawn-brokers, or have silver-jewellery as the more stable source of income. If many people in their haste to possess gold before expiry of the dead-line, had been provided with spurious gold, none need be sorry—as the Finance Minister says—for those who wanted to evade the law of the country !

While the results of the Gold Bond efforts are awaited, we can look at the problem from three different, but of course allied aspects :

(a) The inordinate desire for hoarding gold is an anachronism in these days of advanced science and technology and is incompatible with the aims of a socialistic pattern of economy. Adherence to a metal not so much for its intrinsic contents or

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its monetary value as for its 'sanctity' acquired over centuries, and attaching to it a value more than warranted by its usefulness as a commercial product like all other products, has resulted in unwholesome trends in the economic and social sphere.

(b) Smuggling of gold has assumed such a proportion as can hardly be allowed to continue without loss of reputation at home and abroad.

(c) Difference between the domestic and international prices of gold has resulted in economic losses and difficulties in balance of payments position ; this in itself calls for action, otherwise our Plan will be in jeopardy.

Botomless Pit

Rightly or wrongly our country (or for that matter Asian countries in general) has been branded as a 'bottomless pit.' Huge quantities of gold travel only one way and get readily absorbed in the big 'sink'. Jewelleries possibly take the largest share, followed by 'hoarding' in the form of bullion and bars ; importance of a religious centre, a temple or a monastery, is measured by the quantum of gold it holds. Tax-evaders grab at the smuggled gold. Loss in interest is more than recouped as its value appreciates over years and the State Exchequer is denied its share of the income accruing to a section of the people through mounting industrial production and developmental investments.

The extent of gold absorved in our country over centuries and decades, is partly reflected in the following table :

Table 1*

Year	World gold production (Million ounce)	Year	Gold absorbed in India (Million ounce)
1493-1600	23.0	1493-1834	14.0
1601-1700	28.8	1835-1850	3.0
1701-1800	61.2		
1801-1850	38.0		17.0
	151.0		
1851-1900	336.2		
1901-1925	477.5	1851-1947	113.0
1925-1946	628.7		
	1442.4		130.0
Total	1593.4		

It is estimated that making allowances for reduction in gold stock resulting from partition, and taking into account the reserve of 7 million ounces in the Reserve Bank's vaults, Indian population (318 million in 1941 and 361 million in 1951) held 105 million ounces of gold in 1947, which, valued at the market rate of 1957-58 (Rs. 289 per ounce) amounted to Rs. 3035 crores. According to international price, the value was not less than Rs. 1750 crores. How far this is consistent with the total tangible assets of the country or whether this is out of proportion to the population of the country in the perspective of the world population,—is a matter on which only experts and discerning readers can give an opinion.

Production of gold in our country is negligible; during 1886-1947 total production was only 21.8 million ounces and during 1948-56 only 1.9 million ounces. Whatever gold is used for jewellery or for hoarding has necessarily to be imported and this means using up of the scarce foreign exchange.

During this period (1886-1947) India imported 130.7 million ounces of gold; and with the peak figure of 43 million ounces during 1931-42, exported 76.6 million ounces of gold during the same period. Barring a few months in 1946-47 when net import was 0.7 million ounce, free trade in gold was banned from the beginning of the Second War. As smuggled gold continues to trickle through, the precise extent of the quantity flowing in or the drainage of foreign currency is not measurable. The Forward Markets Commission on the Recognition of Associations guessed at Rs. 30|40 crores worth of gold

*This and the following Tables are based on figures published in the *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*, 1956-62.

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annually coming in; more recent estimates place the figure at a much higher level.

Gold With Central Banks

Although gold has lost its place of honour as the currency-unit even in the more prosperous countries (and gold standard is surely not going to return) the precious metal has again come to occupy a pivotal position in the post-war years. Gold has not, as was erroneously supposed by the optimistic champions of 'managed' currency, —lost its favour even with the controllers of the currencies of the world. As paper currency and bank money multiply in these days of reconstruction and development without the same orthodoxy in their relation with the 'Fiduciary' gold reserve, and the world trade pattern takes a new direction in the post war years, Central Banks of different countries try to hold fast their diminishing reserves either by upward revision of the price of gold[2] or by exhortation to the public to reduce the non-monetary use of gold, production of which on the other hand registers a steep rise since the days when U.S.A. raised the price of gold in 1934 from $20 per fine ounce to $35 per fine ounce. The following table shows the extent of gold reserves in the pre-war and post-war years.

Table 2

Gold Holdings of Central Banks, Treasuries etc.

(Million Dollars)

	December 1938	June 1948
U.S.A.	14592	23740
U.K.	3449	1906
France	2761	
Switzerland	701	
Argentina	469	
International Monetary Fund	—	
..	..	
Total	26566	

During 1952, sixteen leading countries of the world held in their Central Banks [illegible] million ounces of gold, of which 641 million ounce was with the U.S.A.

Private Hoarding

If private hoarding is a peculiar phenomenon in our country, it is, perhaps, not altogether unknown even in Europe where other forms of wealth, and reorientation of outlook have largely freed the mind of the people from the fascinating lure of the metal. The world production of gold (excluding U.S.S.R.) in 1956 amounted to little over 28 million ounces of which as high a quantity as 10 million ounces was diverted to private hoarding.[3] "Private hoarders in Europe bought some 4 million ounces, the greater part of this gold eventually finding its way into France. Large quantities were also sold in Switzerland."

If in India, higher market price and higher demand have pushed up a spiral which is unwholesome to our economy, whether the price in France (or other European countries), as officially quoted, has a direct bearing on the level of demand for the metal, remains somewhat conjectural. Prevailing prices in different countries are quoted below:

Table 3

Price of gold per Tola (in Rupees)

	Belgium	France	Pakistan	Switzerland	U.K.
1954-55	62.31	67.44	142.44	62.62	62.75
1955-56	62.87	72.50	114.50	62.50	62.37
1956-57	63.25	73.46	112.25	62.34	62.62
1957-58	63.00	68.23	107.50	62.70	62.33

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Change in Taste

It is true that with time has changed the taste for particular metals. Silver was more valuable than gold in the days of the Romans, and had its sway over the rich and poor alike. Aluminium, now priced hardly a few cents per ounce, was a coveted metal for jewellery in the U.S.A. a little over a hundred years back and was priced at more than $550 per ounce ! ! Days have changed, so have changed the usefulness of the metals and the attraction of the people for possession of the same. Platinum is more precious than gold but the latter continues to have its influence both in the monetary and non-monetary spheres. Production has gone up by leaps and bounds in course of the last century and a half. Changed production techniques from selective to mass mining has brought down the cost as in the case of all other metals ;[4] use has been diversified, but it has never reached a stage when its 'value' has slumped down and it is shorn of its 'magnetic' pull.

It has been said that higher production of gold in the main producing countries in next few years would bring down its market price to such a level as it would be more profitable now to invest in high-interest-bearing 'Gold Bonds' than to hold the metal for sale subsequently. Hoarding of the metal is no doubt unproductive in every respect ; it is desirable that it should preferably be utilised more fruitfully. But whether higher production would go side by side with, or rather be preceded by, a slumping of the price, is for the economists to forecast. As past experiences have shown, no single country (and more so a country which is deficient in production of the metal) has ever been able to control the price either of gold or of silver. China had to abandon her silver currency standard under presssure from the U.S.A. ; and U.S.A. again could not, after promulgating the Silver Purchase Act of 1934, effectively control the world price ; and now, in spite of international sanction, the steps taken by South Africa cannot be regulated at will by more powerful countries.

If gold has a particularly strong influence on our people, it is no doubt partly due to the age-old custom ingrained in the way of life and leads to all sorts of undesirable social barriers and prejudices ; this should by all means be curbed. Gold, Land and Paddy, these are the three leading items that act as a lever for pushing up or down the general price level and any measure to curb the prices of these items is welcome to the country.

The other explanation possibly lies in the more recent developments in our economic set up. Diminishing purchasing power of the rupee invariably pushes one to save more of some thing that is durable both in its form as well as in value. With the prospect of a further diminution of the value of the rupee almost taken as inevitable' propensity to save for the 'rainy' days has the tendency to veer around gold. Exhortations to save more hardly have suffcient appeal when people find their life's savings in Life Insurance practically washed away at the time of redemption. People possessing gold, (and of course landed property particulraly in urban areas) are in a far better financial position over years than those hoarding money in the banks. With continuance of the fall in the rupee value it remains a dilemma with the poor and the rich as to what they ought to do. The purpose of 'saving' is perhaps different in the two extreme cases but the inherent desire is prompted by the same consideration.

While curbing the price of gold is an absolute necessity, it has to be considered whether some social evils will not crop up unless the Government takes more vigorous as well as effective measures by

(a) arranging to import gold in the usual trade channel or strictly under its supervision ;
(b) calling for the inventory of all forms of gold including jewellery;
(c) arranging for continuous recording under Government supervision of all transactions in gold at every stage of transference of ownership ; and
(d) devicing a method of putting its 'hallmark' on every bit of gold bullion or ornament.

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At the same time it may have to be considered if, instead of allowing two prices (one of course unauthorised or 'black market' price), it would be desirable to fix a higher rate for the domestic price. If effectively administered, this would yield some revenue to the national exchequer (assuming that the import and sale are conducted by the Government), and would mop up some surplus money as well. Experience has shown that banning of gold import (or silver) does not necessarily stop drainage of scare foreign exchange; devious are the ways of the people who manage to acquire currency abroad for financing the smuggling trade. It is, perhaps, desirable therefore that the Government should "nationalise" the gold import trade and its sale through licenced traders at home. Simultaneously, stricter administrative measures to stop smuggling would, of course, be a necessity which need hardly be stressed.

General Price Level

The other obvious necessity is of course to keep the general price level steady, about which unfortunately the Government has either been indifferent or ineffective; or rather the increase has been taken as a necessary adjunct to a developmental economy.

A close perusal of the price movement of gold and an assessment of the trend of other yardsticks that influence the general upward movement, present an interesting feature.

Table 4

Spot Price of gold in Bombay

	Average price per tola	Estimated visible stock	Average price per 10 grams (1 Tola = 11.6638 grams).
	Rs.	Tolas	
1951-52	109.07	69173	93.51
1952-53	88.01	38327	——
1953-54	86.09	25942	——
1954-55	89.15	29673	——
1955-56	95.85	22528	82.18
1956-57	104.52	24577	89.6
1957-58	108.46	19212	92.9
1958-59	112.08	24135	96.0
1959-60	120.96	31885	103.7
	126.20		
1960-61	——	——	108.2
1961-62	——	——	114.
			121.

Even without taking into account change in the basis of price quotation bullions from 1959-60, the index number 1961-62 with 1936-38 as 100, comes to 34 Index number of wholesale prices on other hand, with 1938-39 as 100, moved 434.6% in 1951-52; with 1952-53 as 10 moved to 122.9% in 1961-62 (i.e. about 4 in 1961-62 with 1938-39 as 100). Price of moved from 100 in 1951-52 to about 11 1959-60; index number of wholesale pri 1952-53=100) on the other hand stood 118.7 in 1959-60.

If the general price level has gone perhaps on the aggregate at a faster than that of gold, and we are not thinking of reverting to a level that was effective before the war, would it be possible us, by applying the conventional econo measures and partially effective admi trative measures, to bring down the of gold to about half its present level? it can be brought down without more drastic measure which the Gov ment has avoided so far, it will no d have a salutory effect on the ge price level. Assuming that such a re tion in price becomes effective wi seizure of the hoarded gold or wi fresh import of gold or without maki obligatory to record all transactions must be admitted that the Governm has achieved something that would down in history as a unique achievem It is only to be hoped that some s evils, that would convert all purch of gold into 'black-marketeers,' do not up while an emonomic measure bec successful.

Here we may quote below some the official figures regarding the supply with the public and other econ indicators.

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Table 5

	Unit	1951-52	1956-57	1961-62
1. Money supply with the public :	Rs. crore	1850 (100%)	2345 (126.7%)	3049 (164.8%)
2. Notes in circulation :	Rs. crore	1128 (100%)	1483 (131.5%)	2027 (179.7%)
3. Population :	Crore	36.11 (100%)	—	43.92 (121.50%)
4. Per capita income at 1960-61 prices[7]:	Rs.	284	306	330
5. Gold coin & bullion in Issue Department :	Rs. crore	40.02	117.76	117.76
5A. Price of gold per tola :	Rs.	21.24	62.50	62.60
6. Price of silver[8]:	Rs. per kilogram	161.41	150.58	206.49
7. Variable Dividend InIndustrial Securities 1952-53 = 100	—	—	126.6	192.7
8. Index number of wholesale prices —1938-39 = 100	—	436.6	—	—
1952-53 = 100		—	105.1	129.9
9. Index number of Industrial production : 1951 = 100 :	—	—	137.3	181.2
10. Consumer Price Index Number 'working class' : 1949-50= 100 :	—	105	107	127
11. Foreign Exchange Reserve	Rs. crore	786.69	681.10	297.31

From all available indications it seems to be a certainty that we are not reverting to the pre-war price structure ; but at the same time we must fall in line with the price of gold adopted by other leading countries and by the International agencies. How to combine the two remains the most difficult problem with the government. Short of a complete "nationalization' of gold stock and trades can this be achieved ?

1. National Income at 1960-61 prices :

(i)

	1949-51	1955-56	1960-61
Rs. crore :	10240	12130	14500

(ii) Estimate of Tangible Wealth in India :

	1949-50	1960-61
Rs. crore :	34940	52405

2. Price of gold in London £8|8|- per fine ounce from September 5 1939, £8|12|3 from June 9, 1945 and £12|8|- from September 19 1949.

Gold reserves of Issue Department of the Reserve Bank of India were valued at Rs. 21|24 per tola upto October 5, 1956 and at Rs. 62|50 per tola thereafter.

3. In addition to about 3 million ounces for the arts and industries.

According to an estimate of 1935, approximately one-fourth of the gold stock was used for non-monetary purposes. "By far the greatest user of non-monetary gold is the jewellery industry, it is followed by the dental industry. Besides these two major uses there are innumerable minor ones." (Zimmermann).

4. "Probably the lowest grade ores that are successfully exploited are those of Alaska. These ores average 0.04 fine ounces (0.8 pennyweight or $1.40) a ton. The South African mines . . . .average 0.3 ounce (6 pennyweight or $10.50 a ton). . . . In the case of the lowest grade ore, "the ore brings $1.40 a ton," and the "cost is 72 cents."—(Zimmermann).

5. Average price of gold in 1936-38 was about Rs. 35 per tola. During the years 1948-49, 1950-51 and 1951-52 following prices prevailed in Bombay.

	Highest	Lowest	Average
1948-49	121.0.0	103.0.0	114.9.10
1950-51	120.2.0	104.12.0	113.7.4
1051-52	118.10.0	79.8.0	109.1.1

In 1948-49 the index was therefore 327%;

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and in 1950-51 it was even less. Index number of wholesale prices was 376.2%, 409.7%, 434.6% during the same three years.

6. Spot prices relate to *Mysore Gold* upto July 13, 1958, *Abyssinian Gold* from July 14 1958 to July 1959 and *Gold Bullion* thereafter.

7. Figures relate to 1950-51, 1955-56 and 1960-61.

8. 0.999 fineness upto December 13, 19 and to below 0.996 thereafter. Market price silver (per 100 tolas) in different centr (Rupees)

	New York	London	Bomb
1938-39	53.1.0	40.12.0	
1951-52	158.13.0	161.14.0	51.1
1952-53	150.8.0	153.4.0	128.4
			159.8

NEW LIGHT ON THE MALAVAS : THEIR CULTURE

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The Malava-tribe—which has given the name of *Malwa* to the site—South-east of Rajasthan—was organized as a repulic and as a fighting unit which offered resistance to Alexander the Great who refers to them as "Mallois." At that period they were occupying the Ravi-Sutlej doab in the Punjab. Hard pressed by the Bactrians, Parthians and the Scythians—they moved towards the South, and in course of time occupied the Ajmer-Tonk-Mewar area where they flourished along with the Yaudheyas, as an independent republic till about the end of the 1st. Centry A.D. Their powers were for a time eclipsed with the rise of the Kushanas and Kshatrapas. The Malavas gradually moved towards the south. The Mohilla (?) settlements round Suratgarh are probably the last location in Bikaner from which they moved in other directions. About 326 A.D. the Malavas freed themselves from the domination of the Western Kshatrapas—vanquishing Rudramana—at a place between Ajmer and Udaipur. Establishing themselves in the regions of Nagaur and Rairh—the Malavas extended their powers in different directions as proved by their inscriptions in the 3rd and 4th centuries, discovered at Bharatpur, Kotah, and Udaipur States. An inscription dated in V. S. 1043 from Nagaur—refers to a site as "Malava-Nagara" because of the ancient association of the site with the Malava tribe. Several Yupa inscriptions discovered in diverse sites of Rajputana—prove that the Malavas believed in and practised the Vedic religion. A Yupa inscription from Nandasa (36 miles from Bhilwara, Udaipur State) dated in the year 226 A-D, records the performance by a Malava Chief named Sri Soma an "Ekasasti-ratra Yagna" to commemorate the foundation of temples in honour of deities of the Hindu-pantheon and for the celebration of their victory over the Kshatrap It also records the gift of 100 Cows in cha (eka—sata—go—sahasra daksina).

A Malava Chief boasts of being a descend of the Ikshaku dynasty (Ikshaku—prat rajarsi—vamse Malava vamse prasutasy Moving out of the northern and east regions of Rajputana—the Malavas find settled in the South-eastern tract—now kn as Malava. The early Malava rule Rajputana was very powerful upto the time of Samudra Gupta. The Allahabad pillar inscri tion refers to the firm rule (prachanda—sasa of Malavas associated with the Arjunoyanas Yaudheyas in a famous passage which read "Malavar—junayant—Yaudheya — Sarvakar danena — karana — pranagamana—, Parivis —prachanda sasanasya". Gangadhara in Jhalwar State had erected a Pillar recording inscription of King Visva-Varman said to be ruler of Malwa, dated 423-24 A.D.—referri a long series of public works such as irrig tanks, temples, and other items of public u Relics of the earlier culture of the Malavas cepting the Yupa inscriptions referrd to have been identified.

The coins of the Malavas suggest that belonged to tribal republics. The common leg found on their coins in Prakrit or Sanskrit re "Malvanam Jayas—Victory to the Mal which read "Mapojaya, Kapaya, Mepaka On some class of coins there are inscrip which have been puzzling to scholars. scholars, with some doubts, have taken the names of Malava Chiefs. Most of the co the Malavas appear to have come from the of Naggar or Karkotanagara in Jaipur S

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some 25 miles from Tonk and 45 miles from Bundi. The provenance and epigraphy of the coins appear to prove that they were occupying a limited area in Eastern Rajputana from the second to the 4th Century A.D. They gradually moved from this area and settled in the South to an area now known as Malava.

They were probably under the Kushana and Saka dominions in the first and second centuries A.D. and they are not likely to have become independent before the end of the second century. We know the Malavas were defeated by Samudra Gupta and probably lost their independence during the western campaign of Chandra Gupta II.

All the contributions of Malava culture have not been investigated but their tribal melody, the famous Malava-Raga, familier to our musicians—with its feminine form, Malavika,—was a valuable asset and a significant element in the development of Indian raga-system, and both these melodies have been frequently illustrated in Rajput painting. The Malava Raga—a masculine melody generally referred to as "Malava Kausika' or 'Mala-Kausa'—is personified in the picture of a warrior seatd in a room in a palace entertained by a lady—with food and drink—holding her outstretched hands, and attended by several attendants standing, some moving the fly-whisk—made of peacock-feathers, others carrying 'Vina' and bells and providing music to the honoured guest as he partakes of food offered by the lady. In music-history this melody is dated between the 5th and 8th century. But the pictorial illustration of Malava-Raga is not earlier than 16th century A.D. and cannot, therefore, be accepted as a record of contemporary Malava culture. The figures are dressed in costumes current in Rajasthan in the 16th century.

Malavika or Malavi—a faminine melody may be assumed to have been another melody derived from the musical culture of the Malavas.

Viyoga-dukhana—vidhu—Sarangi
Ciram priya—dhyana—vinidra—netra,
Kamaika-citta sphute goura-kantih
Sa Malavi samkathita Kavindraih
(Sangita Sara Sangraha)

Translation :

Malavi ragini—is described by poets as a fair lady burning with passion, yet pale and dusty—separated from the beloved—and thinking of her lord—in sleepless night.

The word Malavika—as a personal name—is frequently met with in works of Kalidasa—of the Gupta period. As we know, the Malavas were overrun by the Guptas—and it is not surprising to find some surviving elements of Malava culture in the culture of the Guptas.

A text attributed to the sage Bharata Muni, called *Gitalamkar* recently published has given a picturesque symology of the word *Malavya*—recognised as a Melody-type :

(Malayva-varna). Mah somah Kirtyata loke tasya
labya Yatah Sada.
Soukhyam Kuryyat tata nama Malavya, iti
Bhutale 1114
Gitalamkara, Varna-laksanam
Chaturdasodhyaya, (P. 174).

Translation : It is a fragment of the sector of the moon—which dropped on the earth and provided the material for the Malavya ragini.

A valuable historical document—visualizing a Malava Chief—bluish in complexion, clad in shorts—and posed in a heroic posture—holding a flower in the right hand has been discovered in one of the Wall-paintings in the Ajanta Caves. The picture was copied by Sri Nanda Lal Bose sometime ago—and is being published for the first time as a Frontispiece to this number of the Modern Review—as an important document of historical interest. The identification though tentative is based on the directions recorded in a chapter of the Natya-sastra of Bharat Muni—who give valuable instructions—as to how the representations of Yavanas, Parthians, Sakas, and Malavas—are to be presented on the stage.

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A SCHOOL FOR UNSATISFIED MINDS

Contributed

"THE life of man should be a great hunger for universal knowledge," says Dr. Loren Eisley, chairman of the Department of History and Philosophy-Science at the University of Pennsylvania.

To foster this hunger, to keep its students and alumni forever unsatisfied mentally, are the aim and purpose of the faculty at the university, the first educational institution to be organized as a university in the United States. The past few years have seen a resurgence in the life of the school that may bring to it a prestige and strength unknown since colonial days.

The university has had an illustrious history, but for years its surroundings had been encroached upon by industry, its various schools were bound by ironclad tradition and the area of Philadelphia where it is located had suffered from civic blight.

Both the University and the City are being transformed. Slum clearance programs, the refurbishing of traditional buildings, and the erection of many impressive new buildings are outward signs of inward growth. Two square miles of West Philadelphia are being taken over by the university, so that in time colleges, graduate schools, research institutes, hospitals and residences will be gathered together to form one campus.

Two factors contributed to the rebirth. In 1953 Dr. Gaylord P. Harnwell, an atomic scientist, became President of the University, and in 1954 a critical self-survey was undertaken by the institution. Many of the new developmnts stem from the findings of that survey. As reported by Dr. Harnwell, the study called for a strong college at the center of the University with a "bold and imaginative" liberal arts curriculum. By 1970 it is believed that Pennsylvania will house and teach 37,000 students as compared to its present 18,000.

"If you get the best faculty and the best student body together," says Dr. Harnwell, "you have all you need for the ideal university."

This sentiment would have greatly pleased the first American internationalist, Benjamin Franklin, at whose urging the university was established. It was formally opened as an Academy and Charitable School of the Province of Pennsylvania in 1751. Associated with Dr. Franklin in its founding were ten signatories of the Declaration of Independence, nine signatories of the Constitution of the United States, and 21 members of the Continental Congress.

The University established the first professional schools distinct from college in the United States. Its School of Medicine, founded in 1765, and its Law School are the oldest in the country.

After the War for Independence, the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania in 1791 passed an Act which established the name of the University and its mode of government by a board of trustees, of whom the governor of the State is always the President officer. Although it bears the name of the State, the University is not a state institution but a privately endowed, non-sectarian school.

Penn's position for years has been somewhere between the state-university plan of school which has something for everybody, and the liberal arts college. Dr. Harnwell has done much to reconcile the differences. As a man who grew up in a small town, he knows the needs of state universities and the commitment of the United States to mass education; as a brilliant nuclear physicist he inspires respect for intellectual attainments. He stays in touch with students by instructing a class in physics for undergraduates.

Regarding changes which are taking place in the university he comments:

"Universities have another responsibility which is difficult to discharge and one which calls for the exercise of enterprise and initiative. This requires the breaking with tradition in order to respond to growth in knowledge and to the conditions of evolution of social forms and customs. It is not enough to conduct established instructional programs, for the acknowledgment of research as an essential component of education implies that instruction must change and keep pace."

Besides new buildings, changes in the university include a trimester schedule which permits graduation in three years if students work during the summers. Another major change is in the curriculum of the Wharton School of Finance

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A Group of students walk through the Qudrangle surrounded by ivy covered walls. It is a tradition for every outgoing senior student to plant an Ivy—making Pennsilvania University, founded by Benjamin Franklin—truly an Ivy League School

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Commerce, which—true to its name—had formerly concentrated on courses in professional or trade subjects. Two years of the new curriculum are now given overe to the humanities.

A student entering Penn is offered an almost bewildering array of courses—a total of 1,500—ranging from the study of the classics to business administration and veterinary medicine. Even though he is limited to the study of only a few of them, he is thrown into contact with so many people doing so many stimulating and exciting things that inevitably the horizon of his mind expands, and he can never again be completely parochial in his outlook. As an official of the university puts it :

"This, in fact, is one of Pennsylvania's prides: the infinite variety of the undergraduate program which continually offers the student new challenges. His mind can, under guidance, stretch itself as far and as wide as it can go. He need not stay within the boundaries of study offered by his own school."

Many scholarships are offered to prospective students, not only to residents of Pennsylvania, but to residents of all parts of the United States. Some scholarships are supported by governmental agencies, some by business firms, some by individuals. Of the latter, many are endowments and continue as memorials long after the death of the donors. Prizes, mainly in cash, are given for proficiency in selected fields, such as chemistry and languages, for essays, oratory, and musical compositions. Funds are also provided for the support of undergraduate students from other countries.

In addition to these forms of assistance, work opportunities are available for students who must earn their way. There are eight major agencies which serve the needs of the campus and provide employment on a part-time basis. Among the services rendered are laundry, magazine and newspaper delivery, parking, and food concessions. The student may also find employment in the dining rooms. Earnings may be more than $500 for the school year.

Life for the student is not limited to study and work, however. As one of the eight Eastern universities groups together in what is known as the "Ivy League," Pennsylvania has very active sports program. A year of physical education is required of each undergraduate, and more than 30 teams compete in 14 different sports: baseball, basketball, crew, cross-country, fencing, footbal, golf, lacrosse, soccer, squash, swimming, tennis, track, and wrestling. Sports for women include archery, badminton, basketball, dancing, bowling, swimming, tennis and volleyball.

There also is a very active social life at Penn. It is a boast of those in charge of extra-curricular activities that as a result of the wide variety of interests found upon the campus, it is possible for each student to find at least one to his liking. There are language clubs which offer practice in conversation, scholastic and social fraternities, political clubs, sports clubs, and clubs which provide business training.

Religious groups are active, with the major denominations represented and with worship services and social activities available to all students.

An all-campus newspaper is published and distributed to students at dormitories, fraternity houses and various university buildings. Entitled the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, it enjoys freedom from administrative control and is occasionally sharply critical of university policies. The staff is open to all undergraduates, providing useful experience for aspiring journalism students. The *Pennsylvania News* is a weekly feature supplement to the daily newspaper. Articles may be submitted by anyone in the student body.

Another source of experience in the field of communication is WXPN, the radio station of the University of Pennsylvania, managed and operated by 125 men and women undergraduates. It is a non-commercial, educational station, broadcasting news, music, and educational programs throughout the Delaware Valley, with a range of over 40 miles. Its program is listed daily in the Philadelphia newspapers.

One of the oldest traditions in the school is the annual production of an original musical comedy produced by the Mask and Wig Club with an all-male cast. The Club is in its seventy-fifth year of continuous production, and it adheres to the motto : "Entertainment for Entertainment's Sake." After a ten night's run in a downtown Philadelphia theater the shows are sent on tour to the major cities of Eastern United States. Some songs of past shows, such as "Dad" and "Gypsy in My Soul" have become nationally popular. There are two other dramatic groups on campus, the Penn Players and the Drama Guild, both of which are coeducational.

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Students interested in music find a number of organizations open to them: the Choral Society, the Chamber Singers, a band, an orchestra, the Glee Club, and the Pennsyngers, the women's chorus.

Penn's list of faculty names reads like a Who's Who of distinguished scholars. Besides Doctors Harnwell and Eisley the list includes Surgeon I. S. Ravdin, Architect Louis I. Kahn, Journalist Gilbert Seldes, Pulitzer Prize winner Roy F. Nichols and Engineer John Brainerd.

The list is a long one, for many schools are included in the university. Besides a formidable science program and the Wharton School, there are the Colleges of Liberal Arts, the Law School, of Medicine with its related schools of Dentistry, Nursing, and Vetrinary Medicine. Archeology, the study of ancient man, has long been taught here and the University Museum houses a famous collection of art objects and curios from many lands, most of them discovered and brought back by the university's own teams of researchers.

A new library, housing nearly a million books valued at $25 million, was opened recently. Included is the Henry Charles Lea Library of Medieval History, bequeathed in 1909 to the university by a Philadelphia historian. Moved with the books was the library room of Mr. Lea's residence, complete with paneled woodwork, bookcases, and tile fireplace.

More than 30 new buildings have added to the campus. The names of some of them are indicative of their functions: the Betatron Laboratory, the Physical Sciences Building, the Richards Medical Research Building; new buildings for the Law School, chemistry laboratories, and the Women's Residence, the controversial design of which was executed by Eero Saarinen.

More important than new buildings is the spirit of Penn in the period of transition. Professors and students come there, states the provost, because of excitement and academic freedom. "Our transition is so exciting," he says, "that we're keeping peo'ple here and getting new ones who have offers from other schools."

Says Dr. Harnwell of the changes taking place:

"You don't have to teach people how to conform; they'll take care of that themselves. We hope that our alumni, whether businessmen or professionals, will be dissatisfied with themselves, for in that discontent lies the promise of the future."

NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART, 1963

(A Review)

By USAB

The Vice-President, Dr. Zakir Hussain, inaugurated the Ninth National Exhibition of Art in its splendid hall of the Rabindra Bhavan, New Delhi. From the point of view of display full justice was done to the exhibits. But the pertinent question that peeps in to the minds of the visitors is how far this collection of about 190 works of art selected from among 1250 entries from all parts of India, reflect our national art? The form and conception of beauty vary from region to region, hence the native culture of a particular people foster the aesthetic values born out of their genius. In our country we find coastal people generally use white, or at least less gaudy dress, whereas in Rajputana, Punjab, Gujarat and hilly parts, bright attire is quite common. If in one country with a somewhat common basic culture tastes differ, it would be logical that cultural traits of far-flung races of our globe would sustain different art forms.

By and large the organisers of this exhibition have patronised modern art styles at the cost of traditional and Indian art forms. True, although a good many artists of our country, for the last few decades or so, are expressing in all the modern idioms found in the salons of Paris, accomplished modes of Indian art are yet practised in our land. Not content with expressionistic, impressionistic, fauvistic, cubistic, dadistic techniques, they are adopting abstract mannerisms and lastly hanging action paintings. The organisers, therefore, may be partly justified in thrusting to the wall a large number of modern art forms. But after visiting the exhibits it is apprehended that

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the quality of a large number of modern art works did not undergo a rigid scrutiny.

On the other hand examples of Indian art and traditional styles were few and far between. The absence of indigenous art to an appreciable extent, thus attracted the attention of many, particularly of foreign visitors as could be seen from their remarks. If *object d'art* has the basic quality of uplifiting one's sense of joy, the majority of the exhibits failed to satisfy this function in most visitors. These works might be ineternational as they call, but they hardly reveal the hopes and aspirations of the average visitors. Technical excellence *alone*, after all, is not what art or literature should conform to.

To mitigate such a situation the organisers of the exhibition can very well have a section for the Indian style of art and declare a few awards for the best amongst them. Surely our National Akademi's responsibility is to see that simultaneously with the experiments on western art styles, indigenous modes too flourish.

Decidedly the sculpture section (numbering 34) is the strong point of this exhibition. Ramkinkar demonstrates a realistic open design plaster sudy in bronze colour called a *'Monument of the Worker'* to show five labourers cutting and drilling a huge boulder. Suggestions of faces and rhythmic round hands are observed in Mrs. Rita Sinha's plaster statue of two seated women *'Hair Dressing.'* *'Supervisor'* by Miss Harbhajan Sandhu depicts the vigilant mood of an elongated bronze whippet having pebbly dressings and barking with head upraised.

S. S. Vohra receives an award for *'Flute Player'* which in black colour concerte is a semi-abstract expression of a man's fingers playing on a flute. It is quite suggestive and vigorous in expression. In his other exhibit *'Agony'* he executes after Dhanraj Bhagat the face of a man somewhat like a bat. *'Cosmic Man'* is a large rectangular plaster statue by Dhanraj Bhgat who contributes it as an invited artist. This rectangular block with geometrical designs and hollow squares around, stands on two columns. A star, ear lobes, a crescent moon or similar symbols have been fixed on the upper part. Raghav Kaneria has successfully experimented with mass formed by encircling space, for his *'Form'* is made out of a number of irregular rusty iron plates soldered together to represent the view of a leafy tree. He receives an award for it and he deserves it rightly. Compltely architectural is Dharmani's *'Sculpture-I'* for it is a colour upright and elongated plaster cube squarish projections all around.

Even so not many sculpture pieces arrived distant corners obviously due to the difficulties in transporting them.

Out of about a dozen graphics a few are of high standard. Shady greys and dull with texture are seen in Jayant Parikh's *and Rider.'* Here at the bottom left is a man leading a black horse with a woman in dull white moving through a street. Behind are houses in black or pinkish brown. *'Dream* —a surrealistic etching in delicate treatment sisting of a long bluish grey fish, a whitish leaf and other designs in grades of fine won a prize for Somnath Hore. Krishna has given a commendable account by executing *'Spider Web'* in light indigo, brown and on paper with deep die system grains as texture.

Let us consider some of the abstract art pieces first. Trilok Kaul has done *'Mellow Autumn* (oil) in abstract approach in light green background superscribed with bright yellow splashes and deep chocolate cubes to bring out an impression of a hillscape. An example of monstrous work can been seen in Jeram Patel's endeavour creating texture. Here in *'Study in Silver II'* we find the artist has created an impish pattern on a plywood which has been partly burnt or square or linear dents, numerous borings, ed bottoms of stout screws and a patch of irregular tinplate (resembling a man!) holes. The rest of it has glossy black polish. piece of craft too received an award. Bhattacharjee receives an award for *'The* which he recently exhibited in his one-man This large canvas has a roundish form in patches of white, violet, buff or blue with around are uncoordinated jarring violet and patches with little coherence and attempt to veal the point of emphasis. *'Homage'* (oil) Miss Arpita Dutta shows a few symmetrical gated or circular black shapes with glowing the top and pale broken luminous violet or green in a flat yet arresting colour scheme whitish circular shape amidst greys on the makes the arrangement harmonious. Jagan Chopra in his usual kalidoscopic colour ment has created crystalline shapes in green yellow and greys with texture on light

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deep black background, in *'Painting II.'* Bimal Das Gupta who previously won awards for his excellent waterscapes has done *'Landscape-I'* by putting two wide white intersecting oil patches with texture on a toned greyish background. A slight tint of crimson breaks the monotonous view. Even so in his recent one-man show he exhibited much better examples of abstract attempts.

Desert.' It has serpentine jet black lines in varying intensity and dots on a white canvas. A green speck on the top right and a lemon circle on the bottom left are not only suggestive but add balance to the canvas. *'Ghost'* fits well with Sukanta Basu's resonant splashes in irregular blue, sienna, buff and white oil in an inky dark night, a gloomy moon and a whitish figure like a shadow.

Huts—A Study in Oils
By J. Sultan Ali
(National Exhibition of Art, Delhi, 1963)

'August 15th' is an abstract painting of high quality, for in it Vinodray Patel through well-spaced semi-circular symbolic designs in red saffron, white, black on a flat greyish background, creates the joy and faltering sense in symbolic forms and pigments. It is an unassuming but inspired work, for the artist has not groped in the alley of technical quality in it.

Miss Siddiqua Bilgrami has revealed a fine sense of composition and colour sense in the only action painting of the show—*'The*

Cubism to a large extent has lost its force of appeal so that artists are now adoping divisionistic techniques. In a way it is the extension of cubism. *'Equestrian Forms'* demonstrates a number of horses speeding in different directions in well arranged cubes in light blue oil with breaks in white and grey. It is a derivative of 'Tower of Blue Horses' of the famous German painter Franz Barc. *'Dark Landscape'* shows the technical excellence and artistry of Jyoti Bhatt. Here we find a dull grey

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landscape fragmented in rectangles, squares and triangles, each of which has varied textural dsigns—flat, rough, pebbly, ribbed, sun dried with fissures—and beside it is a placid light grey space disturbed by ripples as seen through circular raised texture. It is a poetic birds eye-view of nightly landscape and received one of the ten awards. Indian in appeal '*Huts*' has been painted by J. Sultan Ali to expose a village on a hilly area in squares broken by specks of red, yellow, blue or greys. A few huts are in a sunny brown and the background has a orange or pinkish hue. The whole scene is animated by a woman in red dress climbing a flight of stairs with a sheaf of yellow stack. This painting has the dazzling brightness of jewellery. Miloo Banerjee has successfully handled in thin and glowing oil colour '*An Ism is Born.*' He has drawn a number of semi-circular lines to meet upward in black and through the hollow space thus created flashy cubes of yellow, green and blue are seen. Sripat Rai is strictly divisionist and has done an an oil painting—'*Dawn over Blue Landscape*' after mat pattern in violet, indigo and grey rectangles amidst a light grey background.

K. S. Kulkarni for his oil pointing '*Death of a Song*' receives an award. This is a surrealistic work showing the dismembered skeleton of an ox in greys and white with a few circular or triangular designs in blue and green. Both in idea and execution it is not a good one.

Expressionistic technique has been delineated by several artists with a good standard. Mrinal Bardhan brings out a drowsy man sitting with his head on the right hand in smudgy grey, white and slight brownish crimson in '*I am Alone*' (oil). Around him is the white moon with texture in pale green background. '*Mute Window*' by Piraji Sagara shows bold oil treatment in depicting a building across the length of the painting as seen at night. The details of the building such as the dull greyish and brownish walls with surface dressings, breaks in red blue and prominent black lines in the slightly angular structure of the building which yield a marked architectural quality. The front open space is shown in patchy bright brown as if lighted by a pale lemon yellow moon with deep greenish texture. On the right are heads of a girl and a man. The girl is fleeing with the man who has boisterous features and crimson patches on his forehead to explain the design while the house is asleep and windows quiet in the moon-lit night. This deserving painting ... an award. M. X. Susairaj in his oil pai... '*Mother*' has displayed deep or grey spots ... the white bodies of mother with a child lying ... her lap. The two hues have added an appea... effect. Satish Gujral in his usual striking oils has ... given a rough suggestion of a head in browns and ... reds in the front and greenish brown or ma... endless space with texture in '*Outpost.*' ... man Pai uses his long tried method of pain... with heavy and striking oils, often-times appl... direct from tubes, to decorate a low green look... girl with herring-bone designed eye lashes ... eyebrows, pupils having floral decorations ... disarranged floating hair in '*Eclipse.*' On ... right is an emerald green patch to show the ef... of eclipse of a blue moon with texture. This w... an award.

Portraits are few in number ; one of wh... '*Day Dreamer*' (oil) by Vasudev Kapatral sh... the portrait of a fair looking girl with a bl... veil, and the red hue of the shirt peeps throu... the veil, which explains his treatment in produci... transparency. The face reveals rather an inqui... tive look. Satish Sinha's '*Mother and Ch...* shows the academic style of the thirties.

'*A Street in Rains*' looks rather a pi... of rare type of water colour painting for t... damp transparent haze of a bazaar on a cl... day. Joshi does this type of painting with g... delicacy. Pradumna Tana's water colour paint... '*Banasthali*' shows neat work both in ar... cation of browns, yellow huts and greyish r... children, animals, etc., but it is lifeless.

Among the few traditional and Indian s... of paintings Gautama Vaghela has hung ... laborious large water colour paintings, one wh... is in blue superscribed with female figures in ... compact style and other '*Dew*' is of the s... type showing a rider, then in small panels fo... figures in fine lines on spotty red backgr... This shows the influence of Jain manuscript s... He wins an award for it. Thakwani ... Chandra paints '*Huts*' in water colour to ... an intimate Indian village scene consisting of ... in brokn yellows and browns, bluish sky, a ... gaudily dressed Rajasthani women gossiping ... pitchers on their heads. '*Buddha C...* *With the Kings* (tempera) by E. K... swamy has all the traditional motifs, flat ... and architectural designs, the bejewelled kin... Bhikshus, but anatomy of figures suffer.

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Prabha V. Dongare has given a very perfect textural pattern in thin oils in *'White Wall.'* The wall has in green, white and browns the feeling of moss grown in damp weather. W. V. Karanjikar through the medium of tempera but in slightly modern style has shown a white bull being annointed with magenta palm marks by the housewife who is dressed in crimson cubes in *'The Decoration of Her Pet.'*

Few Batik patterns are seen among paintings, for even though strictly speaking linens treated with batik process are crafts, in an exhibition where tin plates, hessian, sand, gravels, copper plates are used as media for painting, anything else can have its way in. So Biharilal Barbhaiya hangs a framed batik work showing an one-eyed woman with loin cloth and a man with one eye in bright yellow, sitting cross-legged. The background has light criss-cross effect of batik work in browns, black and crimson.

Obviously, barring a few, the exhibits hung are meant for specialists in different branches of plastic art. Perhaps many artists are far ahead of the understanding of a moderately cultured fellow-being. So Philip Johnson says, "There is only one absolute to-day and that is change. There is no rules, surely no certainties in any of the arts. There is only the feeling of a wonderful freedom, of endless possibilities to investigate . . ."

LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By MRS. D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

IX

I am sure that all those who are acquainted with people possessing the artistic temperament as it is called, will agree with the view that though such personalities are interesting to watch from a distance, they are most difficult to deal with. It appears ever so strange when a man saturated with that quality is able to collect some good friends round him. Our artist Sri Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury is one such strange figure. He is an extremely temperamental person, so much so, that at times even his wife finds it difficult to cope with his moods. Yet this gentleman has made some friends who, you will be surprised to know, are actually fond of him and are ever-ready to help him in time of need. His success in this line is an achievement worthy of praise. The way these friendships developed is indeed curious. Had I not heard the facts from the parties concerned, it would have been difficult for me to believe the authenticity of the stories.

When Deviprosad first came to Madras, he was staying as a guest of the late Sri S. V. Ramaswamy Mudaliar. That gentleman was interested in art and was particularly fond of my husband and his work. He often helped the artist by giving friendly advice. It was Mr. Mudaliar who suggested that he should pay courtesy calls to his superior officers. The official etiquette demanded it. The proposal did not seem very palatable to Deviprosad but since he had accepted the office, he thought it would be inconsistent on his part not to abide by the official conventions.

Sri A. Mc. G. C. Tampoe was the Secretary of the Development Department at the time and was, consequently, my husband's boss. After much hesitation the Principal of the School of Arts and Crafts made up his mind to finish his duty by calling on this gentleman. I am unaware of the cause but Mr. Tampoe declined to see him when he went. He wrote at the back of the card, "please see me at my office". This hurt the pride of the artist. He came back greatly perturbed but tried to console himself with the thought that perhaps as a subordinate officer it was not proper for him to see the gentleman at his residence. He, therefore, ventured on his errand for the second time but with no better result. Moreover, he had to stand outside the Secretary's chamber for a considerable period before he could know if an audience would be granted to him or not. All this infuriated the artist to the extreme and he came back determined to let the official, who treated him in such a brusque manner, know a bit of his mind, no matter how high his position might

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have been. While he was in this state of mind, he sat down to pen a letter to the aforesaid gentleman. The exact wordings of the letter is not known to me, but the condition under which it was written enables me to imagine that the action of the official must have been denounced with more force than politeness would permit.

Whatever that may be, it brought into effect the meeting of the two men. This time the superior officer came at the door of the subordinate to express his admiration for one whom he considered worth knowing. It was for the first time, he said, in his official life, he came across a subordinate of that calibre.

It would not be out of place perhaps if I quoted here from the writings of Mr. Tampoe, the impression that the artist created on him from the time of the latter's application for the Principal's post, till his recognition of him as his friend.

It ran as follows: "There was a very large number of applications for the post but one of them had extraordinarily high qualifications. I was therefore extremely doubtful whether this application was serious.

My assistant came back with the file, and told me that the applicant had personally seen the Chief Minister, and had assured him of his intention to accept the post, if offered.

As he was from Bengal, the province which was the pioneer in the Renaissance movement in India in Literature and Art, I thought that, perhaps, the applicant was inspired by a missionary zeal to carry the movement beyond the lucky beneficiary. I jumped at the opportunity, he was appointed and he joined duty.

The first thing I noticed about him was his absolute candour. No, he had come with no missionary zeal—he had come because it suited his circumstances. He did not by any means underestimate his abilities or his achievements, but he did not expect me to place him on a special footing on account of them. All he wanted was a reasonable amount of opportunity, to develop the fine art section in particular, and the other craft sections generally to the highest level possible.

There was no doubt that his heart was in his work. It was equally certain that he knew his job, and even more certain that he knew it well. It was impossible to controvert his statements by an appeal to reason unless one remembered these three facts as irrefutable premises. It was, of course, easy to over-ride him with the momentum of mere authority, but the wisdom of such a step was generally brought home to Government by the adverse effects on the school."

A man who can thus appreciate the qualities of another who is officially much his inferior is evidently not an ordinary being. I shall however refrain from doing the injustice to Mr. Tampoe of trying to describe him in a few lines. To appreciate this gentleman and to understand him one must come to know him personally. It will suffice to say that he is now one of our most intimate friends and Dada (elder brother).

Another very amusing episode occurred in respect of Sri Karunakara Menon. He came as the Secretary of the Development Department while Sri Deviprosad was still quite fresh as a Government officer and therefore not fully seasoned to the post he held. That was the time when the school was having its annual Exhibition. An invitation had been sent to the new Secretary for the opening ceremony but he did not attend the function. The artist was annoyed at this indifference. He at once came to the conclusion that his new boss was a Philistine and took no interest in art or artists. A mischief-maker and an interested person took advantage of the situation. He made the artist understand that Mr. Menon did come to the Exhibition but did not care to see him probably as he had not been to call on him. At this the expression of the artist became hard and severe. He took the matter at his words and felt depressed and out of sorts in imagining that he would have the misfortune of dealing with a person who was arrogant and over-conscious of his official position. He felt that he had to go through the ordeal of a meeting which he would avoid if he could. But being he embarked on this unpleasant duty he wanted to ascertain what sort of treatment he could expect from his unsympathetic superior. He, therefore, grasped the receiver of the telephone and dialed the number of the Secretariat. I shall repeat here the exact version of the conversation that passed between the two and which was related to me by Mr. Menon himself when his name was linked to our chain of friendships as it will lose half its beauty and fun in the telling.

The phone rang at the office. Mr. Menon took the receiver and heard a voice say

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'Principal, of the School or Arts speaking. Could I come and see you at your office?'

Mr. Menon who far from being arrogant, is one of the most courteous gentlemen I have met, replied in his usually pleasant tone, 'you please do come.'

The voice from the other side sounded gruff 'But I shall not stand outside.'

With his quick discerning power Mr. Menon realised that he was not dealing with a normal man and said, 'no, you won't have to stand outside.'

Before the artist arrived he instructed his peon that a gentleman who was coming to see him, should be shown in immediately. While describing the event Mr. Menon told me with a mischievous smile that he was waiting with a burning curiosity to meet the horrible man who could speak to his superior officer in that tone!

Deviprosad was struck by the friendly manner in which he was received by his secretary but was not reconciled. He could not forget the fact that the gentleman had ignored his presence when he visited the exhibition. Mr. Menon was much surprised when the artist mentioned this to him. He said he had not been on the opening day because he did not receive an invitation but he intended coming sometime later.

This conversation completely changed the attitude of the artist towards his Secretary and in course of time they became quite attached to each other. For the sake of fun the artist used to address his friend in such endearing terms when we had no other company that if a third party overheard the conversation it would certainly make him blush.

One day Sri Deviprosad was expecting a phone call from Mr. Menon. When the phone rang at the appointed hour, he straightway addressed the caller in his accustomed way, taking it for granted that it was from his friend. He did not even deem it necessary to ask for the name of the person who was speaking. But actually this call was from the Government House. Accidentally it coincided with the time appointed with Sj. Menon. The person who rang got so embarassed thinking that he overheard a conversation between my husband and his lover that he promptly put the received down saying he would ring up at some other time.

When our friend arrived in the evening, the three of us had a good laugh over this unforeseen and amusing occurence.

Mr. Menon has long ceased to be the Secretary of the Development Department, but his invaluable help and advice is always there for the "baby" as he nicknamed his artist friend, whenever it is required.

I remember one particular occasion when Deviprosad was requested to open an art Exhibition and make a short speech on the subject. Mr. Rajamannar, the popular Chief Justice of the Madras High Court was presiding at the opening ceremony. The artist never had the opportunity of coming into personal contact with that gentleman before this function. He therefore was under the impression that the Chief Justice was asked to preside on account of his high position, and not because he had any sympathy for art or artists. His reason for coming to this conclusion was, that if Sri Rajamannar was interested in art he would certainly not have neglected to see the work of the artist who was so easily approachable. The majority of the people who visited the studio of the artist came from foreign lands for a few days' stay in the city. This was one of Deviprosad's greatest grievances. He regretted that his country which has such inimitable art treasures on record, should be so hopelessly lacking in art consciousness in the present time. He believes that though it has become a fashion to talk about the development of the cultural side of our country, no real effort is being made in this line. He, therefore, was most reluctant to accept the offer when the proposal for opening the Exhibition was made to him. But since most of the Exhibits were by his own students he had to give in.

In this particular case he profited by not being over-scrupulous about his views. For in the President of the function he not only discovered an art lover but also one whose company he learnt to value. From that day onward the sanctuary of the artist had occasional visits from the Chief Justice, when the two men discussed unresrvedly subjects of common interest.

There are a few instances, however, where the artist was able to make friends without a hitch at the start. The most noteworthy among them are Sri Sivashanker and Shri K. G. Menon, both of whom belong to the Indian Civil Service.

If my memory is dependable, Deviprosad made the acquaintance of Mr. Shivashankar at

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the Hotel Connemara during pre-War time when its business was in full swing. This later developed into a bond of friendship. The high official admi s without reserve that he had learnt to appreciate art after he had come in contact with the artist. Mr. Shivasankar is a born gentleman and looks incapable of picking up a quarrel even under the greatest provocation.

Not so Mr. K. G. Menon. He looks as much a fighter as the artist himself. But instead of fighting with the artist he fought for him when the latter found himself in a sea of troubles or imagined it to be so ! His face has an expression which tells that if he takes up a work he means to see it through.

Both these gentlmen thoroughly understood the temptrament of an artist and therefore could handle this man of moods with such ease and patience. Several times when the artist was about to resign his post, these friends and well wishers held him back from taking such a drastic action, till his temper cooled down and once more he became his normal self.

Another gentleman whose name I can remember in this connection, who came into the life of the artist without a misunderstanding at the commencemen , is Sri Khasa Subha Rao, the Editor of the *Swatantra*. He is a great admirer of Deviprosad both as an artist and as a writer and proudly publishes his works in the weekly, whenever he gets a chance. Before he came to know the man he was mortally afraid to meet him. From somewhere he got the impression that Deviprosad was a very hostile and unapproachable sort of person. It was Sri Ramesh, a young journalist and a friend and admirer of my husband who cured him of this dread, brought him to our house and introduced him to the artist. The Cartoons which compose the book called "Ironies and Sarcasms" were drawn specially for Sri Subha Rao's paper. In spite of being pressed for time the journalist pays flying visits to the den of the artist when possible. In most of these meetings the artist does the talking and he listens while his eyes move over all round the room in search of something which he could grab for the *Swatantra*. As soon as he is able to get his heart's desire he is ready to depart for his temple of work.

The official who very recently enlisted himself among the friends of my husband, is Sri Lobo Prabhu, I.C.S. He met the artist, his subordinate, since he adorned the post of the Secretary of Development Department, at a Government H party. They were absolute strangers till then therefore, unfamiliar with the ways of each o When Mr. Lobo Prabhu after being introd to the artist, gave him a tap on the back, Dev prosad resented it and at once took a hostile tude thinking the act was a patronizing way showing his superiority as an official. But he came to know his superior intimately he in him a willing helper instead of an arro boss.

Most of the cases that I have cited here instances of friendship developing under pe circumstances after Deviprosad had assumed office as the Principal of the School of Arts.

But there are instances of friendship o nating through normal courses either on acc of affinity of character or companionship of c hood. Sri Asoke Chatterji, whom I have alre mentioned, belongs to the first category.

A person who played the part of an e brother and to whom Deviprosad was attached was the Late Sri Suresh Cha Banerji of Calcutta. The artist developed hobby of writing stories while he was yet very young. But since he had no stigmata of any versity, he dared not expose his secret art to public. It was left to Sri Suresh Banerji to cover this hidden talent and bring him out his shell. He induced the artist to his writings in *Bharati* a well-established Be magazine of the time and gave him every couragement to proceed with his new endeav

Later in life came Sri Sajanikanta Das well-known journalist of Bengal and Edito *Sanibarer Chithi*. In the writings of Devipr sex plays a very prominent part and is de in a most unconventional manner. Few would have dared to accept them had not Saj kanta Das taken the lead by publishing the his paper. He did not hesitate to hazard his putation if he felt the work deserved merit.

In spite of having so many good friends Deviprosad complains, that in his own try he gets appreciation only from a ful of people. His works are better kn places which he had never visited. Whether artist is justified in this estimate can be certained from the lines that I quote from Tampoe's writings :—

I have had occasion to spend nearly

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years on the continents of Europe and the United Kingdom. The name of Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury, I found, is better known in England, France, Germany and even Belgium as sculptor and artist than it is here. Under these circumstances, the glow of pride that I sometimes feel, when I think of the part, however small, I had in bringing him to our Art School, is perhaps pardonable".

This chapter will remain incomplete if I did not mention here an Englishman who was introduced to us by our son and became a friend of the family in course of time. This was Mr. J. A. Borron of the British Information Office and known to his friends simply as 'Peter'. He was a lover of India and Indians. Once he took a liking to anybody he was most sincere and would do all he could to help him—Peter was a frequent visitor to our house. He and my husband both believed in the life giving power of the stimulating elixir which anothr connoisseur of the beverage described as an all round medicine. He had a big heart concealed under his stern outward appearance.

One other Englishman we came to know during World War II. This was Mr. Knowland, an Oxford man, who loved art and took it as a hobby. He was conscripted and sent to India, in spite of his being a conscientious objector. After he came to know my husband he would visit our home at every opportunity, I mean whenever he was free from his duties, in order to take lessons from the artist. He was a gentleman in every sense of the word and did not feel in the least humiliated to learn from an Indian whom he considered to be his superior in the line. He went back to his country after the war was over and there was little chance of our ever meeting again. Yet it gives us pleasure to learn we are still remembered. My husband received a long letter from him after years of parting and when we least expected it.

Many a change have taken place since I wrote this article. Some of those I have mentioned left Madras for good. A few have gone to their eternal rest. My husband retired from his post and we had to leave the place which had been our home for a long span of time.

HAZRAT SHAH KALIM ULLAH SHAH SHAHJEHANABADI— 1650-1729 A.D.

By Dr. MOHAMMAD UMAR

With the establishment of Muslim rule and settlement of Muslims in India, conciliation and concord between various cultural and religious groups was not only a moral and intellectual demand but an urgent social need. The Turkish conquerors had established their supremacy with the help of their superior military organisation and the sharpness of their swords; but they could not not rule strongly while the majority of their subjects differed from them in race, religion, culture and languages. Dnder such circumstances, rapproachment was the prime need, without which none of the communities could live with peace and tranquility. The orthodox theologians, reactionary and conservative as they were, did not appreciate the change in the mood of the time and they seldom tried to reconstruct their religious thoughts and views according to the need and call of the hour. The Muslim Indian mystics, however, rose to the occasion and released synthesising forces which liquidated social, idealogical and linguistic barriers between the various religious-cultural groups of India and made feasible the development of a common and synthesized cultural outlook. Being egalitarian in their views, they opened the doors of their Khangahs for all classes of people irrespective of their caste and religious faiths. So that the Khangahs became the places where people of different shades of opinion, professing different religions and speaking different languages, met. So much so these Khangahs became veritable centres of cultural synthesis, where ideas were freely exchanged and a common medium for this exchange was gradually evolved.

By this cosmopolitan and egalitarian attitude of the Muslim Sufis, not only did the establishment of political Islam become possible, but, at the same time, the fold of Islam expanded without using the force of compulsion and the suavity of persuasion. It was the great contribution of Mus-

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lim saints in the task of unification of the Hindus and the Muslims at a time when forces of orthodoxy were operating in their full strength.

Hazarat Shah Kalim Ullah Shahjehanabadi, was a reputed sufi of his times, who occupied a prominent place in the history of Chishti Silsila. His sanctity, his profound devotion and his spiritual greatness were established facts. The greatest service which he rendered to the Chishti Silsila lay in the restoration of its prestige, which had suffered decline ever since the demise of Hazarat Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Behli, about four centuries ago (who died in 1356 A.D.)

He was born in 1650 A.D. at Shahjehanbad though originally his fore-fathers hailed from Khajand. During the region of emperor Shah-Jehan, Haji Nooruddin his father, had come down to Shahjehanbad. He had a good command over astronomy and cosmography, and it was on this account that Shahjehan had invited him from Khajand when he was going to build the Red Fort. In short, the ancestors of Shah Sahib's family had been attached to the Mughal Court, being men of repute in different fields of knowledge and learning.

His father had made amply adequate arrangements providing for his early education. The author of *Takmila-i-Siyar-ul-Auliya*, informs us that Shah Sahib took great pains in the pursuit of knowledge and had attained scholarship. Among his teachers, the names of Shaikh Abul Raza and Shaikh Burhan Uddin, alias Shaikh Bahlul deserve special mention.

After completing his studies, he went on Hajj pilgrimage. It was during this period that, on hearing of the fame of Hazarat Shaikh Yahya Madini, he hastened to seek his presence at Madinasharif where he began living with him and it was under his guidance and supervision that he attained spiritual progress and advancement. After undergoing this training, he was initiated into the Chishti Order, where he was finally honoured with the bestowal on him of the role of Khilafat.

After his return from Hajj to Delhi, he took up his abode in the *bazar khanam*, situated between the Red Fort and the Jama Masjid. There he founded a *Madrasah* and began imparting instructions to one and all. In short while the fame of his scholarship spread far and wide and students eager to acquire knowledge began flocking from far and wide to his *Madrasah*. The dents were living with and taking their from him while the State made provisi their food and clothing. Shah Sahib took ing them *Hadith* with great concentra zest.

He was gifted with contentment and on God. He passed his life in sheer pover privation but even then he did not ask fo thing from anyone. He believed that tain ed the spiritual attributes and retarde pace of spiritual progress. He feared worldly wealth might lead him astray and sequen ly severance from all earthly conn was, in his view, indispensable for spiritu vancement. Thus, being imbued with the tions of his Silsila, every thing associa the ruler and the state became obnoxious bols of materialism, to be despised and di with. He fully believed that "the name of entered in the *diwan* of the kings was stru from the *diwan* of God".

Consequently Shah Sahib's ideal of li to "live for the Lord alone," since this li worth living only as a gift from Him.

It is said that the kings and the nobles peatedly requested him to accept their humb sents with villages and Jagirs, but he always ed these offers. His monthly income was meagre, being drawn as a rent of rupees annas eight for the sub-let portion of the which formed his sole immovable proper were the bare means of his sustenance happened that any increase in the strength family, conditions of scarcity or some extr nary circumstances, he could not make both meet and had consequently to incur debts all the same Shah Sahib would not accept thing even from the kings. It is said emperor Farrukhsiyar made constant endeav persuade Shah Sahib to accept something state treasury but every time his overture declined with disappointment being his ward. The story goes that though at one Emperor curtailed his insistence to one tance of a Haveli just for his residential yet the Shah Sahib's curt reply of 'No' unchanged.

There had been a constant endeavour on of the emperors to win over the saints and them for their own purposes and to make their influence over the masses. But those

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of note always remained unmoved. To illustrate the adamant attitude, it could be cited how on one occasion, when the Emperor Farrukhsiyar begged Shah Sahib to grant him an interview with the following words, "May you allow this humble want to enjoy the grace and happiness of this world and the next as well by paying my respects to you through kissing your feet," Shah Sahib declined it by saying, "when you are a shadow of God on earth and under the protection of Almighty, I have already been busy praying for thy prosperity. That is why there is no need of this solicitation as otherwise it will cause me immense pain". Thus it was Shah Sahib's won't that in spite of his straitened circumstances and acute monetary handicaps, under which he passed his life, never deviated from the fixed principles of his forerunners of the Silsila and always displayed an attitude of superb indifference towards kings.

In this connection, it is related that Shah Sahib used to offer his Friday prayers in the Jama Masjid and it so happened that on the same day the king also used to be present but Shah Sahib's awe-inspiring and dignified personality was such that he would not dare to speak with him without his permission.

He was a man of affable and gentle manners and pleasant disposition, never became angry with his enemies and who were opposed to him, so that whenever any one would cause him pain, he used to recite the following quatrain :

One, whosoever gives me pain, may as much happiness be his share ;
One, whosoever may not be my friend, May God be his ;
One, whosoever puts thorns in my way out of enmity ;
May every flower in the garden of his life, blossom without thorn.

Not being content with this, he even instructed his disciples not merely to suffer oppressions but also receive blows from people without uttering a single word. He used to say that their duty was to compose their hearts and unify and whatever difficulties happened to attend their work, they should face and overcome them smilingly and cheerfully. The story runs that some people in Deccan spoke in acrimonious language of him, but when his Khalifa, Shaikh Nizam Uddin Aurangabadi, acquainted him with it, he simply said in reply :

"If any man remembers us in abusive language, then we have no complaint to make against him, for the reason, that we deserve even worse words than these. It is his kindness that he abused us less in return, we forgive him, and you do the same."

The outcome of such an attitude was that even his enemies could not harbour any hostile motives towards him, but were drawn towards the path of rectitude.

He undertook and mastered "Spiritual mobilization" in general, and Muslim regeneration in particular, by which he aimed at bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity, as well as correct assignment of Musims' spiritual culture, as they had, in his estimation, drifted away from the ideals of Islam and had been wallowing into the mud and mire of sordid materialism.

The keynote slogan—promulgation of the word of God and *Sunnat* and dedication of life and all worldly possessions to them—has been greatly stressed both in his numerous letters addressed to his disciples and during his discourses. Under the central theme of the unity of Indian people—two cardinal points that all people should develop an overall view point by regarding themselves as brethren while they should surrender their self-interests to the broader counterparts of the humanity as a whole, have been always emphasised by Shah Shaib.

Shah Sahib inculcated reliance on God and and self-reliance, and self-purification through spiritual and mystical exercises, while love of God and love of men were the basic precepts dissiminated through an all-India compaign that was launched by his disciples trained specifically for it. He was always enjoining on them that they should dedicate themselves and all their worldly belongings to this missionary task and that they should not demur to sacrifice their comforts and conveniences in the cause of welfare of human beings. However, finding the people, in general, more inclined towards physical pleasures, their enjoyments and lewd practices, his heart used to be agonised and in a state of utter restlessness he was in the habit of saying:

"The Love of and attachment to the world is to be removed from the hearts of the servants of God," while his admonition was in these words—"Oh, friends ! the world is not meant for serv-

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ality and ease." As a result of his continuous preaching and strenuous efforts, he accomplished a new spiritual rejuvenation of the masses.

As a rule, Muslim Sufis, in general, and the Sufis of the Chishti Order in particular, took keen interest in the spiritualization of the culture of the non-Muslims. But here it is to be remembered that these Sufis were not religious missionaries as the term may imply, since what they aimed at was the spiritualization of the culture of the masses in obedience to the maxim that "service of humanity is the service of God." They wanted to lead the people on the path of love of God and humanity with the removal of the frictions and factions created by the ovservance of orthodoxy. They exercised a moving influence over the masses by their simple, virtuous, devoted and dedicated lives and the ultimate outcome was that large numbers of Hindus came within the fold of Islam, of their own accord.

Shah Kalim Ullah, being the true follower of the traditions established by his brethren predeccessors, made frantic efforts for the spiritualization of culture and social upliftment of the Hindus. His relations with the Hindus on this account were very cordial and brotherly, but although for fear of neighbours they would not openly confess that they had embraced Islam, in their hearts of hearts they were professedly Muslims. Shah Sahib refers to this state in one of his letters, where he says, "Brother Diya Ram and many other Hindus have come under the yoke of Islam, though they would not show it in their outward lives."

Thus, Shah Sahib did not like that after the acceptance of Islam one should keep it secret lest, after his death, he should be rgarded a non-Muslim.

The said Diya Ram was one amongst those who had embraced Islam but out of fear of the odium of his caste-members he did not publicly make his confession. However, Diya Ram was given a muslim name, Faiz-ullah, by Shah Sahib himself and in one letter he instructed him to regularly recite "daruds" and take to the study of books dealing with spiritual development and culture. Consequently it was through Shaikh Nizam-Uddin Aurangabadi that he conveyed the following message to him :

"In reference to the letter of Diya Ram, it is pointed out here that he should go on reciting "daruds" (for the peace of the soul of the prophet) since this exercise brings in ste... good fortune. Besides, the study sho... taken up of books related to *suluk* and ... such as *Naghat, Tazkirat-ul-Auliya*, and ... on theology like *Lama'at, Sharesh L... Lawaih* and its commentary, though ... not belong to one's fold, should be initiated in ... the matter."

Shah Sahib had made a well-planned ... gramme of imparting instructions to ... looking to the spiritual development of ... disciples. He always kept a watchful ... over their activities, with particular ... ence to those of them appointed in ... rent capacities in connection with bringing ... the general reform of the masses. He used ... catechize them from time to time as to the ... measure of success achieved in this direct... The result was that though he, himself, live... Delhi, yet his concern was far and wide for ... education and spiritual advancement which ... ceived his personal guidance. Even in respect ... trivial matters, that were not left out. Co... quently, the spirit of loyalty to the *murshid*, ... which his disciples were imbued was such ... none of them would dare to make a move ... out his explicit permission. In one letter he ... writes :

"Be the grace of God on you people that ... don't budge an inch without obtaining my ... mission. It should be so since whatever spir... inspiration and felicity you gained as also ... honour and prestige attained, had to be ascri... to the implicit obedience of the Murshid."

He always emphasised upon his disci... strict adherence to the set programme of ... prescribed activities, with due allocation of ... for each of them. He tried his best to see that ... disciples maintained cordial relations ... themselves, eschewing every element of disc... otherwise the people were bound to hold the... low esteem inasmuch as they preached of ... fication and did not themselves put it into ... tice. Still, human nature, being predisposed ... weaknesses, differences and misunderstan... amongst them could not be completely elimin... In such situations he would spare no pains ... move all possible causes of friction, esp... reunification with heart and soul, and with... moment's waiting. The underlying aim was ... the lofty programme of work on hand should ... no account suffer any dislocation.

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Among his teachings most important were :

1. Good deeds were to be made the goal of life.
2. Sincerity and purity of heart is to characterise good deeds.
3. Thank God if a large number of people meet you, since one should not abstain from meeting them.
4. The presents received were to be equitably distributed among themselves and the day on which nothing was received to be considered as a day of blessings, nurse it as one would contentment and resignation.
5. The problem of Wahdat-ul-Wujud (unity of Being) was not to be discussed with lay people because they lacked the capacity to grasp the mighty problem.
6. Cordial relations, friendly contacts were to be maintained with both Muslims and Hindus so that the non-Muslims were not deprived of being attracted by Islamic teachings and get inspired on that account. This formed the basic precept of Sufi philosophy through which they sought to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity and the development of a common culture.

Side by side, the reformation of kings and nobles was regarded by the Shah Sahib in no way less essential than that of the masses, because the former set the moral and ethical standards for the latter. This was indispensable, since the kings and nobles of 18th Century India had sunk to the lowest depths of moral degeneration, which had the effect of dragging the masses, along with them, into the vortex of social and spiritual degeneration.

Thus, for the regeneration of spiritual and social values of the people, Shah Sahib, began his task, so to say, with reforming both kings and nobles utilising them as means to the end, which was the spiritual and moral advancement of the community. In this connection, it has been reported that when rich people in large numbers began to pay frequent visits to the Khanqah of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aurangabadi, he feeling ill at ease would show himself more inclined to isolation. But, when Shah Sahib came to know of this trend, he wrote to Shaikh Nizam Uddin, not to deprive the people from an atmosphere of fellowship and affinity. On this main consideration the task of reform and popularization of the Silsila had been undertaken and so no discrimination was to be made between the rich and the poor as both of them had to be treated alike.

On this subject he writes :

"The real motive in bringing the gentry within the fold of the Silsila is not to show the attainment of saintliness by them so much as to create an inducing factor for the common people to join it ; because as a rule they have a place of esteem in public eye."

According to the Sufi doctrines a ban had to be placed on the role of sycophants and in this connction he writes, "The visit of Sultans to the doors of a darwesh is permissible, but the latter should keep away from the threshold of the former." Shah Sahib was also emphasising that social status and distinction should not come in the way of the development of spiritual culture. That this should be so is manifest from the fact that a drawesh frequenting the courts of the kings and the levies of the nobles is bound to be robbed of the light of the faith and is consequently doomed.

Shah Sahib, during the course of his reform movement, undertook the reform of the Sufis themselves and began taking to task the reprobate Sufis. On this theme he wrote that the *Mashaikh* of the day did not understand the real importance of *Sama* (music) and consequently they cared little to follow its rules and regulations, thus reducing it to just a pastime. His insistent admonition in this respect was, therefore, that they should devote themselves to contemplation than listening to music without a scrupulous observance of the set rules. Thus to establish a working example, Shah Sahib, was over-particular in carrying out the minutest details of these rules.

Shah Sahib died in 1729 A.D. and was buried in his residential house which was situated midway between Juma Masjid and the Red Fort. Till 1857, the place had been thickly peopled, but during the mutiny all the houses were razed to the ground and the people ruined by the English.

Even today the spiritual eminence of Shah Sahib wields a far reaching influence over the Muslims of India. Every year on 24th Rabi-ul-Awwal, the annual Urs ceremony is held and both Hindus and Muslims from far and wide throng at his shrine, pay their homage and derive inspiration from *Quwali*.

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Hindu-Moslem Language Difficulty

THE memorandum of business which was placed before the Hindu-Muslim Conference which met at Allahabad last January, contained among others the following item of business :

"6. Stoppage on both sides of endeavours to proscribe the language of either side."

This item takes it for granted that Hindus and Mussalmans have different Vernaculars, which is not true. It is mainly in the Punjab and the U.P. that there has been any feeling displayed on the subject. But even there, Urdu is spoken by a section, mainly the educated section, of the people among both Hindus and Mussalmans. Among the most noted writers of Urdu there are both Hindus and Mussalmans. Nor is Urdu a distinct language. It is the same as Hindi; only it is written in the Persian character, and has a larger admixture of Persian and Arabic words than Hindi. If, however, one asks what is the vernacular spoken most widely in the Punjub and the U.P., the answer must be it is Punjabi in the Punjub and Hindi in the U.P. In the Punjub we have personally found even in Lahore illiterate persons who can understand neither Urdu nor Hindi, and have found well dressed and educated Mussalmans who talked with one another in Punjabi. Similarly in the U.P. we have heard rustic Mussalmans speaking Hindi.

When we leave these two provinces and the contiguous districts of other provinces, that in Bengal Bengalee is spoken by both communities; Tamil, Telegu and the other vernaculars of the Southern Presidency are spoken by both in Madras, and so on. Wildly incorrect statements like the following in the February number of the *Muslim Review* are worse than useless :

> "We say emphatically that undoubtedly not only in the Punjub but throughout India Urdu is the common dialect and is equally spoken by high and low people . . . we don't see a single Hindu household in the whole of India (what to speak of the Punjub) in which Urdu is not spoken."

The above untrue statement is contradicted by the following in the first article, written by a prominent Mussalman, in the same number of the same *Review* :

> "The very fact that the Bengalee-speaking Mahommedans do not speak either Urdu or Hindi . . . . etc."

Nor should the advocates of Hindi allow their zeal to affect the strict accuracy of their statements. For instance, in course of a speech delivered by the Gaekwad of Baroda at Allahabad in January, he is reported in the *Leader* to have said : "My personal experience is that all over India understand easy Hindi." His Highness has probably met select people who understand Hindi, but that is not the experience of others, including our humble selves. The fact is that the group variously called Hindi, Urdu or Hindusthani, is more widely understood and spoken than any other Indian vernacular, but it is not true to say that it is understood all over India.

The language question should not be made a religious or sectarian one though every one is and ought to be at liberty to improve his vernacular and its literature. Whether Hindi, Hindusthani or Urdu will ever become the common language of India or not, we do not know. But as the Gaekwad says . . . . Hindus and Mussalmans should all be actuated by the spirit which pervades the following passage from a speech delivered in his pre-separatist days by the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, K.C.S.I., LL.D. :

> "Hindoos and Muhammadans should try to become one heart and soul, and act in unison, for, if united, they can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both . . . . 'Hindoo and Musalman' are only meant for religious distinctions, otherwise all persons who reside in India belong to one and the same nation . . . . With me it is not worth considering what is our religious faith, but that we inhabit the same country, that we are subject to the same Government, that the fountains of benefit for all are the same and that the pangs of famine affect us we all suffer equally. It is, therefore, that each and all of us must unite for the good of the country, which is common to us all. These are the different grounds upon which I call all the communities which inhabit India by one word—'Hindoo'—meaning that we say that we are all natives of Hindusthan."

(*The Modern Review*, March, 1911)

Sectarian Educational Institutions

. . . . It is not necessary to determine whether Hindus or Mussalmans, started the

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of sectarian educational institutions. What is clear is that the best equipped sectarian college is a Mussalman college and the first sectarian University started in India, is also going to be a Mussalman University. Mrs. Besant's university scheme has been long before the public. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya's prospectus of a Hindu University saw the light of day several years ago. The Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute have also been working for some time. The success of the Agha Khan's scheme may have given a fillip to all these schemes, though it is doubtful whether the promoters of any of them can secure promises of donations amounting to twenty lakhs in the course of less than three months. Yet the Hindus are far more numerous and wealthy than Mussalmans. One reason for the Agha Khan's success no doubt is that the Mussalman scheme has powerful official support behind it, whereas any pan-Hindu scheme will not only not receive official support, but on the contrary will be secretly discountenanced by many officials. But to think that this would be the main cause of the want of success of the Hindu schemes, would be for Hindus to deceive themselves. The main cause lies elsewhere and may be discovered by any body who wants to do so, unblinded either by self-love or by prejudice against the foreign bureaucracy. The forces of disintegration and division are more powerful among Hindus than among Mussalmans. The religious and social polity of the Hindus is responsibe for this state of things. But Hinduism can still remain Hindu minus these disintegrating forces. There is, however, little hope of Hindus becoming as organised and as compact a body as the Mussalmans so long as their leaders mistake mere externals for the very essence of Hindu civilization.

. . . . We must recognize the drawbacks and evils of sectarian institutions. In India, caste and creed stand in the way of full and free social intercourse . . . . Hitherto our schools and colleges have furnished the nurseries of lifelong friendships between persons of different castes, creeds and sects. The Hindu boy has found much to love, admire and respect in the Mussalman boy and the Mussalman boy has reciprocated. Mutual intercourse has rubbed off their angularities and made them more catholic, liberal and *Indian*. If sectraian universities be the order of the day, where shall we find a substitute for this *nationalizing* force? Cooped up within their narrow spheres, our boys will grow up more bigoted and narrow than ever.

. . . . We should not be inattentive to the lessons of history. History shows that Hindu civilization including Hindu religious and social ideals have not been adequate for India. Had it been sufficient for India's needs, the Mussalmans would not have succeeded in obtaining a foothold in India. Mussalman civilization had something to give to India. Again, the revival of the Hindu power and the birth of the Sikh power showed that somewhere there lurked a fatal weakness in Mussalman civilization and polity too. The advent of the British power showed conclusively that neither Hindu nor Mussalman civilization, nor even the two combined, could make India what it is destined to be. Whether the West is contributing its best to India's making, whether we are developing the best in us that the West can provoke or stimulate us to develop, whether, again, ... this is the final contribution needed to build up the ideal India of the future, time alone can show . . . .

Whatever the lesson the future may have in store for our posterity, to us it is clear that mutual exclusiveness and narrowness spells death not only to the idea of nationality but that of culture as well.

If it be said that these sectarian universities will not exclude any branch of knowlenge that is requisite for culture, then why give them a sectarian character at all? If it be said that a particular religious faith is to be taught in a particular university, and that is the justification for the sectarian name and character, then the question arises as to the spirit in which that faith is to be taught. Is it to be taught in a dogmatic spirit? If so, there will be no culture, no education worth the name. One chief end of education is to free the human spirit by the single-minded devotion to truth alone. Where there is no free inquiry, there cannot be this devotion, and where authority pure and simple is the basis of religious education, there canot be free inquiry . . . . It dogma clashes with reason and spiritual experience, will dogma be given the go-by, or reason and spiritual experience? . . . . If reason and spiritual experience must be dismissed as unwelcome intruders then why set up the pretence of creating a place of thorough-going culture at all?

We are afraid, with al their defects and

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faults, we must pronounce in favour of the official universities until we can create at least one non-sectarian national university teaching as efficiently and teaching upto as high a standard as the best college affiliated to the former . . . . Sectarian universities must necessarily produce comparatively stunted men; it is the free air of competition and free inquiry alone that can enable man to rise to his full stature.

(*The Modern Review*, April, 1911)

Cost of Delhi Durbar

The Delhi Coronation Durbar has been estimated to cost the Government of India, £1,000,000 in round numbers; or a crore and a half in Indian currency. The Provincial Governments have separate estimates. Of course, these are only estimates; the actual expenditure, as usual, is likely to exceed them. The total estimated charge upon the Exchequer of the Coronation festivities in England will be something over £300,000, that is about a third of the sum which the Government of India, apart from the local administrations, is preparing to spend. The total revenues of the United kingdom are, speaking roughly, three times as much as the total revenues of the Government of India. London, besides, is the seat of the British Empire of which India is only a part. Bearing all these facts in mind, the discrepancy between the British and Indian scales of expenditure is not easy to account for. Of course, there are people who think or pretend to think that it is disloyal to criticise, the Coronation Durbar estimates. That, we think, is unmitigated nonsense. . . . .

It is sometimes asserted that these gorgeous pageants are calculted to strike the oriental imagination. There is an aphorism that 'a man cannot be a lover, a poet or a saint, unless he has recently, had something to eat.' As it is a fact, that a large proportion of the people of India seldom have enough to eat and that there are few families which can show a clean bill of health for months together, it would be difficult to strike the imagination of such people by a pageantry in a far-off city. For, it is an infinitesimal proportion of the population which will visit Delhi at the time of the Coronation and, considering that 95 per cent of the people are illiterate, one cannot even contend that a very large number will read the brave doings at Delhi. Under the circumstances, the Indian Bureaucracy would do well to devise some other means of striking the imagination of the people of India.

We do not certainly mean that the Coronation Durbar should be a shabby affair. What we assert is that if £300,000 suffice for London, smaller amount ought to suffice for India. In any case there is no reason why poor India should be made to outshine rich England; let her spend as much as England. Or are we to suppose that the poorer one is the greater the display one should make to hide that poverty from the gaze of the civilized world ? But, it is useless to ask questions. As the people of India cannot make the bureaucracy responsible for the way in which their taxes are spent, they must be content with admiring the munificence which reaches its zenith when one's own pocket is not touched.

(*Modern Review*, May, 1911)

Taxation and Responsibility

In a recent despatch received from the Secretary of State for India, it has been decided that the Local Governments are as now to remain without power to impose additional taxation. In a summary of the despatch published in the Dailies, we read that the "Royal Commission was against the grant of taxing powers to the Local Governments and based their findings on the general ground that they lacked responsibility to tax payers and representativs, which acted as a check on increased taxation in other countries. Sir S. Edgerly and Mr. Hitches dissenting on this point."

We do not certainly want that our Local Governments should have the power to impose taxes so long as there is not an effective majority of members elected on a non-class basis in the Provincial Legislative Councils, to curb the tendency to levy fresh taxes, as well as to control and guide the expenditure of the money raised by taxation. But the general ground on which the Royal Commission based their findings seems to us rather curious. For, it is a fact that the Government of India lacks responsibility to taxpayers and representatives to as great an extent as the Local Governments and yet it has the power to tax !

(*Modern Review*, June, 1911)

Hindu-Muslim Representation in the United Provinces

Every intelligent Indian understands that Mussalmans have been given separate and

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sive representation in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. Nor is it difficult to understand why a proposal to give them similar preferential treatment in the District Boards and Municipalities should find support from Anglo-Indian officials and their non-official brethren. But, what we have not been able to understand is why the Officiating Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces should have chosen this peculiar time for broaching a proposal for giving his Moslem wards separate and excessive representation in the local bodies of his satrapy. Possibly whilst the permanent Lieutenant Governor is busy making the external preparations for the Coronation at Delhi, his *locum tenens* has chosen this particular psychological moment and method to stimulate Hindu loyalty and contentment as the corresponding inward preparation. But this is only a guess. For the real truth is *nihitam guhayam*; *Deva na jananti kuto Manavah.*

We have a few suggestions to make which, if carried out, will benefit Indian-Muslims immensely:

1. Every Mussalman matriculate should be declared equal to a Hindu graduate.
2. If in any University examination a Mussalman candidate gains by his merit 40 marks he should be given 60 because of his political importance,— whatever that may mean.
3. Mussalman scholars should get half as much again as scholarships as Hindu scholars; but Mussalman students should pay a quarter of the tuition fee paid by Hindu students.
4. If a Moslem student has attended 40 lectures at college, he should be held to have attended 60 and so on.
5. If a Moslem pays Rs. 4 as tax, he should be held to have paid Rs. 40.
6. There should be separate schools, colleges, universities, examinations, teachers, professors, inspectors and examiners for Moslems. In these examinations whoever, gets zero, should be called the senior wrangler. The Hindu system of decimal notation should be discarded. A separate language, not containing any word of Sanskrit or other Hindu origin, should be created for Mussalmans.
7. They should have separate law courts and government offices where the Magistrates, Judges, Clerks, Sweepers, Barristers, Pleaders, etc., should be Mussalmans or Englishmen.
8. They should be given separate Lieutenant Governors and Viceroys.
9. Mussalman criminals should be tried and sentenced according to a separate Criminal Procedure Code and Penal Code and kept in separate jails with separate Mussalman or European jailors or warders.
10. There should be separate water pipes, drains, bazars, conservancy arrangements for them.
11. There should be separate railway lines and trams for them.
12. They should live in separate wards of their own in towns. In course of time they should be given separate towns and villages to live in. A brand new India should be created for them in the Indian Ocean, where they ought to live altogether apart from the Hindus. Or, as this world will still contain Hindus, the Mussalmans may be transferred with all their property to the planet Mars. But as this may be unpleasant to them the Hindus ought to be so translated.
13. Different kinds of air, water and food from those used by Hindus should be created for them.
14. Rain clouds should be divided into Hindu and Mussalman clouds, to give rain separately to them.
15. There should be a different sun and moon and stars for them.
16. The law of gravitation should be reversed for them so that they may never fall but always rise.

etc. etc. etc.

We only forgot to add that as Hindus walk on their legs, Mussalmans should walk on their heads; or, if that may be inconvenient for them, the Hindus may be asked to adopt this pleasant method of locomotion. Possessing great submissiveness, patience and adaptability, and being very obliging, they may soon become experts in this new *headastrian* art.

(*Modern Review*, July, 1911)

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

HISTORY OF ORIYA LITERATURE : By Mayadhar Mansinha. Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. 1962. Pp. 282. Rs. 8.00 (cloth-bound).

The present monograph is the third work in a series of 'Histories of Literature' now being made available to the public at popular prices by the Government of India. This series is sponsored for publication by the Sahitya Akademi ('National Academy of Letters' in an English rendering) which is an autonomous body set up by the Union Government in 1954. The works in English like the present monograph are avowedly intended to supply 'basic information about Indian writers and their works'. The present monograph far exceeds the modest limits prescribed in the programme just mentioned. Dr. Mansinha seeks to give a critical account of the whole history of Oriya literature from its dim beginnings in the songs of early Buddhist mystics (7th-9th century A.D.) in the work *Baudhha Gan o Doha* down to very recent times. It is evidently the work of one who is deeply read in his subject and is filled with pride in the State's past and confidence in its future. He analyses often at tedious length the merits and defects of individual writers and schools. His criticisms of less successful authors are often expressed with biting sarcasm. From some references in the middle of his work (pp. 163 and 169), it appears that he broadly divides his subject into two periods, viz., 'the period of the old Oriya literature' (9th-19th century) and 'the modern period' 'from 1866 to recent times.'

Without minimising the deep scholarship and the intensive analysis of Dr. Mansinha, we propose to make a few remarks. The author has committed a few historical errors as (a) in his identification of the modern Orissan State as a representative of the powerful kingdom of Kalinga under Kharavela in the second century after Christ (p-18) in disregard of the fact that Orissa was till lately a congeries of small states of particular political importance ; (b) in the alleged conquest of Magadha by king Kharavela (p. 18) ; (c) his identification of Uddiyana with Orissa in deliberate rejection of the view of Professor Sylvain Levi (p. 25) ; (d) his reference to Midnapur and Hooghly districts as 'an integral part of Orissa from time immemorial' (p. 165) ; (e) his characterisation of Bengali culture as 'largely imbued with the Bhakti and Tantric cult' (p. 242). Instances of Dr. Mansinha's philological errors are his partial support of the exploded theory of origin of Pali in Orissa on the supposed authority of the well-known German scholar Oldenberg (misspelt Oldenburg) (p. 19) and so forth. Dr. Mansinha frequently misuses the word "National" to indicate the activities of the people inhabiting the territory of the modern Orissa State in past and present times, and he exaggerates minor incidents in the history of that people out of all proportion to their actual importance. This is illustrated by his charaterisation of the Oriya revolts of 1806 and 1818 against British rule as 'national revolts' and his frequent glorification of rulers and authors of relatively small stature with the epithet of 'the Great'. Of the Purana epic of the poet Pitambara Dasa he observes that 'there is nothing like it' in Sanskrit literature. Dr. Mansinha frequently compares Oriya well-known authors with the great figures of English literature. Thus in one place (p. 242) he refers to the poet Nilakantha Dasa's 'matchless hymns and songs in the style of Tennyson's *Princess* and the flow of his lines 'with Browning's vigour and Miltonic grandeur.' That some of these epithets have no meaning within the narrow limits of Orissa appears from his own lament of the national existence of the Oriyas even 70 years ago (p. 173). The author's glorification of the Oriya past sometimes tends to create the dangerous notion of inter-State jealousy. Thus he laments unhappy but inevitable domination of the

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grades of the administrative service (not 'the entire administration') in his State by Bengalis from 1903 to 1912 (p. 167), and he contrasts Bengal's good fortune thereafter with Orissa's misfortune. We close this brief review of Dr. Mansinha's work with the observation that it would have been better appreciated by his readers with the addition of a chronological table of the authors and their works and a map of the Orissan State.

U. N. GHOSHAL

RAMAKRISHNA LIVES VEDANTA: By *Swami Chidbhavananda. Tapovanam Publishing House, Tirupparaithurai, P.O. Elamanur Station,* Tiruchirapalli, Dt. 1962. Crown Octavo, 487 pages. Price Rs. 7.00.

The centenary year of Swami Vivekananda has seen the light of publication of a valuable book on Sri Ramakrishna; this book bears testimony to the belief cherished by Swami Vivekananda that a basketful of books can be written on a single saying of Sri Ramakrishna. The book is split up into eighteen chapters. Each chapter is complete in itself. There is no sequence of thought between the chapters. Brief contents of each chapter are provided with in the opening pages of the book. Each chapter ends with a quotation from the text of the Scriptures as a summum bonum of what has been explained therein. The exhaustive index to the book is a useful addition. The glossary of scriptural terms with esoteric meaning has furnished ample opportunity specially to the foreigners to have clear conception of many a theme of the book. This is worthy to have a space in the library of the English-knowing people. Discovery of the true soul of India is not impossible through a perusal of the book. The style throughout is crisp and delightful.

Swami Chidbhavananda did not try to fit the book in the framework of biography modelled by eminent biographers from Plutarch to Strachey. Nor is it an attempt to record the events and teachings of Sri Ramakrishna. It is a comprehensive treatise of cardinal principles of Vedanta translated into action in the life of Sri Ramakrishna. The author avoids the canons of logic and technical terms of the Vedanta. Still the facile pen of the author has clarified what is intended to be interpreted. No doubt, in the life of Sri Ramakrishna, right from his boyhood upto the last day of release from his mortal coil, the spiritual motif dominates the whole symphony. As such divine spark radiates in his every action, however insignificant it might be from the standpoint of the mundane world. That Sri Ramakrishna is a playground of the Infinite runs as a main theme throughout the book, although the chapters are not inter-related in thought. The word 'Infinite' sounds vague unless the transcendent character of Brahma is truly interpreted. The exposition made by Samkara with the help of a wonderful analogy of rope and snake is unique. The multiplicity and variety of the universe are unreal—*neha nanasti kinchan*—has been critically analysed and resolved by Samkara with higher logic. The difference between the Badha Samadhi of Vedanta and Laya Samadhi of Patanjali and the consistent relation between the Real and the Apparent are expounded clearly by Samkara. Vedanta is both religion and philosophy. Journey to and journey from God are not irreconciliable in the light of Vedanta. It is like an escalator. Indian philosophy unlike Western one shows that experience precedes rationalisation. The highest truth realised is subsequently rationalised in intellectual level. Thus the network of Vedanta provides a ladder before the seeker for spiritual unfoldment. Such fearless approach of Vedanta allows no mystifying of truth. Rather it unveils the true nature of the Absolute and clears the maze of life. Its main function is to incorporate and include every faith of any denomination. It does not contradict anything of the universe. Even Buddhism and Vedanta which seem to be antithetic to each other are no more a historical problem. The present author's attempt to solve this knotty problem is a beautiful one. According to Vedanta, Brahma is Immanent, Transcendent and Absolute. These facts get best demonstrated in the life of Sri Ramakrishna. The alien religions like Islam and Christianity which were beyond the arena of Vedanta due to historical reasons, were practised by Sri Ramakrishna in his own characteristic way and thus have their proper place in the universal womb of Vedanta. Innumerable instances can be cited from his life to show how discordant notes of different religions are harmonised in his life. That is why the supreme need of the hour is to propagate true interpretation of the tenets of Vedanta in a form acceptable to the modern mind. Misinterpretation and ignorance of its chief function beget reverse effect. Eminent philosophers like Bergson noticed in Swami Vivekananda the play of active mysticism as having been obtained from the West. He failed to understand that active mysticism is an indispensable part of vedanta and as old as Vedanta. Then it is no wonder that scholars of less intelligence may confuse many things. In this respect Swami Chidbhavananda has completed a laudable work. To become a champion of Indian culture is the order of the day. But superficial

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treatment of Vedanta misses the salient points. This book under review has maintained equilibrium of reason and emotion. The pages devoted to show the mystic relationship between Sri Ramakrishna and the Holy Mother Sri Sarada Devi seem to be written by the author in moments of illumination. The reader thrills as he goes through the pages which depict the intimate contacts of Sri Ramakrishna's affection for Swami Vivekananda. It so happens that the border-line between the teacher and the taught is lost. We sincerely desire the author to give us more of sri Ramakrishna so that to us will be vouchafed a glimpse of the highest truth.

Narayan Kundu

POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN INDIA TODAY: *Edited by C. H. Phillips, Profesor of Oriental History and Director, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London, D/Demy 8 vo. Pp. 186 and Index; Price 25s.*

This is the first of a series of "Studies on Modern Asia & Africa" and is a collection by the editor of a series of papers on India presented before a Seminar organized by the School of Oriental & African Studies, and was an attempt to explore the emerging relationships between the indigenous traditional systems of society in India and the democratic concepts and parliamentary system of government which India has derived and adopted from the West, especially through her long and hostorical association with the British political system. As the Editor frankly admits, this is certainly not a comprehensive study of the entire range of problems indicated on the subject. It is confined to the limited scope that the new relationship between the Indian middle classes and the masses, between the central government and the local agencies, between the newly evolved parliamentary system and the traditional social systems have been increasingly disclosing. In fact, political forces which had previously been obscured by India's struggle for Independence have, unmistakably, been coming up on the surface in the context of the indigenous social order in the context of the implications of a suddenly evolved and applied universal franchise.

In the first three papers included in the Book under review, "Some Fundamental Political Ideas of Ancient India" by Prof. A. L. Basham, on the "Traditional Muslim Views of the Nature of Politics" by the able Prof. P. Hardy and the "*Ulama* in Indian Politics" by Prof. W. Cantwell Smith, an attempt has been made to arrive at an estimate of the Indian political heritage from the remote past, emphasizing the gulf that would [illegible] to exist betwen traditional Indian, both [illegible] and Muslim, theories of government and [illegible] and those of the modern world. What [illegible] India would seem to lack was the formulation [illegible] single consistent body of political doctrine. [illegible] the Muslim rule, the basis of Islamic [illegible] visualized an ideal community which paid [illegible] dience to God in the ways indicated by [illegible] Muslim ruler in terms of the Holy Law in [illegible] interpretation of which Muslim jurists played [illegible] important part and which led to their emerg[illegible] as a clear-cut class in the nineteenth century. [illegible] rest of the papers, beginning with Dr. Mehrot[illegible] analysis of the political background of the Bri[illegible] declaration of policy towards Indian self-gov[illegible] ment in 1917, emphasis is sought to be laid [illegible] Indian political practices and the emergent [illegible] of government since the enactment of the In[illegible] Independence Act by the British Parliament [illegible] 1947. Various facets of these emergent [illegible] have been studied and analysed, including [illegible] extent to which the indigenous social order [illegible] influenced and been influenced by the work[illegible] of a representative system; caste has been stu[illegible] in the context of its varying degrees of importa[illegible] and political influence from place to place [illegible] from time to time, demonstrating that the exp[illegible] ations of the political process cannot rest satis[illegible] factorily on a simple juxtaposition of the indi[illegible] ous social order with a western represent[illegible] system; the complexities under the facade [illegible] normal parliamentary practices in the prin[illegible] centres of government and the idiom of p[illegible] mentary practice under the influence of the [illegible] genous social system have been studied le[illegible] to an analysis of the prospects of survival [illegible] western-type local government, their unmista[illegible] signs of decay and the recent attempts at [illegible] replacement by a system of *panchayet raj* [illegible] the avowed objective of using the social [illegible] not the individual as the basis of a [illegible] emerging democratic system.

There are, obviously, many gaps in [illegible] studies which, as the Editor himself so [illegible] admits could not be regarded as compreh[illegible] But what is posed is a fascinating view [illegible] many conflicting and contradictory forces [illegible] have been overlaying at present the [illegible] of the systm of parliamentary Gover[illegible] that India, mainly through the predilection [illegible] her middle class leaders, has chosen to [illegible] These forces, grounded in the traditional [illegible] social order as most of them are, are not [illegible] considerable factor in independent [illegible] politics and have been obviously tending to [illegible] if not quite deflect the basic processes [illegible]

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growth of a healthy parliamentary democracy of the Western type in the country despite tinkering with it for over the last 15 years. The question which would seem to be of paramount importance is, to what extent, the present and modern parliamentary democratic system based on universal adult franchise can adjust to the demands and influences of the traditional order of the Indian society. A fact which would seem to be laying additional emphasis on the question is also the ancillory query as to what extent the machinery of adult fanchise may work rationally in the context of the existing colossal magnitude of mass illiteracy and lack of education without fostering the growth of perennial power groups or dynastic power-apexes which would spell the complete repudiation of the spirit of democracy.

These are questions which the middle class Indian intellegentsia has already been searchingly asking itself for quite some time and the studies included in the book under review may provide some indication as to the nature of the possible answers to the keenly analytical reader which may be of considerable practical interest and value.

PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SOCIALISM: *Edited by Oscar Lange. People's Publishing House, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi D/Demy 8vo. Pp. 332. Price Rs. 17.50.*

The volume is a compendium of 14 essays contributed by a group of noted Polish Economists led by Oscar Lange who has acquired some reputation as one of those who has done most to develop a consistent and scientifically oriented literature on the political economy of socialism. Indeed, although literature of a general nature on the subject and the problems of the political economy of socialism has, from time to time appeared in the modern socialist countries and, to a certain extent, even in England, not enough material based on a scientific treatment of the subject can be said to exist even to-day, although more than four decades have, so far elapsed, since the establishment of the first modern socialist State. The only known attempt at a theoretical generalisation of the experiences of building a socialist society came from Stalin in the form of a text-book on political economy published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences. But, on the whole, the volume of scientific material to lend a theoretical grounding to the objectives and processes of building a socialist economy must be admitted to be very meagre indeed.

The first known and concerted attempt in this direction was made by a group of Polish economists and can be said to have been the most comprehensive work, so far undertaken and which, in its initial Polish edition was first published in 1958. A considerably revised second edition appeared in the following year and the book at present under review is the English translation of that work.

The principal motivation guiding the work under review is the assumption that there exist certain *objective economic laws* which condition both the *raison de' etre* and the process of development of a socialist society. The subjects dealt with in this book range from the 'role of planning in a socialist economy' to the 'problems of economic development planning' which comprise the first and the concluding contribution in a series of fourteen essays which include such important subjects as the 'basic problems of socialist construction', 'effect of the development of agriculture on national income growth', 'conditions for general equilibrium between production and consumption', 'planning and the price problem' and other essays.

Of all the fourteen essays included in the book under review the most fundamental, however, would be regarded to be the first three, respectively on "Political Economy of Socialism", "Role of Planning in Socialist Economy" and "Basic Problems of Socialist Construction" contributed by the noted economist and the editor of this volume, Oscar Lange. These three essays evolve a theory of socialist economy posed on the assumption that the political economy of socialism is fundamentally conditioned by the Marxian theory of historical materialism which marks the process of revolutionary transition from capitalist to socialist society and are as basically motivated by certain immutable and objective economic laws. The author, however, frankly admits that the enunciation of these laws on which his present thesis has been built are empirical and may be subject to considerable later modification and adjustments in the light of the developing experiences of a growing socialist economy. This, clearly, is a post-Marxian development of the view of socialism as a process in the application of historical materialism and which held that no economic laws operated in a fully integrated socialist society which naturally wither away with the end of capitalism. But whereas the application of economic laws in a capitaltistic society are basically elemental in character, those in a socialist society are purposive and consciously directed, setting in motion new forces of production and its methodology. Nevertheless the laws of value or, for the matter of that, of monetary circulation would seem to continue to operate in a socialist economy which,

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although their application as purposively directed factors in economic activity have different results from their elemental application in a capitalist society, and would seem to determine, in very large measure the wages and price structure in a socialist economy as well.

Two of the most interesting contributions in this series of fourteen essays are, however, those on the "Role of Planning in a Socialist Economy" and the "Basic Problems of Socialist Construction", both by Oscar Lange himself. His dissertations on the role of planning would appear to have especial significance in India today under her regime of planned development economics conditioned by the avowed objective of establishing a 'socialist society." Oscar Lange admits the significant role of what may be described as "non-socialized" enterprises in development planning during a transitional period from full capitalistic to a developing socialist society, especially in an underdeveloped economy but underlines the temporary character of their role during the period of transition until the forces of socialist economy have had opportunities of fully asserting themselves. This would seem, on the face it, to coincide somewhat with the role of the private sector in India's present mixed economy.

Another very important view, in the role of planning, put forward by Lange is the extent of the usefulness of what he described as centralized *political planning* as distinguished from decentralized and autonomous planning. At the initial stages of planning, he admits, a large measure of centralization of the process of formulation and direction of economic planning would be inescapable. But considerations of the maximum and the most economical use of all resources and means of production and reproduction postulate that there should be a gradual process of decentralization and the creation of autonomous and decentralized local governments in the process should be evolved to take away a majority of the responsibilities of development and production from the bureaucracy that would inevitably play the most important part in a highly concentrated and centralized planning machinery. But the need for a certain residual measure of centralized control and direction of over-all planning is also admitted at the same time.

It is not possible to go into details of all the contributions included in the volume in course of a short review. But, what would seem to be the over-all purpose and effect of the publication is that, considered from a purely scientific point of view, a socialist economy would not seem to be had totally upset the old balance of power superior to the application of objective economic laws, but equally subject to them as any other kind of social-economic organization. It is a provocative work and whether one agrees or not with all or even most of the theories enunciated and postulates advanced, it is a book a careful study of which would be bound to be rewarding in that it would yield an understanding of the directions of post-Marxian thinking on socialism that appear to have been currently active.

KARUNA K. NANDI

FAITH & FRIVOLITY : *By Krishna Kripalani. Published by Malancha, 7, Allenby Road, New Delhi. Price Rs. 6.*

The book is a selection of the author's writings from 1934 to 1962. They are grouped under 3 heads, Personalities, Trivialities and Frivolities.

We have it from the author that Tagore told J. C. Kumarappa (sent over to him by Gandhi for consultation with a view to found an All-India Village Industries Museum) that Art is no luxury of the well-to-do, and the master key to the theme is in making out of humble materials things of beauty—in 'Tagore and Gandhi.' In 'Nehru and Gandhi', we gather, amongst other things, that 'fashionable society ladies adore his (Nehru's) handsome appearance.' The author quotes Nehru as saying that he has not consciously renounced anything he really values. Why then should the author be anxious to attribute to him 'sacrifice' as one of his title deeds to greatness? Hero-worship has really a salutary aspect, but carried to excess it palls and miscarries. I fail, as well as line up with the author assessing in 'Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan' 'that Nehru and Radhakrishnan standing at the helm of the ship of India's destiny symbolise the marriage of political greatness and wisdom.' There is as yet, obviously, nothing in the concrete to justify any cheerful prognosis. Mr. K. Kripalani, as he tells us, was the Private Secretary to the Education Minister, Abul Kalam Azad, and he was also attached to the Indian Embassy in Brazil ; possibly, he still now hovers round the olympic deities of New Delhi in some capacity or other and is in the category of kith and kin. Is he constitutionally fit to make an appraisal of Nehru's 'political greatness'? Pray, in what sphere has it vindicated itself? Where, however, he is free from inhibitions, as in 'The Acharya', he is at his best. But here, well, I am afraid discretion as the better part of valour haunts him ; and he has blacked out why Acharya Kripalani is Nehru's *bete noire*.

"Circumstances," he says in 'Democracy and Non-violence,' "were propitious. The

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the British were intelligent enough to realise that it would no longer pay to hold the Empire with the sword. The game was not worth the candle. They gracefully retired and India became a free nation." It is painful that an Indian should describe the last phase of British abdication in this cavalier fashion, such as to omit to refer to the sinews and inspiration of Netajee Subhas Bose, who imbued the Indian militia with the spirit of about face to British command as the test of their patriotism. Such omission is a blot in an otherwise very excellent article. Most of the tit bits under chapter Frivolities bear on them the hall-mark of an artist with inner compulsion.

The book is eminently readable for its chaste humour and notably for the absence of any journalese.

RS. 25,000 A DAY : *By Rammanohor Lohia* : *Published by Navahind Prakashan, 831, Begum Bazar, Hyderabad. Price Rs. 5.*

'Distressing' is the word, to the exclusion of any other, which cropped up unbidden in my mind as I finished reading the book under review. The author has reproduced, illustratively, statements made by responsible ministers on the floor of State Assemblies, giving facts and figures which do however ram home the criminal waste of public money involved in the tours of India's Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. Madras, says her Finance Minister, spent Rs. 43,542/- for the visit of the Prime Minister—*The Hindu*, dated 26th March, 1958. The Chief Minister of Kerala stated in the Assembly on June 7, 1957, that the Government had spent Rs. 1,02,016/- in a day and half for Mr. Nehru's tour—*Mankind*, 25th September, 1958. *The Free Press Journal* of March 21st, 1958, quotes Labour Minister saying in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, that Rs. 95,527 was spent for making Police arrangements in connection with Mr. Nehru's visit, when he was there to unveil the statue of Chatrapati Shivaji. The authorised proceedings of Rajasthan Legislative Assembly are being relied upon to say that Rs. 1,92,500 were spent by the Government over Mr. Nehru's inauguration of democratic decentralization and the functions held at Nagpur on 2nd and 3rd October, 1959. Most of the aforesaid expenses were incurred for security purpose. On the point the author says, 'I would also recall the advice of Mahatma Gandhi to the British Viceroys that they should prepare to die rather than spend enormously on security in a poor country like India'. Thank God, he is no more to see what enormities are being done !

Civic sense : The principle dies in the concrete with Mr. Nehru. The assessment of the rent of Anand Bhavan, Nehru's house, at Allabahad is Rs. 1800 a year. That it is unbelievably far too low down the standard rate is proved by the author from the fact that Sapru's house at 19, Albert Road, far smaller than Anand Bhavan, is assessed at Rs. 15,000|- a year.

The Sunday Telegraph, dated September 9, 1962, reports as being told by their 'own correspondent', New Delhi, that Dr. Lohia estimated that Mr. Nehru was costing India £2000/- a day, while Mr. Macmillan's expenses had actually been calculated at £40 but at the outside of £80, and President Kennedy's at £400. This justifies him stigmatising Mr. Nehru as the 'world's most expensive Prime Minister'.

Dr. Lohia made one attempt with a party member to raise the matter in the Rajya Sabha in September, 1962. The motion was disallowed.

The facts stated in the book are staggering enough. What, however, its cumulative value is in relation to the perspective of each one of them does not adhict of an easy answer. It needs being taken up by University seminars and thrashed to the drugs in language of balance and sober restraint. It seems to be an insuperable error of his that he suffers the overtone to outplay the fundamental. He has, however, in his pseudo-smart tantrums conveyed the impression that if a tithe of what he seeks to establish is true, it argues a measure of imbecility on the part anybody to condone the Government's wanton expenditure in so poor country like India. It is, however, not in good taste for Dr. Lohia to air out that Mr. Nehru's grandfather 'joined the service of the British as an orderly;' and it also offends the canons of decency in a book like this to spin out how a man flounders on 'two poles of puritanism and profligacy', et cetera, et cetera.

JOGES C. BOSE

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Indian Periodicals

COMPLACENCY WITH VENGEANCE

Writing under the above caption in the "Indian Libertarian," Mr. M. N. Tholal says :

Replying to the debate on the President's Address, in the Rajya Sabha, Prime Minister Nehru admitted that it would be absurd on India's part not to ask for help in this "basic struggle for life and freedom." If for various reasons, such as commitments in other parts of the world, adequate help is not forthcoming he said, such a situation "will be none of our creation."

But if adequate help is not forthcoming for reasons, for some of which the present Government may be responsible, then the responsibility for the resulting deplorable situation will be ours, and the situation will be of our own creation. Some of the various reasons for which adequate help may not be forthcoming are worth going into, having regard to the gravity of the situation resulting therefrom. If those who help us expect us to concentrate all our strength in meeting the Chinese menace, instead of dispersing it along the Indo-Pak border, there would appear to be nothing particularly wrong with them, for they would then be only expecting us to realise the nature of the menace to which we have been giving adequate expression.

They would thus be only expecting us to help ourselves before we expect them to help us. Mr. Nehru himself has been emphasizing the doctrine of self-help to the extent, indeed, of appearing ridiculous, having regard to the difference in the military potential between India and China. If, further, their expectation of self-help in this regard is based on their expectation of our following the principles which our Prime Minister enunciates and adumbrates every day, can it be said that they are trying to attach strings to their offers of assistance ? In this hour of the nation's crisis let us be absolutely sure that no one is able to accuse us of jingoism and expansionism, of which we accuse China.

In describing the present situation as "this basic struggle for life and freedom" Mr. Nehru indirectly told us "who our real enemy is, who our great enemy is. Let us then make friends with the minor enemy in the interests of that very basic struggle, particularly as that minor enemy knows in his heart of hearts, that our real enemy is also his real enemy. If the principles we flaunt before the world every day and demand that the minor enemy should be converted into a friend and ally by simply translating those principles into practice then the case for the conversion of the minor enemy into a friend becomes incontrovertible.

Let us not try to be too clever in the grave hour of our national danger. Let us not foolishly talk as if those whose help we seek—those who can help us out of our present predicament—are and should be more interested than ourselves in preserving our freedom and independence. Any one who has been following our foreign policy has good reason to suspect that even those who have come to our help against China have been saying to themselves regarding China and us : "Served them right. Let us not make them help us niggardly with clenched teeth, in a mood that might make them gloat over our reverses and our losses, as much as the enemy and friends.

In a speech, soon after the invasion, our Prime Minister rightly enough said that those who had offered to help us were interested parties, meaning thereby that they were interested in combating Communism. Was that a discreet utterance ? The Prime Minister's daughter, who reportedly has more influence and power than all the Cabinet Ministers put together, said recently that the help received from our helpers was small. Surely this is no excuse for belittling utterances which can, even by stretching the imagination, be construed as biting the hand that feeds, particularly as the Prime Minister himself has been deprecating the need of request for more aid.

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Mr. Nehru said the Government had hoped that in the next few years it could prepare the country economically and militarily, but the Chinese attack came much earlier. (The Government hoped thus even after five years' continuous aggression by China). A few days earlier he had said, "Anything can happen any moment." Two days later, replying to the debate in the Lok Sabha on the President's Address, the Prime Minister said the fact was that the danger from the Chinese was not past and he did not know what would happen in the next three or four weeks. (He added that India had to strengthen itself. Does he think India can strengthen itself in a few weeks?) Or, if another attack comes from the Chinese side, will he repeat what he said in the Rajya Sabha: "The Government had hoped that in the next few years it could prepare the country economically and militarily, but the Chinese attack came much earlier"?

And does Mr. Nehru seriously believe that the difference in military potential between India and China will disappear in the next few years? That belief can only be based on the optimistic assumption that, while we shall go forward industrially and militarily, China will be going backward, and that in the near future Russia will stop its huge military aid to China. If these are the assumptions, as they seem to be, what can be more compacent than the attitude of the Nehru Government?

But it is no use thinking at present of the next few years. We have to think of tomorrow, of the next few weeks first, since Mr. Nehru himself has told us of the possibility of anything happening any moment, that the danger from the Chinese was not past and that he did not know what would happen in the next three or four weeks.

"No Sense of Fear"

Said Mr. Nehru: "I have no sense of fear from China or any other country." Perhaps, Mr. Nehru wanted to convey to the House that he was no coward. If that was all he wanted to say, we should have no quarrel with him. But what is this "fear" that Mr. Nehru deprecates indirectly? Fear is not necessarily always a sign of cowardice. Indeed, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary "fear" is a "painful emotion caused by impending danger or evil." (According to Mr. Nehru himself the danger from the Chinese is not past, or, in other words, the danger is impending). Fear can and does make sensible men take precautions for safety. When Mr. Nehru says, anything can happen any time—and he has a right, indeed it is his duty to warn us of impending danger—he creates fear in us. When he says he does not know what will happen in the next three or four weeks, he creates fear in us—legitimate fear. This is legitimate creation of legitimate fear. How then is he able to say that he has no sense of fear from China? One can understand a Communist saying that. How can one understand the Prime Minister saying that, except in a spirit of bravado?

It is his duty to create legitimate fear. But it is also his duty, as our Prime Minister, to guard our country against treacherous attacks, to see to it that the enemy is unable to penetrate deep into our territory. If he cannot see to it with the help of the national forces at his disposal, it is his plain duty at all costs to seek and obtain external aid sufficient to prevent successful invasion of the country—alignment or no alignment. No patriot can dare differ with this proposition without forfeiting his right to be a patriot. That is the plain truth of the matter.

Defining the aims of the Government's policies, Mr. Nehru said one of these was "to develop the people's mind to resist to death and not to submit to aggression." This is in the best Gandhian vein, but easier said than done. Everyone knows that Gandhiji used to say "Pakistan over my deadbody." And everyone knows that at the A.I.C.C. meeting which finally considered partition, he stood up and spoke in support of partition. He realised that this time a fast unto death would indeed be a fast unto death and he did not even threaten it, wise man that he was. It is not so easy to embrace death, as Mr. Nehru seems to imagine. (With reference to his threats of quitting, people have been saying, "It is not so easy to quit as he imagines"—and rightly because quitting is like courting political death. How much more difficult must courting physical

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death be?) There has in these many decades of our struggle for freedom been only one instance of a man—hallowed be thy name, O Shraddhanand!—defying British bayonets with his bared onward-marching breast. Just one instance. One swallow does not make a summer.

Mr. Nehru knows all that. And yet he prefers to talk, like that lover of the absurd Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, of developing the people's mind to resist to death and not to submit to aggression. This desire radically to change human nature in a few weeks or months or even years, belongs legitimately to the reformer and not to the politician. Judging from Mr. Nehru's utterances, it would appear to be high time for him to transfer himself to where he rightly belongs, where he can live in a world of his own creation without being disturbed by reality.

The Prime Minister said India was not weak and would never submit to force. What else has she been doing for the last 6 or 7 years? He also said countries with whom some members wanted India to become aligned did not want it, because they would have to shoulder too heavy a burden—for a Government, he might have added, whose Prime Minister takes a peculiar delight in ridiculing their alliances. "What about NATO?" asked Mr. Ruthnaswamy, as if to provoke the Prime Minister and the latter said, while NATO had not failed, SEATO and CENTO had failed completely and miserably. These alliances been invaded by any Communist power? Obviously not, and that was what the alliance aimed at. How then have SEATO and CENTO failed completely and miserably? If India had been a member of those organisations it would not have been invaded by China and she would not today be in fear of another invasion by China. That seems to be immaterial in Mr. Nehru's way of thinking.

It would not be wise for India, says Mr. Nehru, to sell its right of defence. Who is asking India to sell its right of defence? Has any member of NATO, SEATO or CENTO done that? The moment you sell the right of self-defence, said the Prime Minister, you lose the sense of stoutness and standing on your feet, which is an essential thing. We must suppose that we had that sense of stoutness and standing on our feet in October and November last, and we have it now in what Mr. Nehru imagines is "our moment of success." A man who can imagine that can imagine anything. But what is most distressing and annoying at the moment is that our Prime Minister, even at the time when he is seeking massive aid from the Western powers, is unfairly ridiculing their alliances and thus trying, as in the past, to undermine their influence. That cannot do India any good. Indeed, it may do our country a lot of harm. Is it any wonder that they do not want to shoulder too heavy a burden for our sake? For decency's sake, as well as for the good of the country, let us all remember the English saying, "biting the hand that feeds," and do our utmost to avoid being accused of doing so.

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Foreign Periodicals

Talking to the Russians :

Writing Editorially under the above Caption, the *Saturday Review* says :

Twice in this space recently, we have discussed various aspects of the recent conference between prominent American and Soviet citizens at Andover, Massachusetts. We turn now to the matter of informal talks away from the regular sessions.

The Soviet visitors, many of whom were seeing the United States for the first time, were endlessly fascinated by life in America. That it was different from their preconceived notions was clear enough.

"Yes, things in America are not as we expected," a member of the Russian delegation observed. "The people here are gentle, friendly, home-loving, and honest."

"What had you expected ?" we asked.

"I'm not sure," he replied. "I suppose I expected people to be tense, short-tempered, and, to be candid, rather crude and belligerent. Do you know, I haven't seen a single first fight in the streets or in the inn since we arrived. Nor have I seen a single drunk. And your young women are modest in manner and dress and not at all cheap."

"Where did you get such ideas ?" we inquired.

"I got them from your movies and magazines and books," he said. "Why do your playwrights and authors insist on slandering your great country? Almost every motion picture we see about the United States does serious discredit and harm to your people. You are made to seem very vulgar and materialistic, as though you had no interest in the deeper things of life, which I now know is not true. Everyone in the movies seems to be stealing from the next fellow—either his money or his job or his wife. And everybody seems to be only a straw away from punching the next man in the face. A terrible business—and all so untrue. Why do they do it?

"I read as many books about America as I can find," he continued "they are far more responsible, of course, than your movies, but I still think the writers of these books do not do justice to your country and its people. Your writers make it appear that the United States is filled with people who are neurotic or over-sexed or who suffer from infantile emotions.

"It is not at all like that, and it should make the decent people of your country very angry. I just can't understand why you permit this sort of thing to happen. One of the first things I did after I arrived in New York and got cleaned up at the hotel was to go for a walk. On the corner, I saw an open-air store—I think you call if a news-stand. There seemed to be hundreds of magazines on display. Please do not think me critical, but most of those magazines were outrageously indecent. It creates the impression that the only things the American people are interested in are violence, drunkenness and cheap women. It didn't take me long to find out that this is not the case. But I still don't understand why so much of your printed material, like your movies, should glorify the worst things about America and not your best.

"As I say, these are the things that bewilder me about the United States. How do you explain them? Frankly, I would like to know."

I said, first of all, that I was glad he was now having this opportunity to see the United States and its people at first hand, because nothing was more difficult abroad than to convince people —not just Russians but people everywhere who had never been to America—that life in this country was not at all what it was made to appear to be. The movies were clearly the worst sinners in this respect—not as much of a problem perhaps as they were ten years ago, but still the number one source of misinformation, distortion, and defamation. But it would be equally difficult to say that many of our books and magazines gave a fair reflection of life in the United States. And there were many Americans who were outraged by the constant emphasis on casual violence in pictures and print.

Yet most American believed, I added, that the obvious correctives would, if anything, be even worse than the abuses. If motion-picture producers, publishers, editors, and writers were ordered arbitrarily or by law, to avoid misrepresentation or distortion, then the result would be totally unacceptable. Americans wouldn't trust their own government to operate a system of censorship or control—even for the purpose of pro-

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tecting their country's good name. Words and ideas, unlike meat and drugs, cannot be inspected for public consumption. The certain danger is that, in the attempt to guard against what is undesirable, the government will try to define what is desirable. And the moment a government is given the power to proclaim correctness in ideas, that power becomes a monopoly, the unhappy ramifications of which will extend into almost every aspect of life.

In any event, I suggested to the Soviet delegate, it would be a serious mistake to assume that *all* motion pictures or books or magazines were committed to the proposition that Americans were crude, cruel, callous, culture-hating, neurotic, sexually obsessed, or irresponsible. A very impressive list, both in size and substance, could be drawn up of films or publications or books which provide a balanced, representative account of life in America. Certainly our Soviet visitors' favourable first-hand impressions would be amply confirmed by the works appearing on such a list.

In any case, I was glad the question had been raised for it was a reminder that the principal problem confronting the image of America abroad is caused not just by hostile propaganda but by the limited and damaging view Americans take of themselves.

Parliamentary Procedure in The Commonwealth

In course of a paper on the Development of Parliamentary Procedure in the Commonwealth in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Sir Edward Fellowes says :—

It is of course true that representative parliamentary democracy is only complete when every citizen has a vote, but if you look at the history of this country you will find that Parliament was in existence for nearly six hundred years before the franchise was standardized throughout the whole country and that another hundred years elapsed before the ideal of one person, one vote, was attained. Moreover, the vote was not obtained until it had been coveted and passionately fought for usually over quite a long period. The roots of parliamentary representation therefore are very deep. But in some of the newly independent countries the vote has been obtained without even a demand from the recipients, and in some cases lost with the same facility. In this country, although elections in the seventeenth century could hardly be classified as democratic, many people were prepared to fight and die for their Parliament, whereas to take two comparatively recent instances, the Parliaments of the Sudan and of Pakistan disappeared overnight without a dog barking.

For my part I believe that the cause of representative parliamentary democracy would have been better served by a more gradual approach to universal franchise. The too rapid growth of apparently democratic institutions has led to a rootlessness which threatens if it does not in fact destroy them.

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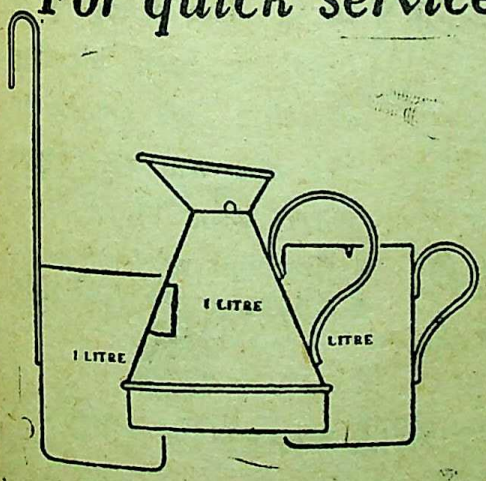

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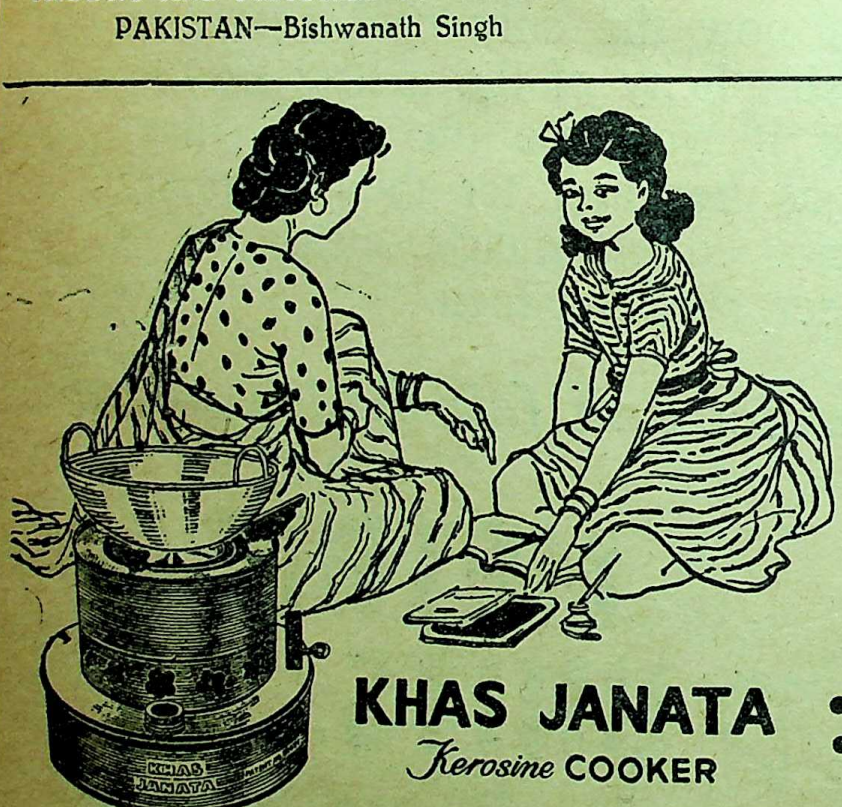

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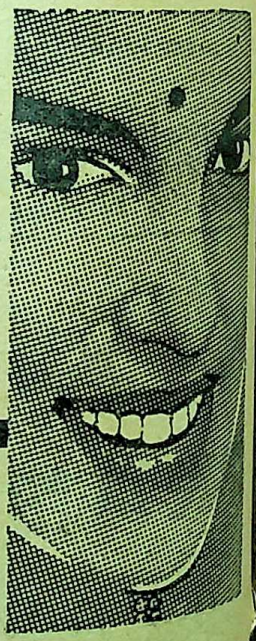

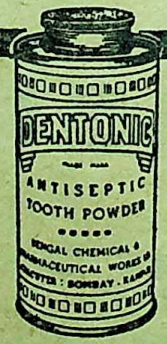

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The World

The event of the month in the international sphere was undoubtedly the formation of a federal state, which will retain the name of United Arab Republic. As announced by the Egyptian Prime Minister Ali Sabry, the Capital of the Republic will be at Cairo. All citizens would share one nationality but each of the three regions now in the Union, Egypt, Syria and Iraq, would be self-governing and in control of its separate economy. The Central Government at Cairo would have a single President, a presidential council with members from each region and a bicameral legislature. It will have a House with one member for each 60,000 citizens and a Senate representing the regions equally without regard to population. The first announcement from Beirut on April 9, as sent to the **Statesman**, by its correspondent was somewhat different. In it the term UAR is used in place of Egypt and it went as follows :

Moving with unexpected speed and decisiveness the tripartite conference in Cairo has reached "complete" agreement on the formation of an Arab Federal Government.

A committee has been formed to give its opinion on the "national charter" proposal which is clearly an attempt to solve the problem of whether political parties should continue in the Arab Federal Union.

The UAR, Syria and Iraq will have a unified federal Government and a single Army under the federal unity plans agreed on in negotiations among the three countries in Cairo, authoritative sources said there today, adds AFP.

Each country will also have a separate Government, Parliament and police force. The diplomatic services will be fused, the sources said.

The Army will be empowered to intervene at any moment in any of the three countries, the sources said.

Cairo will be the capital of the federal republic.

The federal republic will be headed by a President of the republic and "collective leadership". The latter will include a presidential council and a federal Government.

Within the federal council, the UAR will have four votes, while Iraq and Syria will have three votes each. The sources said the additional vote had been given the UAR because "it corresponds to the logic of the special situation occupied in all respects by the UAR in the Arab world".

There are many details, some major like those concerned with economic affairs inclusive of currency and customs, and some lesser like postage and communications and various administrative policies, that have to be worked out in detail and committees have been assigned and are in the process of going through the usual procedure followed in such cases. There is still a hurdle to be crossed before the actual process of formation of the Government is taken up, and that is on the question of whether there

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would be a single political party for the whole U.A.R., as is formulated by President Gamal Abdel Nasser, or would the Baath movement and its parties, like the National Front in Iraq and the Baath Nasserite, Unionist Front in Syria, be allowed to remain active.

If the working out is successful, as is hoped for by all friends of the Arab people and intensely desired by all nationally minded Arab peoples, then an Arab State will come into existence that would be greater, stronger and richer than any Arab State for centuries past. It would stretch over 630,000 sq. miles, from the borders of Turkey and Iran to the frontiers of Sudan and Libya and from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean far down the Red Sea Coast. It will have a population of over 40 millions and total gross national product worth about 2700 crores of rupees.

The prospects of such a powerful and potentially rich federation have stirred the fancy of the Arab World in general. There have been strong repercussions even in places like Kuwait, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Twelve members of Kuwait's 50 member legislature formally moved for unity with the U.A.R. King Hussein of Jordan let off 56 Nasserite and Baathist political prisoners out of Jail and made friendly gestures to his erstwhile enemy, President Nasser. But despite these moves there were student demonstrations and crowds noisily demanding merger with the proposed federation, in the streets of Amman, the capital of Jordan. In the wake of these demonstrations 32 of the 60 legislators of Amman's House of Representatives attacked the policies of Prime Minister Saunir Rifai who has been appointed about 3 weeks before. Rifai was accused of trying to stave off the linking of Jordan with UAR, although he protested that he was in favour of it though he did not want to hurry into it. There was an acrimonious debate and after nine hours of it Rifai left the Chamber and tendered his resignation to King Hussein.

There were violent pro-Nasser demonstrations in Saudi Arabia that cost 19 lives and it has filled the ruler and the Premier of Saudi Arabia with concern. In Yemen on the Arabian Sea, a cease-fire is being arranged by President Nasser, who has agreed to withdraw his 28000 strong Egyptian Expeditionary Force out of Yemen in response to the proposal that Saudi Arabia would stop helping ex-Imam Badr with money and munitions. Yemen's leader of the revolution Abdullah Sallal has hailed the news of the agreement on federation as an "Outstanding historic event." On the further side of the Mediterranean coast, Premier Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria cabled to President Nasser that this was "the most wonderful day of my life", on hearing the proclamation.

Pandit Nehru has sent congratulatory messages to the heads of all the states entering into the new Federation and they have all replied in suitable terms. But the man to whom the felicitations must taste the sweetest and to whom credit must be put all that ensues to the advantage of Arab nationalism out of this federation, is Gamal Abdel Nasser, the 45 year old President of UAR, the undisputed ruler of Egypt and the most tireless and forceful of the moulders of Arab nationalism for nearly a decade.

It is neither the mere chance combination of circumstances nor the secret and tortuous path of subversion and infiltration that has brought success to Nasser's plans. During the years following his liquidation of the revolt in February, 1954, by a group of cavalry officers, he has relentlessly destroyed corruption in the Egyptian administration and gone on with the consolidation of the economy on solid foundations. The nationalization and successful working of the Suez Canal, the exploitation of the oil-fields on the Sinai Peninsula, the building up of major industries and the start and the measured progress of the Aswan High Dam, all of these have lent a new dignity to the Arab race and added to the stature of a man whose example is an inspiration to the Arab world.

The dream that seems to be coming true has been cherished by all true Arabs for centuries. It was a dream of all Arabs united in a single nation, with the greatness of the spirit of those who carried the fame of Arab learning, culture and indus-

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over their far flung dominions ranging from the borders of China to Spain and Southern France.

It is too early to say that the dream has turned fully into reality. But this much it can be certainly said that it has come to the formative stage and the construction is proceeding on sound lines, thanks to the statesmanship of Gamal Abdel Nasser the Man of Arab Destiny.

In Laos the position is still very critical due to the action of the communist forces which have been reinforced by officers and artillery specialists of the Viet Minh forces from North Viet Nam on the Plaines de Jarres, the flat plain which controls the approaches to the rest of Laos and is also the access route to North Viet Nam. The latest news show that the International Control Committee is trying to arrange for a lasting peace, but as yet hardly any progress has been made. The neutralist Laotion Premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma and the pro-Communist Pathet Lao fores headed by Prince Souphanouvong have not been able to reach agreement on the ways to end the crisis on the Plaines de Jarres. The discussions are not broken off however, and they are to be resumed soon. Mr. Harriman, the U.S. Under-Secretary of State who has gone to Moscow, has expressed an opinion that his talks with Mr. Khrushchev will lead to an improvement in the situation in Laos. It is also reported that diplomatic representatives of the Soviets are accompanying the British diplomats in a visit to the Plaines de Jarres to study the situation **on site.**

Here in our own part of the World, matters are still very much in the same state where the Sino-Indian conflict is concerned. There has been no renewal of active hostilities, neither has there been any improvemnent in the atmosphere surrounding the Colombo Proposals for direct negotiations between India and China for a settlement of the frontier disputes. The UAR Premier, Mr. Ali Sabry, had struck an optimistic note about the improvement in the chances for direct negotiations after his talks with the leaders of Communist China at Peking. But no confirmation was forthcoming after the long talks that Pandit Nehru had with him on April 27. Asked about the trend of his talks with Mr. Ali Sabry, Pandit Nehru gave the cryptic reply "It is partly good and partly not so good."

The handing over of Indian prisoners of War have continued and in other ways the situation on the Himalayan frontiers is very much the same as it was in the month of March.

The Fifth round of Indo-Pakistani talks at Ministerial level have ended at Karachi, and a sixth round at New Delhi on May 15 billed. The differences are still as wide as they were before. The talks on other matters, such as border disputes and Pakistani infiltration into Eastern India, on Ministerial level are yet to be held. It is stated that as both the sides believed in settling disputes through peaceful means, the talks would continue so long as they serve any useful purpose.

We do not wish to make any comments at this stage beyond expressing the hope that no outside pressures would be brought on us to settle all our differences with Pakistan entirely at the cost of our territory and honour. And we hope no steps would be taken without the full concurrence of the people of India.

The Official Languages Bill

A group of Socialist and Jan Sangh members created scenes of pandemonium in the Lok Sabha on April 13, when the Official Languages Bill was introduced by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Home Minister. The wild scenes that followed culminated with the expulsion of two members—one of Jan Sangh and the other from the Socialist group—being forcibly expelled from the House.

It is a curious fact that these champions of Hindi and their predecessors in the "Hindi Raj" movement, have hardly any record of service to their mother-tongue prior to the formulation and inclusion of Hindi, as the Official Language of the Indian Union, in the Constitution. If any language in India has suffered griev-

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ously through neglect by those whose mother-tongue it has been, then that is Hindi. In the days prior to independence, scant attention was paid to develop and enrich Hindi along the way that some other languages had progressed. Indeed in the decades preceding Mahatma Gandhi's espousal of the cause of Hindi, most of the educated and well-to-do amongst those whose mother-tongue was Hindi learnt Urdu and taught it to their children as Urdu was regarded as the language of the cultured. All this enthusiasm about Hindi started when the protagonists thought Hindi would provide them with undue advantages and enormous gains at the cost of the non-Hindi speaking peoples.

Of course, there have been attempts to nourish and develop Hindi as a language and as a literary medium, by devoted and dedicated individuals and groups, which included many whose mother-tongue was not Hindi. But for them, Hindi would not have retained even that modicum of basic linguistic elements and choice of words which gave it the form and structural rigidity of a living literature. Most of these devoted workers never thought of gain—indeed many suffered heavy monetary losses—and hardly any help or succour came to them, before the formation of the Congress Governments in U.P., Behar and Madhya Pradesh, in 1937, during the British period. The official attempts made to aid or subsidize the various organizations and concerns that were then engaged in the attempt to lead Hindi along the stream of literary progress that was in full flow in some other regional languages, came into play after 1937. But the attempts were not well-organized and the patronage extended from the official sources was indiscriminate and ill-directed, as is the case with all official ventures into the literary and cultural spheres even now. But despite all blunders these official moves put some life into the Hindi movement and it did encourage a small handful amongst the progressive writers and the very few literary and cultural societies that had managed to survive till then, received a fresh lease of life. At the same time groups of adventurers took-up the Hindi cult as a means of making [illegible] on the cheap—by attaching themselves [illegible] sycophants to the patrons of Hindi—[illegible] by making the path difficult and [illegible] sant for the honest literary men who [illegible] proceeding along the tortuous but [illegible] route. We do not find a single name [illegible] that devoted and distinguished roll that [illegible] associated with the protagonists of this [illegible] Hindi movement that is attempting [illegible] make political capital out of the Offic[illegible] Language issue.

The cause of Hindi has suffered [illegible] mensely through the action of these pseudo-literary politicians whose offensive [illegible] haviour has not only outraged the feelin[illegible] of many lovers of Hindi who had the cau[illegible] at their heart, but has also roused count[illegible] ter-movements amongst non-Hindi speak[illegible] ing peoples, who are in the majority [illegible] India. Needless to say the claim that 42 p[illegible] cent of the Indian population are Hin[illegible] speaking, is not founded on fact, and eve[illegible] if it were so, that would be no justificatio[illegible] for such attempts at imposing Hindi on [illegible] 58 per cent majority.

The present Official Language Bill [illegible] mild and half-hearted in all conscience and yet these protagonists indulge in all these antics! Indeed, there is more than a suspicion aroused amongst the non-Hindi members of the Lok Sabha that all this din raising bullabaloo is a manouvre to hide the pitfalls in the bill, and many members have demanded that more unequivocal and clear terms be incorporated in the Bill in order to safeguard the interests of the non-Hindi speaking peoples. At a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party general body held at New Delhi on April [illegible] members from the South made it very clear that unless the word "may" was replaced by the word "shall" in the clause providing for the continuance of English after 1965, the Bill would not amount to implementation of the assurances given by the Prime Minister.

The text of the bill is as follows:—

A Bill to provide for the languages which may be used for the official purposes of the Union for transaction of business in Parliament, [illegible]

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Central and State Acts and for certain purposes under the authority of the President in the Official Gazette on and after the appointed day.—

(a) of any Central Act or of any Ordinance promulgated by the President or

(b) of any order, rule, regulation or bye-law issued under the Constitution or under any Central Act, shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in Hindi.

(2) As from the appointed day, the authoritave text in the English language of all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved in either House of Parliament shall be accompanied by a translation of the same in Hindi authorised in such manner as may be prescribed by rules made under this Act.

6. Where the Legislature of a State has prescribed any language other than Hindi for use in Acts passed by the Legislature of the State or in Ordinances promulgated by the Governor of the State, a translation of the same in Hindi in addition to a translation thereof in the English language as required by Clause (3) of Article 348 of the Constitution, may be published on or after the appointed day under the authority of the Governor of the State in the Official Gazette of that State and in such a case, the translation in Hindi of any such Act or Ordinance shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in the Hindi language.

7. As from the appointed day or any day thereafter, the Governor of a State may, with the previous consent of the President, authorise the use of Hindi or the official language of the State, in addition to the English language, for the purposes of any judgment, decree or order passed or made by the High Court for that State and where any judgment, decree or order is passed or made in any such language (other than the English language), it shall be accompanied by a translation of the same in the English language issued under the authority of the High Court.

8. (1) The Central Government may by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act.

(2) Every rule made under this section shall be laid, as soon as may be after it is made, before each House of Parliament while it is in session for a total period of thirty days which may be comprised in one session or in two successive sessions, and if before the expiry of the session in which it is so laid or the session immediately following, both Houses agree in making

in High Courts.

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Fourteenth Year of the Republic of India as follows :

1. (1) This Act may be called the Official Languages Act, 1963.

(2) Section 3 shall come into force on the 26th day of January, 1965 and the remaining provisions of this Act shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint and different dates may be appointed for different provisions of this Act.

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,—

(a) "appointed day", in relation to Section 3, means the 26th day of January, 1965 and in relation to any other provision of this Act means the day on which that provision comes into force.

(b) "Hindi" means Hindi in Devanagari script.

3. Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language may, as from the appointed day, continue to be used, in addition to Hindi,—

(a) for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before that day; and

(b) for the transaction of business in Parliament.

4. (1) After the expiration of ten years from the date on which Section 3 comes into force the President may appoint a Committee consisting of thirty members, of whom twenty shall be members of the House of the People and ten shall be members of the Council of States, to be elected respectively by the members of the House of the People and the members of the Council of States in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Committee to review the progress made in the use of Hindi for the official purposes of the Union and submit a report to the President making recommendations theron.

(3) The President may, after consideration of the report referred to in sub-section (2), issue directions in accordance with the whole or any part of that report.

5. (1) A translation in Hindi published

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any modification in the rule or both Houses agree that the rule should not be made, the rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect, as the case may be, so however, that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule.

9. The provisions of Section 6 and Section 7 shall not apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Statement of Objects and Reasons

The Statement of Objects and Reasons says : The Committee constituted under clause (4) of Article 344 of the Constitution to examine the recommendations of the Commission constituted under clause (1) thereof exprssed the opinion that complete change over to Hindi by the 26th Jarnuary, 1965 was not practicable and that provision should be made in pursuance of clause (3) of Article 343 of the Constitution for the continued use of English even after 1965 for purposes to be specified by Parliament by law for as long as may be necessary. During the debate on the Report of the Committee, the Prime Minister made a speech on the 4th September, 1959 indicating broadly the approach of the Government to the official language question. After considering the Report of the Committee, the President issued directions on the 27th April, 1960 in exercise of the powers conferred on him by clause (6) of Article 344 in which a reference was made to the speech of the Prime Minister. In order to give effect to the policy of the Government as indicated by the Prime Minister, it is proposed to provide for the continued use of the English language, in addition to Hindi, for official purposes of the Union and for the transaction of business in Parliamnt after the 26th January, 1965.

The Bill also seeks to make provision by law for certain other matters covered by the Presidential order, namely, (a) authorised Hindi translation of Central Acts, Ordinances and other statutory instrumens and of Bills or amendments to be introduced or moved in Parliament ; (b) publication of a Hindi translation of State Acts and Ordinances and (c) for the use optionally of Hindi and other official languages of States for purposes of judgments, decrees and orders of High Courts with the previous consent of the President.

The strongest criticism of the Bill came from the Anglo-Indian member Mr. Frank Anthony whose statements on April 13 are reported as follows by *The Hindu* :

Mr. Frank Anthony has characterised the Official Language Bill introduced by the Home Minister in the Lok Sabha today as a complete negation of the solemn assurance given by Prime Minister Nehru in Parliament in 1959 and has said that it would come as an unexpected and bitter shock to the people in the non-Hindi speaking areas, which constitute the largest majority of the population.

In a statement to the Press, Mr. Anthony said that the Bill represented a breach of faith on a series of issues. In the first place, while English was, according to the Prime Minister's assurance, to be the alternate language, the present Bill used a language which ensured the blanket bar position of Hindi for all official purposes and the use as a matter of grace, of English merely by addiion to Hindi.

The second breach of faith was that according to the Prime Minister's assurance there was no question of any review. The present Bill, however, provided for a review by a committee of Parliament. Mr. Anthony said that this surrender by the Government was the result of agitational pressure and techniques from Hindi chauvinists.

Mr. Anthony said that the Prime Minister's assurance was hailed by the non-Hindi-speaking elements throughout the country and had allayed fears which might well have produced disruption. The provisions of the present Bill were so worded as to amount to a "fraud on the non-Hindi-speaking people." All the fears which had been allayed by the Prime Minister's assurance had now been revived and would almost certainly give renewed impetus to secessionist and separatist elements, he added.

Intervening in the Lok Sabha on April 24, in the debate on the Official Language Bill, Pandit Nehru said that he was unable to understand Mr. Frank Anthony's statement that the Government had gone back on the assurances he gave and that he was unaware of any pressures being exercised on him and that he had not "succumbed to any pressure." He is reported further to have told the Lok Sabha on that date that "We stand completely by the assurance

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gave that no major change would be made in regard to the use of English without the approval of the non-Hindi speaking people." He further condemned openly and in unequivocal language, the antics of the "lunatic fringe" of the Hindi protagonists in the House. But despite all his statements the dissatisfaction of the non-Hindi members over the ambiguous language of the Bill did not subside and the debate continued. It was evident that the outrageous behaviour of the offending members had aroused serious apprehension and a considerable amount of indignation amongst the non-Hindi speaking members.

The Home Minister in his summing up, before a motion for the consideration of the Bill was passed by a voice vote, appealed to both the Hindi and the non-Hindi speaking people to consider the language issue calmly, He said the Government will take all possible measures to see that non-Hindi knowing people did not suffer from any kind of disability in the matter of recruitment or promotion.

An official amendment was moved by the Home Minister, Shri Shastri providing for the consultation of State Governments before any major changes about the continuation of English.

Speaking on the Bill Shrimati Renuka Roy quoted from the speech of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee in the Constituent Assembly on the language issue. He had said :—

"A language will be shaped in the natural course of events, in spite of current controversies, in spite of individuals, however big or eminent for the time being they may be. It is the people's will that creates changes. They come naturally and often imperceptibly. It is not a resolution of the Constituent Assembly which will decide the supremacy of a language. If you want that Hindi should really occupy an all-India position and not merely replace English for certain official purposes, you make Hindi worthy of that position and allow it to absorb by natural process words and idioms not only from Sanskrit but also from other sister languages of India. Do not obstruct the growth of Hindi. I can speak Hindi in my own Bengali way. Mahatma Gandhi spoke Hindi in his own way. Sardar Patel speaks Hindi in his own Gujarati way. If my friends from U.P. or Bihar come and say that theirs is the standard Hindi which they have laid down and any one who cannot speak this language will be tabooed, it will be a bad thing not only for Hindi, but will be a bad thing for the country." This is in reality the crux of the problem. When Hindi is rescued from the clutches of wiseacres, whose presumption is only matched by their ignorance, and adventurers with ulterior motives, then it will come into its own. For Hindi can only be given an all-India shape and status by the non-Hindi speaking people, who have neither been consulted about their difficulties nor have their suggestions been given and weight so far.

The Bill was passed with a minor official amendment, but without any alterations as desired by some speakers from the non-Hindi groups. The Bill will be regarded, therefore, with suspicion by not only the extremes of pro-Hindi and non-Hindi groups, but also by all who really and truly desire a peaceful transition in the course of years.

"Load Shedding"

On the 19th of April last the following notice appeared in the dailies of Calcutta: "As a result of high seasonal demands and generation temporarily but unavoidably reduced by circumstances beyond the control of the Company, The Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation Ltd., regrets that supplies of electrical energy to industrial, commercial and domestic consumers will be liable to interruption in the undermentioned areas. . . . ." Together with this notice appeared a lists of area names where low tension supplies were likely to be interrupted at any time within a specified period of 12 hours on three days a week and lists of industrial and other concerns using high tension electricity over the same periods and days.

This notice was issued, we understand, following a meeting of the representatives of the C.E.S.C. with the authorities of the West Bengal Government. Prior to that meeting the interruptions were taking

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place in small and domestic supplies—we are unaware of any interruptions in supply to any major industrial concerns without any notice in the same way. The Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation was evidently not concerned about the inconvenience, loss or damage caused to individual small consumers of electricity, so long as no loss accrued to itself. It had not even had the courtesy to insert on its own any notice or warning to its clientale. Possibly the idea was to load all the losses, expenses etc., on the poor long suffering small consumers, without incurring any loss or expense itself.

The "circumstances beyond the control of the Company" that resulted in this wide-spread dislocation of the supply of electricity seems to have boiled down to the supply of properly sized coal of requisite quality to the Company's power generating units. It waas reported on the 23rd of April that the Agent of the C.E.S.C. had told the West Bengal Commerce Minister that he hoped "load shedding" would be a thing of the past so far as generation was concerned, so long as the supply of the correct quality and size of coal was maintained. The Agent's hopes were nullified within a few days, however, for reasons known best to the C.E.S.C. and the West Bengal authorities.

If the supply of the right type of coal was all that there was to it, then we would like to know what steps the C.E.S.C. had taken to rectify matters, prior to resorting to "load shedding". Did it notify the authorities that if matters were not rectified soon—that is prior to the reserves of good coal were exhausted—there would be this interruption of supply causing loss, damage and gross inconvenience to tens of thousands of consumers? Did the C.E.S.C. even think about inserting a correctly worded notice in the prominent newspapers informing the consumers that being unable to obtain rectification in this matter they were being forced towards resorting to "load shedding," which may have brought in the change in the "circumstances beyond control" at a much earlier date through pressure of public opinion?

As it is, the public have had a convincing lesson in the value of co which are totally unilateral in ce aspects and in the super inertia of authorities where public weal and conv is concerned. Indeed it is almost ce that if there had not been some interr tions in supply to industrial co engaged in executing "Emergency" or this State of affairs would have contin leaving the helpless small consumer only completely uncertain about his s plies but also subjected often to considera loss, damage and inconvenience. We not know what provisions the Electri Act contains for the safeguarding of small consumers' interests, but if it is same Act as was framed in the British then there must be precious little—if at all.

In any case "load shedding" must be ringed round with conditions and pr visions for safeguarding the consumer, or small. Notice to consumers prior to immediately after the interruption supplies with clear indications of ca and probable duration of interruption must be made compulsory and loose wide-open clauses enabling the Compa to use the **force majeure** excuse at its sw will and with total unconcern for the co sumer, must be modified properly

And there ought to be a clause enforc the C.E.S.C. to start with the "load" in Government's Secretariats, if "load" sh it must, with long breaks in supp during the day, repeated at intervals of more than twenty-four hours until proper authorities sit up and take notice

We are benig told now that by end of 1963 there would be plenty electrical energy available as the th and fourth units of the Durgapur Pro Projects, generating 75-MW of po each, would be commissioned by then. we are not so certain about is the expa sion of the demand for power. The wond ful way our Planning is done makes impossible for any logical thinking to em out of such problems of demand and supp

THE EDITOR

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

TAX CONCESSIONS IN THE NEW BUDGET

Since, we discussed the current year's Union Budget in these columns last month, the Union Finance Minister has, by way of amendments proposed by himself in the Finance Bill, offered a series of concessions in the tax proposals which, as he told the Lok Sabha, was as far as he was able and prepared to go. These concessions include a 2 nP. and 4 nP. reduction respectively in the new excise duty on superior and inferior brands of kerosene, reduction, by 50 per cent, of the additional surcharge on incomes of registered professional firms from 20 per cent to 10 per cent and, in the region of the new Super Profits Tax, certain new bases of assessment tantamount to substantial relief such as that a deduction chargeable to the Super Profits Tax, of a sum equal to 10 per cent of the total income before any tax would be permitted, that Development Rebate will be included as part of the reserves in computing the capital base of the enterprises amendable to this tax, etc. Income of new industrial undertakings, for instance, (including hotels) donations upto certain levels, dividends, royalties, interest on foreign loans and fees paid to non-residents for technical services, will be exempt. For banks, again, the whole of the reserves (including those that are credited every year) would be allowed as deduction from chargeable profits. To electricity supply companies subject to certain restrictions regarding building up of reserves, the requirement that a reserve account should be created will not apply. For exporting enterprises, the amount of tax saved in respect of export profits and manufacturers' sales for export will also be allowed to be deducted before chargeable profits are determined. Relief has also been provided to small companies which do not have a large capital base. In the field of the newly devised Compulsory Savings Deposits, the Finance Minister has proposed that all those whose land revenue liability is less than Rs. 5 per annum, persons engaged in professions whose incomes do not fall within the income tax range, etc., will also be exempt from the operation of this new compulsory savings measure. Another relief proposed to be given by the Finance Minister which is regarded as of great importance in the present context of the country's developmental needs is that the ceiling of Rs. 5,000 per mensem in salaries and perquisites to industrial and mercantile executives in the private sector, shall not apply in the case of foreign personnel employed by these enterprises and the whole of the expenses of a company on this account would be allowed to be deducted from chargeable income and profits.

The effect of the concessions proposed by the Finance Minister will be to reduce revenue receipts from taxes by a gross Rs. 16 crores, Rs. 11 crores from the new excise duty on kerosene, and Rs. 5 crores from the estimated yield of the new Super Profits Tax, causing the deficit in the Budget to be enhanced by a corresponding amount. The fall in receipts from the Compulsory Savings Deposit on account of the new exemptions proposed, is estimated to be approximately Rs. 14 crores and this, together with the fall in tax receipts, will widen the Budgetary gap originally placed at Rs. 151 crores by Rs. 30 crores to Rs. 181 crores. The whole of this gap, presumably, is to be covered by deficit financing.

Kerosene Excise

The proposed reduction in the duty on kerosene, apart from the compulsory savings, has been estimated to effect the largest single fall in revenue, that is, Rs. 11 crores. Considering that this is an important consumer commodity of essential primary importance, especially so far as the low income and poorer sectors of the community are concerned, this must be welcomed as a much needed relief. And, yet, this has been generally regarded as more of a political rather than a substantial economic concession, presumably on account of the fact that although the gross effect of this concession would be to reduce tax receipts by quite a substantial amount, its *per capita* incidence on the consumer would be bound to be infinitesimal. But since this would be bound to affect the poor and would barely touch the comparatively affluent, its political implications, it is generally regarded, would be bound to be very widespread.

It must be remembered in this connection that indirect taxation, a great deal of it in the

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form of excise duties on essential and near-essential primary commodities, cover a very large part of the taxation structure in the country. In the current Budget, the porportion of indirect to total new taxation measures, as we have already endeavoured to demonstrate in our last issue, is as high as 60 per cent, an incidence almost without parallel in the history of taxation progression in any country of the world. Even before the current Budget, in fact throughout the years of development, our Governments, both at the Centre and in the States, have exploited increasing areas of consumer commodities, for their revenue requirements, with the result that the incidence of the distribution of taxation burdens has been following trends of comparatively heavier proportioal burdens on the less affluent and the poor than upon the more affluent. It is important to remember in this connection that the burdens on the less affluent in this regard usually go far beyond the actual pressure of the amount of taxes so imposed upon him, because of the inevitable pressure upon the price structure of such an over-all taxation progression the whole burden of which has usually to be carried by the unfortunate end-consumer. The reduction of the duty on kerosene that the Finance Minister has, at last, conceded would, therefore, not be likely to anything like substantially lessen the burdens on the poor, although the actual loss of revenue receipts on this account would, on the face of it, seem to be quite substantial indeed.

Other Reliefs

The reduction proposed in the additional surcharge on incomes of registered firms from 20 per cent to 10 per cent, cannot be regarded as of very important moment. Even as originally proposed at the 20 per cent level, the gross revenue expected to be derived from this source was estimated at the comparatively nominal figure of only Rs. 1 crore, and the effect of the concession now proposed, although it may prove to be very substantial to many individual firms, would not depress revenues to any substantial extent.

The other reliefs conceded by the Finance Minister, include certain exemptions from the operations of the newly devised Compulsory Savings Deposits scheme, such as those whose land revenue liability is below Rs. 5 per annum, or professional men whose incomes are within the exemption limits of the Income Tax imposts etc., will lead to loss of receipts, it has been estimated, of approximately Rs. 14 crores altogether.

Compulsory Deposit Scheme

So far as the Compulsory Deposit scheme concerned, its very fate would seem to be currently hanging in the balance, since the legality of the measure has been questioned the Lok Sabha during the debate on the Bill by eminent front benchers of the ruling party well as those belonging to the Opposition. Attorney General, it has been decided as we would now be called to the Lok Sabha to give opinion on the measure, although at one time Finance Minister's offensively worded refusal countenance any criticism on the legality of Bill almost created a near-crisis in the House.

The principal objection to the Bill, as originally propounded by a Congress front-bencher Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, a former Cabinet Minister of the Union Government, pivots around the contention that as the measure was obviously subversive of the fundamental rights guaranteed under Art. 19 of the Constitution, it was ultra *vires* the Parliament. The Finance Minister's contention in reply was that the fundamental rights were, any way, suspended for the duration of the emergency as adumbrated in the Defence of India Act and the Rules thereunder, and it was, therefore, within the competence of the House in the circumstances to take the Bill into consideration. The Union Law Minister, who was summoned to the House by the Speaker to give his opinion on the measure, however, argued that even without considering the fact that fundamental rights were in abeyance under the Defence of India Rules, the measure was fully within the competence of Parliament as its purpose was to pool national resources for plan requirements, in view of the fact that planning was a Directive Principle of the Constitution. But the Ministers' arguments in support of the Bill, however, left the House unconvinced about its legality, and a demand was made for summoning the Attorney General to give to the House his own opinion on its legality. After a great deal of squabble, although the Speaker was reported to have refused his sanction to this latter demand on technical grounds, the Government are said to have ultimately decided to invite the Attorney General to give his opinion to the House, and there the matter rests as we write.

But whatever may be the opinion of the Attorney General as regards the competence or otherwise of Parliament to consider the measure, the question can only be finally decided, as the Speaker earlier pointed out in course of his observations on the point of order raised on the issue by Mr. Tyagi, by the Supreme

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Court, whose decision alone would be binding. If the Attorney General's opinion is found to more or less coincide with the Government's contentions in support of the Bill, it would still, at best, remain merely an opinion. That may enable the Government to pilot the Bill through Parliament, but the ultimate decision as regards the legality of the measure will nevertheless rest with the Supreme Court, when it may be brought before it, if it is at all done, through an appropriate writ petition. In the meanwhile doubts as regards the Government's competence to formulate such a measure, or Parliament's comepetence to consider and pass it, continue to remain finally unresolved.

Two sets of contentions from the Government's side, as already enumerated above, have been advanced in support of the legality of the Bill. The Finance Minister contends that the legality of the Bill cannot be questioned on grounds of its subversive effects on fundamental rights, as they remain suspended for the duration of the emergency. If such a contention were to be accepted, the question would naturally seem to arise as to what extent the Defence of India Act may sanction legislation obviously subversive of fundamental rights. Clearly the initial period of effective operation of the Compulsory Savings Bill would continue for a period of not less than five years in any case. Does the Defence of India Act provide for a least period of five years during which its provisions would be in force? If that is not clearly laid down—and we doubt if it would be legally sustainable to do so—the Compulsory Savings Bill would be regarded as *ultra vires* the Parliament. This basic question has to be answered, we feel, before the Compulsory Savings scheme can be placed on the Statute Book.

If, on the other hand, the Law Minister's contention that any and every measure that may be interpreted to pool national resources to subserve the requirements of planning, however much such a measure may be subversive of the fundamental rights, would be fully legal and would be within the competence of Parliament to legislate upon, as planning is a Directive Principle of the Constitution, then the Constitution itself, in so far as the bill of rights, are concerned, would seem to be held in contempt. Can Parliament attenuate fundamental rights even in pursuance of a Directive Principle of the Constitution, unless that were clearly laid down in precise terms as in the case of prohibition, for instance? These are questions that must be answered before the competence of Parliament to pass such a legislation as posed by the Compulsory Savings Bill, can be confirmed. In any case, if it is accepted that Parliament is competent to pass the Compulsory Savings Bill, the fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution, which must be regarded as the very foundation of parliamentary democracy, would seem to have been reduced to a mere hollow mockery!

Super Profits Tax

The concessions granted in the matter of the Super Profits Tax would now appear to have substantially eliminated the initial spate of criticism against this measure. Historically, the Super Profits Tax, which is only a reinstatement of the old Excess Profits Tax Act under a different name, can be a very legitimate and useful emergency measure of taxation. But its legitimacy and efficacy can only be justified as an emergency measure and certainly not as a normal tax proposal. The justification for an Excess Profits Tax is, clearly, the need to control the excessive profiteering opportunities that are usually opened out by large-scale defence spendings and outlays during a war emergency and the corresponding need to control the incidence of excessive purchasing power flowing into the market with its high potential of inflationary contents. That is the manner in which this tax measure was first formulated in Britain during World War II and was reflected in the Budget of the then Government of India during the corresponding period.

Under any other circumstances, and in any other form, such a tax measure would be bound to be regarded as obviously retrogressive and would be bound to affect the rate and pace of capital formation and new investments. As an emergency measure, Mr. Desai's Super Profits Tax may have ample and legitimate justification. But from his Budget speech it appears, that although this tax measure has been devised apparently on the excuse of the prevailing national emergency, the Finance Minister envisages this as a more or less normal tax measure, intended to be in operation for indefinite periods in the future. In other words, Mr. Desai has devised this measure as one of his normal revenue gathering expedients.

Although, therefore, he has now offered a few important concessions, by way of inclusion of the development reserves in the capital base of the assessee companies for computing excess profits, of allowing a rebate of 10 per cent of income before assessment of chargeable profits, and a few other concessions in respect of certain specified categories of business, the effect of all

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of which will be to reduce estimated receipts on this account by approximately Rs. 5 crores, the Super Profits Tax as a normal tax measure, would be bound to prove a disincentive to enterprise and retrogressive of development processes. What the ultimate effect of such a measure on the pace of new investments in the future may be, it is yet too early to hazard a definite opinion upon. Private initiative and enterprise has already an attenuated field in the country, although its importance in the process of the growth of the national economy would still seem to be overwhelmingly paramount, especially in respect of performance in any comparison with the public sector. It is essential in the interest of the growth of the economy, therefore, that all the necessary conditions to enable the private sector to make its maximum contribution to this process of growth must be maintained unhampered. Such a measure as the Super Profits Tax, unless its field of operation were to be circumscribed to serve the very important, but nevertheless limited needs of a national emergency for the duration only, could be a seriously hampering cog in the process of national economic growth.

Ceiling on Incomes and Perquisites

Another very important concession offered by the Finance Minister is in respect of the maximum ceiling on salaries and perquisites taken together at Rs, 5,000 per mensem, earlier proposed as a general measure, but now not to operate so far as foreign personnel employed by the private sector are concerned, in allowing permissible expenses of companies for purposes of assessing income for taxing processes. That is, while the maximum permissible expense in respect of any one Indian personnel employed by a company shall be Rs. 5,000 per mensem inclusive of salaries and perquisites, no ceiling at all shall apply in the case of foreign personnel employed by it and the whole of such expense, without any limit whatever, shall be allowed to be deducted for purposes of computing taxable income of the corporate sector. This concession, it has been stated, had to be allowed to enable the country to obtain the measure of needed technical and technological assistance from abroad in the process of development and would eliminate the element of disincentive such a measure might prove in the way of future collaboration between foreign enterprise and capital with their counterparts in this country.

While there may be some justification for relaxing earlier proposals in this behalf in respect of needed foreign technologists working in Indian enterprises, the invidious distinc... sought to be made between high executive... Indian origin and foreigners are likely, we ... afraid, to prove a dangerous instrument ... regression in the process of progress as a w... and especially in the needed shift towards ... sufficiency in technology and skill in In... industry and management. Already quite ... invidious distinction subsists as between In... and foreign high executives is Indian indus... Foreign employees in Indian business are allow... an income tax holiday during the first th... years of their sojourn in this country wh... employed by an enterprise, Indian or forei... operating within the country. The provis... that after the first three years such person... would be subject to the usual income tax rat... just like any other person is, we know, ob... evaded by staggering contracts at three-ye... periods, an intervening return to their countr... of origin for a short holiday and their eventu... return to this country for further three-ye... periods under new contracts. We have person... knowledge of a number of foreigners working ... various Indian enterprises who have been enjo... ing a perpetual income-tax holiday by way o... this obvious and not too subtle subterfuge, whi... their Indian counterparts have to be content... with a heavily taxed income.

The Prime Minister has often been know... to deplore the tendency of qualified Indians ... seek employment abroad while the country needs ... their services so badly and urgently. One of th... reasons why such a tendency has been increa... ingly in evidence of late, is this invidio... distinction that is made by our tax laws an... other attitudes of the Government so far as qu... really qualified technicians and technologists a... concerned. Now this new ceiling will add ... fresh link to the chain of disincentives th... qualified Indians have to work under ... this country in comparison with their foreig... counterparts employed by Indian enterprises, ... good number of whom are not at all corres... pondingly well qualified. On the obverse, th... new ceiling, which will not operate so far a... foreign employees are concerned, is also an ... open invitation to such enterprises to emplo... foreigners, even while adequately qualified ... Indians are available to fill these assignments ... by way of the limitless expense rebates they w... be allowed on their outlays on foreign personn... and which, in many cases, will amount to a ... substantial reduction of their income tax li...

Such a measure will also have, we are c... convinced, an overwhelmingly halting effect ... the process of Indianization of the supe...

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services in foreign business houses operating in this country. The process, which had been initially set in motion under the personal insistence of the late Sardar Ballabhai Patel, had already considerably slowed down since after his demise was, obviously, no one else in the Government of India had apparently any interest in the matter. It is regrettable because the process, which had been set in motion after a great deal of initial obstruction and delay, proved to be a valuable training ground in management specialization and with properly gradual acceleration, might have eventually made the country more or less self-sufficient in her needed supplies of senior management executives. To the extent such Indianization had already been achieved, results had really proved to be highly encouraging and the confidence was being increasingly established that Indians of superior attainments and the needed background are as well able to take care of the responsibilities of management as any foreigner, as soon as the opportunities to prove their abilities in the field were opened upto them. The proposed distinction now sought to be made between foreign and Indian personnel of comparable attainments in Indian business in the matter of permissible emoluments with its additional potential for increasing preference for foreign personnel on account of the higher net profits, as we have endeavoured to demonstrate, that this would be likely to yield to the employing enterprises concerned, would be bound to prove a fatal disincentive to really qualified Indians of high attainments to remain within the country. It must be remembered that today the prejudices that prevented nationals of one country from obtaining employment in another which prevailed all over the world before the Second World War, have largely disappeared under pressure of shortage of labour in the highly developed countries and it is not at all difficult (except, perhaps, where immigration laws are of a disbarring nature) for qualified Indians of high attainments from obtaining highly lucrative employment in other countries. If a census were carefully taken of Indians (some of them may have opted for the nationality of the country employing them to get round the immigration laws concerned, but they must nevertheless be regarded as Indians for this purpose), employed abroad, their number would not be found, we are quite sure, inconsiderable, and quite a good number of them, we know, are employed in positions of great responsibility and discretion and, of course, at incomparably higher remuneration than they could ever hope to get in their own country.

For obvious reasons we would not like to give names, but we are personally aware of many cases where young Indian technologists of the highest attainments, whom their relations and friends regard as extremely foolish, came back to the country after a period of experience of the highest responsibilities abroad, and who have thence been hard put to it to obtain a bare living wage within their own country. One such young man whose case comes to mind at the moment is that of an engineer who, after a brilliant university career and a period of post-graduate work at the Bangalore Institute of Science, went to the U.S.A. for a higher course of studies. He annexed all the best degrees and diplomas in that country and eventually found employment with the famous Kulijan Corporation. While with the Kulijan, this brilliant young man was supposed to have been invested with the very great responsibility of preparing the design and operation programmes for the D.V.C.'s Bokaro Thermal Power Station, at that time the largest single power producing unit ever established in this country and which has been successfully operating ever since. After some time he was obliged to return, although Kulijans desired that he should stay on, as otherwise he would be required to take out U.S. nationality to conform with the U.S. Immigration laws which, as a self-respecting Indian he did not wish to do. He was unable, as could be apprehended in the circumstances, to land any kind of an employment which would give him a reasonably comfortable living. Some time later, the Government of India desired the Kuljian Corporation to establish a permanent organization of their in this country as they had extensive contracts for many projects to be established here. The Kuljians agreed and they named this young man for the chief executive of their Indian organization and named a salary which conformed to the usual U.S. standards in this behalf. The Government of India agreed, but when they came to know that the person named was an Indian national, they refused to pay him anything more than about ten per cent of what they were prepared to pay for an American and which would, moreover, be subject to the fullest imposts of the income tax laws. Naturally, the Kuljians would not agree to such a devaluation of their services here and ultimately sent down an American who, incidentally, was a comparatively junior executive when our young man was there, and to whom the Government of India have been paying the salary originally proposed by the Corporation. Fortunately for our young man, there was an eminent Indian industrialist with a great deal of imagination and public spirit who, unfortunately, has since passed away, took him up and provided him

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with all the minimum emoluments and perquisites that were needed to yield him a fairly comfortable living. Such industrialists, however, are all too rare in this country, and one can easily imagine the case of many others, whom we could name, where frustration and official indifference to their high attainments and rich experience, have hounded them out of the country to seek employment abroad.

The new distinction now sought to be made by the Finance Minister in the matter of a ceiling of emoluments and perquisities to Indian employees as compared to none at all in the case of their foreign counterparts in Indian business houses (including foreign business houses operating here) would be bound, we are afraid, to further immensely accelerate the process already well in evidence, of increasing defection of Indians of high attainments and rich experience and abilities from the country. No one denies that we are, in respect of the totality of our increasing needs in this behalf, woefully short of qualified Indian technicians and technologists for our developing industries and trade and it may be inevitable that we should have to continue to employ foreign personnel of adequate qualifications and requisite abilities to cover the gap in our present and immediately future needs in this behalf. But what would seem to be most reprehensible is the woeful fact that we have not been making appropriate use of even the little potential we have in this regard within the nation, a large number of whom are at present very usefully and highly gainfully employed abroad. We could cite almost innumerable instances of highly qualified Indian scientists and technologists employed in key responsible positions in foreign enterprises abroad who, when they wished to return to the country and play the appropriate part they have the necessary qualifications and experience to assume in the process of our development planning, have never had the least encouragement or opportunity to do so, while our Government has been crying itself hoarse over the supposed shortage of qualified Indian personnel and Indian enterprises have been merrily continuing to employ an ever-increasing and non-descript medley of foreigners of all sorts at profit to themselves and these foreigners and horribly to the detriment of ultimate national interests.

One concedes, that even if it were possible to recall all qualified Indians from abroad to play their appropriate part in the process of national growth, it may still be necessary to employ a large number of foreigners to cover our immediate development needs for some years ahead. In the first instance, it is necessary to formulate by Morarji Desai, have not merely since

measures with the definite objective of
and ultimate attainment of self-sufficiency
matter of appropriately qualified and
technologists in the country and to condition
employment of foreign personnel by Indian
prises to conform to such a definite objective
should be necessary and possible to regulate
employment of foreign personnel so that they
only fill existing gaps in our needs in this
and no more. It is also necessary, to ensure
employment of foreign personnel of comparable
attainments and experience should conform
uniform standard as regards emoluments,
quisites and powers of discretion. Some
tional incentives like, for instance, the
income tax concessions, may have to be
nued for some time to attract appropriate
rial in this behalf from abroad, but they
not take such a shape as, we are entirely
vinced, that the presently imposed ceiling
permissible salaries and perquisites of
personnel only, would be bound, in effect,
take, so as to provide invitations to foreign
to displace and supplant their Indian
parts of comparable qualifications and
ments. This would spell disaster to the
of our national growth as this would be
to arrest the process of gradual self-sufficiency
in qualified Indian personnel for our develop
economy and, consequently, leave us perpetually
dependent upon precarious and exhorbitantly
expensive foreign supplies in this regard. A
haps, inevitable off-shoot of the process
also bound to be, we are afraid, to reduce
to a happy dumping ground for all highly
nected unemployables from abroad masquerading
as highly lucratively employed technicians
technologists. The dangers of such
tions as are already being made between
fied Indians and even wholly unqualified
foreigners in the country's fields of
mercantile and industrial employment,
already been evident for quite some time.
present drift was, thus, in itself packed
disastrous possibilities, but now that the
invidious distinction that has been made in
matter of a ceiling on incomes in favour of
foreigner and to the detriment of the Indian
explosive possibilities, would be bound to
a hundredfold potential of disaster. We
already information from sources which
regarded as absolutely reliable that some
eminent British business houses in India,
of whose foreign executives had earlier
contemplating to retire from service in
country when the ceiling was initially

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their earlier decision and decided to stay on, but that the companies concerned have also been contemplating to stop further Indianization of their superior covenanted services and fill all new jobs in these categories by imported personnel. Since the companies concerned had never contemplated winding up their business in this country, it is evident that they were amply satisfied that their normal business processes could be quite as well carried on by Indian personnel given the requisite responsibility and discretion to do so.

We are quite sure that the Union Finance Minister or, for the matter, Parliament as a whole, which would be required to endorse this new policy of the Government in respect of a proposed ceiling on income, have not quite understood the implifications of the measure they have propounded and the extensive and highly subversive ramifications that the effects of it would be bound to have in the end. All that we plead for is that due consideration should be given to all the arguments we have advanced above and the possible effects of the measure, in all their varied and multifaceted aspects, duly weighed and measured before finally giving effect to it. For our part, we are convinced that it would be highly retrogressive and even a dangerous measure and would be bound to put almost unsustainable strains upon the wheels of progress towards a self-sufficient national economic growth in India, if not actually to put it in reverse gear.

Karuna K. Nandi

Malpractices in Business Houses

The recent assurance given to Parliament by the Union Commerce and Industry Minister, that measures were under consideration and would be shortly taken to introduce necessary legislation for appropriate amendment of the Company Law statutes so that the present loopholes in the structure of the Companies' Act leading to malpractices by business houses and large scale swindling of shareholders and others by company managements, might be effectively checked, obviously stemmed from the Report of the Vivien Bose Inquiry Commission on certain Dalmia-Jain enterprises. Even as we write, the Lok Sabha is due to debate the Bose Commission's Report before the end of the current session of Parliament, as Government's earlier suggestion to partly debate the Report during the current session and partly in the coming session has been sternly turned down. It may be expected that a great deal of further interesting details relating to these enterprises, so far undisclosed, may emerge during the ensuing debate.

The Bose Commission's Report yielded certain categorical findings, it may be recalled, disclosing large scale misappropriations, fraud, forgery and other criminal activities deliberately engaged in by certain members of the management of these companies and which were alleged to have had the net result of diverting a sum of over Rs. 2 crores to the pockets of these people at the expense of the shareholders of these companies and of other creditors. The Report names Ramkrishna Dalmia as the principal architect of this organized chain of fraud, forgery and misappropriations in which he was said to have been actively assisted by his son-in-law, Shanti Prasad Jain and the latter's brother, Shriyans Prasad Jain, both noted industrialists and former Presidents of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Others named included Jaidayal Dalmia, Ramkrishna's brother, and a few others, who are said to have been more scape-goats rather than active participants in this allegedly deliberate chain of criminal activities.

Publication of the Bose Commission's Report was followed by a period of official apathy and indifference and it was only pressure from the Lok Sabha that ultimately compelled the Government to seek further legal opinion on the matter. It is said that they referred the Report to the joint consideration of the Attorney General and another legal expert and their recommendations for appropriate action in the matter. These legal experts, Government stated in Parliament, have opined that a prosecution would be either premature or inopportune merely on the basis of the Bose Commission's findings. This aspect of the matter is expected to be further threshed out in detail during the ensuing debate on the Report in Parliament.

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In the meanwhile Government have been pursuing what, on the face of it, would appear to be deliberately diversionary tactics, by announcing that the Company Law statutes would be amended to make such **malpractices** impossible in the future. It is difficult to believe that the findings, after lengthy hearings extending over several years and examining a mass of documentary evidence etc., by a person of the judicial eminence and legal learning of Mr. Justice Vivien Bose's stature and position, were not such that they could lead to a straight prosecution of those who have been most unambiguously named as being guilty by the Commission and that it should have been necessary to seek and obtain further legal opinion, that of the Attorney General and another legal expert, on the matter. It is possible that the Commission's Report itself might not have been regarded as a sufficient basis for a prosecution, but it must certainly be regarded as having established a **prima facie** case which could form the basis of the usual police inquiries and investigations preceding a prosecution. We presume that it is not usual for such cases to be handled at the highest Ministerial level as the present one is being sought to be done, and it would be difficult to understand why Government should have considered the matter deserving of such special consideration at these levels.

Indeed, the Government's continued dealings with these very rich and apparently wholly conscienceless business people, even in the face of the findings of the Bose Commission's Report, would appear to yield a measure of Government's anxiety to either completely hush up, but if that is not altogether possible, at least to bypass the matter. Some of the persons named in the Commission's Report, such as Shanti Prasad Jain or Shriyans Prasad Jain for instance, are eminent leaders of industry and apparently enjoy the confidence and indulgence of the highest counsels of Government. This must be condemned as ... height of impropriety. Only recently ... Prime Minister agreed to associate ... self with Shriyans Prasad Jain in ... latter's capacity as the then Presid... the Federation of the Indian Chambe... Commerce & Industry even after the ... ings in the Bose Commission's Report ... been made known to him. When he ina... rated the F.C.C.I. annual meeting. This ... an impropriety which was impossible ... even some other eminent and decent busi... houses in the country to countenance and ... recalls with pleasure that the House of ... Tatas and that of the Mafatlals most ca... gorically refused to continue to associ... with the F.C.C.I. and participate in its de... berations so long as such people continued ... head its executive. Apparently, the Pri... Minister was wholly lost to even that rud... mentar sense of propriety which an ord... nary business house continues to prize. ... would seem that the Government of In... have wholly sold themselves to "big bu... ness" or it becomes impossible to rea... how it can be allowed to get away wi... "murder" of the description that have bee... so luridly disclosed in the Vivien Bose R... port.

It is possible that the Company La... statute needs an early revision to bring ... up to date to enable it to serve the develo... ing needs of these times. But so far as cr... minal activities of company managem... are concerned of the type described in t... Bose Report, there would seem to be ampl... provision in the Indian Penal Code and t... Criminal Procedure Code to appropriate... deal with such matters without the need ... undertake amending legislation in respe... of the Company Law statute before th... can be done. It appears to be such a tra... parent subterfuge for shelving action th... it would deceive no one, not even the mo... credulous. Incidentally, it is significant th... in Government's current parlance, crim... **nality** appears to have been reduced to m... **mal-practice.**

Karuna K. Nan...

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EXPORT PROMOTION IN INDIA

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India is an underdeveloped country. Some time ago Indians were called hewers of wood and drawers of water. Following have been some of the features of underdevelopment of this country :

(1) Low productivity in the field of agriculture and industry.
(2) Lack of knowledge of physical resources.
(3) Insufficiency of trained personnel to bring resources into effective use.
(4) Shortage of capital.
(5) Rapidly expanding population.
(6) Political and economic dependence resulting in lack of planning foresight.
(7) Social and psychological attitudes which hamper development.

The right practical approach of waging a war against underdevelopment and a hungry economy is to take up the work of economic planning. The aim of planning is not only to increase production and attain higher levels but also to secure a social and economic order based on values of freedom and to provide basic necessaries to all.

After attaining freedom we have launched planning and have completed 2 five year plans. We are now undertaking the work of a Third Five-Year Plan. The scheme for financing the third plan outlay in the public sector is given in the following table.

	crores
(1) Balance from revenue on the basis of existing taxation ..	350
(2) Contribution of the railways ..	150
(3) Surplus of public enterprises ..	440
(4) Loans from the public ..	850
(5) Small savings	550
(6) Provident fund and steel equalization fund	510
(7) Additional taxation ..	1650
(8) External assistance ..	2200
(9) Deficit financing	550
	7250

From the foregoing table it is clear that the major sources of finance are External Assistance, Taxation, Loans and Small Savings. We cannot depend solely upon any of the above as each has got some limitation. Excess taxation hampers the rate of savings and capital formation. Similarly External assistance is not a very dependable source. Foreign aid is available only for certain approved plans. So far the assurance of only Rs. 1126 crores has been received from abroad. So the only alternative left is export promotion. At present we are exporting only 6% of the national income which is clear from the following table :

Exports and National Income :—

Year	Total value of exports Rs. crores	National Income Rs. crores	Export as % of N. Income	Export Index 1951-52 =100
1950-51	596	9530	6.3	83
1953-54	526	10480	5.0	72
1956-57	614	10310	5.4	83
1959-60	639	12840	5.0	88

The above table shows the economic development of India—as indicated by the rise in the national income at constant prices —has not been accompanied by an expansion of exports. There may be many causes explaining the failure of exports to rise at a rate more than proportionate to the growth of national income. They are :—

(1) Sharp income effect on the demand within the country of the exportable consumer goods as well as of raw materials.
(2) The growth of money incomes in an inflationary situation creates market imperfections under which the producer finds it more profitable to sell the goods within the country rather than export it.
(3) Exports are hindered by rise in domestic cost because of an inflationary situation. For example, rise

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in costs is likely to be considerable, if wages constitute a large share of the total cost and if the wage earners are members of strong trade unions.

(4) Export efforts are also hampered by structural difficulties such as difficulties in getting capital and imported machinery.

(5) Other factors over which the exporting country has little control, like general decline in the world demand or increasing foreign competition.

(6) Un-cordinated approach of Government in its fiscal, taxation, labour and population policies.

The decline may be due to invention of substitudes. In such cases cost reduction would be an effective remedy. Besides this improvement in the quality and finding alternative uses would also help to create demand in the changing situations.

One could easily take the case of sugar in India and point out that there has been a very large increase in domestic consumption, market imperfections have developed, domestic market is attractive and the domestic cost of production is high. The following table reveals the fact :—

Production and consumption of sugar in India :

Year	Production (lakh tons)	Consumption (lakh tons)
1948-49	10.08	11.80
1951-52	10.79	10.70
1954-55	13.34	18.00
1957-58	21.95	20.00

Following table reveals the cost of production : of sugar in different countries :

Countries :	Price per maund
Australia	15.29
Cuba	12.18
Mauritius	17.06
Phillippines	21.32
U.S.A.	21.86
India	31.63

The development Council of Sugar Industries in India has estimated the probable consumption of sugar in 1961-62 at 2 million tons but the actual production 1960-61 came to 3 million tons. There thus been created a problem of surplus w should be exportable, but which cannot e be exported because of high cost of pro tion.

Take the case of tea for which domestic demand is increasing and whi facing strong competition abroad particul in respect of certain qualities. Simil the domestic demand of cotton text vegetable oils, oilseeds electrical goods cement have greatly increased.

Although not at the same rate in with the expansion of world trade gener Indian foreign trade has also been exp ing. Thus between 1955 and 1961, whil value of total world trade expanded by o 40%, our foreign trade increased by 3 But on the other side of the picture, the result is a growing deficit in our balanc trade. Thus the deficit which was Rs. crores in 1956-57, rose to as much as Rs. crores in 1960-61. Our exports increased 25% while our imports rose by 65%. Mo over, the amount of sterling balances wh was Rs. 130 crores last year has come do to Rs. 94 crores this year. In a develop economy like ours, we cannot cut down import quota as it would retard our prog

Now a days there is a great slo being published to "export or peri In the meetings of the Indian Co of Foreign Trade, Chambers of C merce, etc., this has been the main of discussion. Shri Manubhai Shah exp ed the need for not only more exports also quality exports. He called for eradication of the ugly image, that Indian exporter has left so far in the c seas markets and to recapture the thr being the most prized exportres of the old days that India was. Dr. Rama Mudaliar called it "export crusade" "national obligation."

In our Third Five-Year Plan, we estimated the export earnings at Rs. crores, an average of Rs. 690 crores per as compared to Rs. 645 crores in 19 This will need an overhaul of the co export system.

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It is heartening to note that most of the restrictions on exports which were merely a relic of the exceptional conditions of the Korean boom period have been removed. Export duties have been reduced. The procedure of custom refund have been simplified. Eleven Export Promotion Councils have been set up. Their function is to devise measures for market research and marketing techniques. New exports such as engineering goods, chemicals, sewing machines, refrigerators etc., have been started.

Board of Trade a Boon

To solve the important problems of export, the Minister for International Trade has announced the formation of a high power advisory trade Board, with the Minister as its Chairman. To keep it a body compact, it is not to have more than 15 members, some of whom including the Presidents of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and the Associated Chambers of Commerce will represent the business community. The Secretary, Deptt. of Economic Affairs, the Additional Secretary, Planning Commission and 2 or three high ranking officers will also act as its members. The term of the Board extends to two years. It is to review all aspects of commerce involving export incentives, and development of fair ethical and efficient trade practices including maintenance of fair prices, price regulations, organisation of buffer stocks and to conduct market research.

The Government has nominated Mr. G. D. Birla, Sir R. Mudaliar, Mr. S. L. Kirloskar, Mr. Khandubhai Desai and Raja Surendrasingh of Nalgarh as the non-official members of the Board. Mr. Singhania and M. Loknathan are likely to be co-opted as members. It is hoped that the Board would remove the obstacles in the way of export promotion and ensure close cooperation between Government and the business community. Following are some of the problems which should receive immediate attention in order to enhance exports:

Quality Control

Quality control is the foremost problem which requires immediate attention for one bad commodity sold in the market neutralises the credit earned by hundred good ones. So preshipment inspection is a prerequisite in export promotion movement. Quality control is essential not only for export markets but the home markets too. For if you can make money by producing second rate shoddy goods for the home market—why, strictly from a business view point, should you manufacture first rate goods involving more labour and capital if the international prices are lower than home prices?

So it has been proposed to set up 500 test houses to ensure good quality and conformation to specifications. They are subject to a quarterly inspection by the Government. A proposal is also being brought before the Board of Trade in respect of a "Quality Control and Inspection Council of India". The function of the council will be to activize the social action of voluntary quality control through trade associations.

The enforcement of the legal type of quality control is not only impracticable but we do not have also the necessary facilities nor has it worked in any country of the world, to any successful extent. In the words of Shri Manubhai Shah, "The prestige and image of India that we want to create is that of a very strong trading community with healthy traditions of quality and adherence to strict specifications."

Financing of Export

Another difficulty which mars the incentives of exporters is the non-availability of funds. Banks are giving about 85 per cent to different exporters depending upon credit worthiness of the exporter as far as the C.I.F. prices are concerned. He receives only international price advance. His money gets locked up for eight to nine months. There are developing countries of Africa and Asia where perhaps small term deferred payments of 2 to 3 years may be necessary. The Mudaliar Committee has re-

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commended a revolving fund to finance industries. It is a practicable suggestion.

The Export Risk Insurance Corporation is already working which helps a great deal in export finance. It is a matter of great satisfaction that Shri Shah has declared the establishment of an Export-Import Bank with a capital of Rs. 10 crores. We have to follow the example set by Japan where the payment is arranged within 7 days.

Tax incentives and Railway freight

Tax incentives will enhance export as it will increase the margin of profit of exporters. Although the packet of incentives can never be a permanent solution and the country has to break the vicious circle of incentives and losses, it can prove helpful as a temporary measure. The Union Government should direct the State Governments to forego sales tax on exportable goods.

Railway freight should be normal and shipping facilities should be available at competitive prices.

In order to ensure quick transport of exportable goods, railways have been asked to introduce a system of fixing "For Export" labels on such consignments. A "Director of Movement Transport and Freight" is also being appointed to look after the bottlenecks with respect to export.

Internal Consumption and high cost of Production

Increasing consumption is regarded as one of the signs of development. In a developing economy consumption is almost equal to production. But we have to save something for export even at this crucial stage.

Prices are touching the sky and inflationary situations are prevalent. "Movement of prices is necessary, but it should be like the ripples in the river and not like the waves in the sea." Enhanced prices hamper exports. So it is essential to check internal consumption and prices. Shri Nehru has suggested the establishment of co-operative societies to check this growth. A Committee to study the structure in different industries should set up.

Free Trade Zones

A Free Trade Zone has been defined as an isolated, enclosed and policed area foreign or domestic merchandise or adjacent to a port of entry which description, except such as prohibited law, may without being subject to toms law, be brought in, manufactured assembled, repacked and exported.

Thus the object of the scheme is fold :—

(1) to establish new industries,
(2) to stimulate exports.

Some critics say that the Free Trade Zones instead of becoming centres of ports, may become citadels of smuggling, thus undermining not only foreign exchange resources but also national morale. But this is not true. Mr. Shah has appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Shri G. R. Gadgil which will advise the Government on the development in the country about Free Trade Zones at important ports.

Market research

Market research is a very important aspect of export promotion. We have to explore the possibilities of export on the one side and make them permanent on the other. We never try to stabilize the established markets. The vicious circle of traditional items and traditional markets will have to be broken. In the underdeveloped countries, we have to find out their needs and tastes in order to make our goods up-to-date.

Take the example of Africa. It is not a dark continent at all. It is flashing with vivid light. It is a kind of living laboratory, a paradise for the political scientist, anthropologist, as well as the businessman. The darkest thing about Africa has always been our ignorance of it.

98 per cent of the world's diamond

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per cent gold, 22 per cent of Copper and Uranium is found in Africa. It is a rich country inhabited by the poor. We have to find out the alternative uses of different commodities in the markets of Ghana, Egypt, Congo, Sudan and Algeria. Similarly there is great scope in the South-east Asian countries for our products.

Merchant Exporters

There are more than 60,000 exporters in this country. Among them 30,000 are registered companies and firms. The merchant exporter is as integral and important a part of the process as the manufacturing exporter. As a matter of fact 60 per cent trade in different commodities in export today is handled by merchant exporters. So some scheme should be worked out to give incentives to these merchant exporters in an organised way. At present, a distinction between manufacturers and merchant exporters is made and the previous record of export and import is taken into consideration for granting licences. This system should be eliminated and everybody should be allowed to play a free role in the task of foreign trade.

Invoicing mal-practices and other drawbacks

At present, the procedure of export is too much complicated due to some avoidable formalities. Besides no information about the overseas markets is available to the exporters. Especially small-scale industries are facing the acute problem of information and finance. It is proposed that the State Trading Corporation would arrange the examination and despatch of their samples abroad. It would also help them prepare shipping documents, information regarding marine freight rates, export and import licences, etc.

It is very difficult to check over-invoicing and under-invoicing. This nuisance is done to get the advantage of foreign exchange. This tendency should not be allowed to go unchecked as India is at a critical juncture of economic development.

Rationalization of industries and supply of raw material

It is essential that rationalization schemes should be undertaken in the exportable products industries so that the cost of production may be reduced and wastes may be eliminated to make our industries competitive. We are modernizing textile mills and jute mills gradually. As a matter of fact 87 per cent of the jute spinning section is already modernized. IJMA is playing an important role in this direction. Other industries which are parasites on the society should be closed as this is the age of survival of the fittest.

Preferences should be given to those industries which produce exportable goods. Their import need for the raw materials and machines should be studied and the foreign exchange allocation should be made to them preferably. Besides, Government should ensure adequate supply of raw materials at international prices.

European Common Market, Britain and India

Britain has practically decided to enter the Common Market of 6 European countries. India is the fourth biggest customer of and fifth biggest exporter country to Britain. Nearly 72 per cent of the woolen goods, 62 per cent tea, 65 per cent leather goods, 25 per cent cashew nuts and 66 per cent oil cakes are exported to Britain. In 1960, the total export to Britain was Rs. 174 crores covering 26 per cent of the total exports of India.

Between 1950 and 1958 the national income of the Common Market countries rose by 53 per cent while the national income of Britain rose only by 22 per cent. So it is definite that Britain would join E.C.M. This will effect our export trade. If Britain joins E.C.M. without considering the interest of India, our Third Five-Year Plan would be in danger and there is every possibility that the Commonwealth may be weakened.

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Specialization in Foreign Trade

It is sometimes said that we want a salesman who can sell a refrigerator to an Eskimo and we do not want a salesman who cannot sell a camel to an Arab. Due to political and economic dependence, we remained a weak trading community. After independence we are trying to establish our own old prestige. In the words of Shri Manubhai Shah "We want to see that the education of applied commerce, as we call applied science and technology, should be wide spread in the Universities." A proposal to establish an Institute of International Trade is also under consideration of the Government which will receive young men between the ages 30-45 who would be given training in specialization in foreign trade, relating to technology, salesmanship, marketing and making contracts.

Shri M. Vaidya, President, Indian Council of Foreign Trade has drawn a conclusion that we have failed to plan our productive capacity. He has suggested a seven point realistic plan embodying the following features :—

(1) Greater attention to the expansion of our agricultural production which would enable us to earn foreign exchange by larger export of our traditional items.
(2) Greater utilization of the existing indigenous capacity.
(3) Fuller utilization of our consumer goods and durable goods to earn foreign exchange.
(4) Judicious and balanced reduction of imports.
(5) Replacing of the existing intricate system by automatic export incentives.
(6) Encouragement of export houses.
(7) Elimination of distinction between exporter and manufacturer-exporter.

Foreign trade and domestic trade are so closely interlinked that even the slightest change in the one is likely to have some repurcussions on the other. To boost exports we have, therefore, to set our house in order by putting the internal trade on sound footing.

Besides administrative inconvenience like complicated licencing, exchange control procedures, etc., will have to simplified. The producers should be compelled to render a portion of their output to the State Trading Corporation at prescribed prices. Further, investigations are necessary in the field of reducing unit cost and check inflationary prices. The exporters should organise themselves into local export chambers in important industrial centres. The Board of Trade has also approved the proposal that four or five Directors of Foreign Trade should be appointed with headquaretrs in New Delhi to look after the trade promotion work in different regions of the world. Export promotion is not only a matter of commercial policy, it links up with investment policy, price policy, as well as fiscal policy. Export crusade should be conducted even at the cost of domestic consumption.

In conclusion it may be stressed that Government should ensure adequate supply of raw materials at international prices, keep down the tax incidence, provide subsidies for export products whose costs cannot be reduced to the level of competitive world prices, adopt a realistic labour policy to keep the incidence of wage levels in tune with productivity, simplify the schemes of drawback of import and excise duties by fixing the tariff on a percentage basis of foreign exchange earned, arrest the growth of population by intensifying family planning programmes to restrict domestic consumption and leaving adequate surplus for export, rationalise use of energy resources, particularly coal. The suggestions given by the Central Committee of All India Manufacturers' Association are akin to those given above. They need to be considered in right earnest. Mr. Bharat Ram, Chairman, Indian Society of Advertisers has recommended the setting up of a Commercial Ration Station for the promotion of India's export trade. This suggestion is worth considering.

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EVOLUTION AND ROLE OF THE COUNCIL OF STATES

By PROMILLA SURI

> The same reason which induced the Romans to have two consuls, makes it desirable there should be two chambers; that neither of them may be exposed to the corrupting influence of undivided power, even for the space of a single year.
>
> —John Stuart Mill

It is regarded as being noteworthy that practically every free democratic State in the modern world has adopted the bicameral system of legislature.[1] The experiment of a unicameral legislature has, indeed, been frequently tried, notably by France, England, and for a very brief period by the United States, but no great nation has ever adhered to it.

The bicameral legislature is historically rooted in the stratified social order of the latter middle ages, in a regime in which the various social classes—higher nobility, lower nobility, clergy and townsmen—constituted politically independent "estates."[2] Although they constitute the historical antecedents of modern parliaments and legislatures, it is obvious that these mediaeval "Estates general" have no institutional similarity or logical connection with them.

The question of the organization of Parliament on a bicameral or unicameral basis did not arise until the seventeenth century. In France three Estates met separately at irregular intervals until 1614 and did not meet again until 1789. The modern bicameral system on the Continent really dates from the later eighteenth century when French revolutionary ideas reinforced by English example, ushered in the new epoch of constitutionalism.[3] Towards the eighteenth century Montesquieu propounded his theory of checks and balances and Rousseau the 'General Will." These two theories were commonly taken to support the bicameral and unicameral legislatures. Montesquieu's theory propounded that in order to have a well framed constitution there must be some check on the power of the popular assemblies which was usually found in the creation of the second chamber. On the other hand Rousseau's scientific enunciation of the 'General Will' leads to the conclusion that the general will of the people is unitary and indivisible and hence bicameralism is nonsense.

It was largely by accident that in England these several social orders came to sit in two houses. When the first constitutions of the American States were drafted, a second chamber was deliberately introduced in imitation of the British Parliament with its two Houses. The example has been followed in most of the countries that have adopted more or less popular government in modern times, including not only those which in the old world have been influenced by the British model of Cabinet and Parliamentary government but those also which in the Western hemisphere have taken the United States as their pattern.[4] But the adoption of the bicameral system of legislature by most of the free democratic States cannot be attributed merely to tradition. They have been guided by the experiments carried on and the experience gained by great sovereign States. It will not be out of place to quote here the views of Sir Winston Chruchill on the subject. He stated :

> "No free country enjoying democratic institutions that I know of has adopted single chamber Government . . . . The

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U.S., the Swiss, the Dutch, the Belgians, the French,—even in their latest Constitution—have a second Chamber. Eire has created its own Senate. Our Dominions, the most democratic countries in the world, all have with the exception of Queensland, I am reminded, sought and preserved two-Chamber Government—what clever people would call bicameral government. All feel that between the chance vote of an election on universal suffrage and the permanent alteration of the whole slowly built structure of the State and the nation there ought to be some modifying process. Show me a powerful, successful, free democratic constitution of a great sovereign State which has adopted the principle of single-chamber Government."[5]

The Council of State in India owes its origin to the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. Until then the legislature established by the Act of 1853 was only an extension of the executive. The Governor-General-in-Council virtually acted both in the capacity of a legislature and executive. Thus in this period there was only a unicameral legislature. It was only in 1919 that a bicameral legislature was established at the Centre.

The scheme for the Council of State contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report differed materially from the plan ultimately adopted and embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919. The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms pointed out: "We do not propose to institute a complete bicameral system but to create a second chamber, known as the Council of State, which shall take its part in ordinary legislative business and shall be the final legislative authority in matters which the government regards as essential."[6] The joint Select Committee to which the Bill was referred, rejected the plan altogether; it reported that it did not accept the device in the Bill as drafted, of carrying government legislation without reference to the legislative assembly, in cases where the latter body cannot be got to assent to a law which the Governor-General considers essential."[7] The alternative plan which the Joint Committee referred to was the plan which was contained in the Government of India Act of 1919. This plan remained unaltered in the Act of 1935 except as regards membership.

The introduction of a bicameral system of legislature in the present Constitution was taken for granted. However, during the early Constitution-making debates, an amendment in favour of a unicameral system was moved but defeated after hardly any discussion. The general attitude of the framers was summed up by Mr. Gopalaswami Iyyangar in these words: "After all, no elaborate justification is needed." The framers got this attitude because of the psychological reason that what the Cabinet Mission Plan suggested for India was a federal structure, and a federal structure reminds us naturally of America and its Senate. That was why Mr. Gopalaswami used what he thought to be the most conclusive argument when he said that "the need for a second chamber has been felt practically all over the world. Wherever there are federations of any importance."

There are only two underlying causes common to all bicameral legislatures—either the recognition that there are more than one interests of the states, more or less of equal importance in governing the country, or the recognition that man has in himself a dual personality and that his rashness should be moderated by his wisdom.[10] The only difference among the second chambers being the nature of the interest on whose behalf the revision takes place. The complete idea for the establishment of the Council of State was made clear in the second part of Mr. Gopalaswami's speech wherein he described its functions as a mere 'reviewing body' on the model (as far as functions were concerned) of the House of Lords or the Irish Senate. This idea was reinforced when he said that it should be composed of "elderly and seasoned people who otherwise would not be in the thickest of the fray, but who might be willing to participate in the debate with an amount of learning and impartial

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which we do not ordinarily associate with of the different States, and the Union territories vary considerably. If equal representation had been given to all the States and Union territories, the smaller States and the Union territories would have preponderance over the bigger and more important States. The seats among States and the Union territories have, therefore, been allocated on the basis of the population of the different States. **Secondly,** the special grounds on which equal representations have been given in the United States and Australia do not exist in India, the factor leading to the formation of the federation. In spite of this, the Council of States is intended to be the representative of the constituent States, as is clear from Art. 249 wherein it is stated that "if the Council of States has declared by resolution supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting that it is necessary or expedient in the national interest that Parliament should make laws in respect of any matter enumerated in the State List specified in the resolution, it shall be lawful for Parliament to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of India with respect to that matter while the resolution remains in force." The consent of the Council of States will imply the consent of the constituent States, because this chamber is their representative.

the House of the people."

Unlike the American Senate the Council of State was not framed to represent the units of the federation. It is meaningless to say that the Union Constitution Committee meant this House to represent the native states.[11] Because at that time India had not yet become a Union of States, and the provinces were still provinces and States meant only native states. At the time of adopting the provisions of the draft regarding the composition of this House, just as at the time of the Report, not a single important member referred to this House as representing the Units as distinguished from the interest of the country; and an attempt made to give equality of representation to the Units, "as otherwise there is no sense in saying that the States shall be represented in the Council," was defeated without any one taking note of this suggestion.[12] This idea of the Council of States representing the Units was, as Dr. Ambedkar himself remarked, **ex post facto** argument and a suggestion ex **hypothesis.**[13] But in spite of this, our Constitution has given the second chamber power to protect the rights of States in another way by Section 149 which states that Parliament can legislate over State subjects provided that the Council of States passes a resolution to that effect by a two-third majority.

The Composition of the Council of States

Unlike the House of Lords, the Council of States is not a hereditary body. Its composition conforms neither to German Bundesrat, where the members are appointed and instructed by the State Governments, nor to the United States and Australia where members for the Upper House are directly elected by the people of the States with equal representation in the chamber. The reasons for not providing equal representation to the constituent States in the Council of States are two-fold: Firstly, such representation would be unreal and harmful to the bigger and more important States. The size and population

The membership of the Council of States falls into two categories: partly elected and partly nominated. Unlike U.S. Senators, the members to the Council of States are indirectly elected by the elected members of the legislative assemblies of the constituent States in accordance with the system of proportional representation,[14] by means of a single transferable vote. This has been provided in the Constitution with a view to ensure that the various interests represented in the State Legislatures and the electoral colleges may be reflected, as far as possible, in the Council of States and minorities may get effective representation. This provision may prove effective in providing a sizeable opposition party in the Council of States which is so essential in favour of parliamentary demo-

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cracy, on such occasions then the Party in power may not be in a majority in all States and the Union territories.

The numerical strength of the Council of States is half that of the popular House—256, out of this 12 members are nominted by the President from among persons of outstanding merit in the fields of literature, science, art and social service. The provision concerning the nomination of members to the Council of States by the President has been borrowed partly from the 'Seanad Eireman' of the Irish Republic and partly from the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. In para 8 of their Reforms Office Despatch No. 3, dated the 6th May 1920, Lord Chelmsford's Government made the following observation:

> The members of such a body must be persons possessing what has been called the senatorial character, they must, that is to say, be men who will bring to bear, on problems of state, the qualities of knowledge, experience of the world, and the sobriety of judgement which comes thereby.[15]

The insertion of this provision for the nomination of members, though it may appear undemocratic, has a dual value. Firstly, it provides an opportunity to persons of intellectual capacity and experience of affairs, who are indisposed to partake in electioneering, to enter political life.[16] Secondly, it enables the Council of States to exercise moral authority, to inform and guide public opinion. This point has been elucidated by Lord Bryce: "The influence exerted on the minds of the nation which comes from the intellectual authority of the persons who compose the chamber, from their experience, from their record in public life and from the respect which their characters and their experience inspire."[17]

The Life of the Council of States

The Council of States, like the Senate of the United States, is a permanent body—not subject to dissolution—but as nearly as possible one-third of its members retire on the expiration of every second year.

Powers and Functions

Three theories have been and are h... of the functions of a second chamb... Firstly, that it should have all the po... of the first or popular House. Second... that it should be subordinated in fina... legislation to the popular House; Third... that its competence should be confine... the modest functions of reviewing B... passed by the Popular House, i.e., of s... gesting amendments and, perhaps, of s... commending modifications of detail ... financial proposals, but without power ... reject or substantially alter a meas... when returned to it by the Lower House ... the form in which the latter has approved. It should serve as a brake, a device f... delay, a means of checking what a nin... teenth centuary Lord Chancellor call... "the inconsiderate, rash, hasty, and u... digested legislation of the other House."

(1) Legislative Powers

The Council of States is more powerf... as compared to the House of Lords but th... pattern of its relation to the House of t... People has been greatly influenced by t... British Parliament Acts of 1911 which a... responsible for regulating the relati... between the two Houses.[20] As in the Brit... Parliament, the Indian Constitution, ... setting out the procedure, distinguis... between Money Bills and other Bills. ... matters of ordinary legislation the pow... of the Council of States theoretically co... cides with that of the House of the Peop... Ordinary bills may be initiated in eit... House of Parliament. This provision h... its important practical advantages: First... if all bills went first to the lower Hou... it would have no legislative work to ... during the first part of the session, and w... be overburdened with work during t... last part. So, if a fair proportion of bi... are first introduced in the Upper House, ... will keep the same occupied throughout t... session and at the same time will sp... much of the time of the Lower House w... often has other important business ... attend to. Secondly, because of its comp...

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sition, bills which are purely technical and relate to group interests can emanate from the Lower House. Bills, other than Money Bills, must be passed by both the Houses and if one is not passed in an identical form by both the Houses, or is rejected by one House or delayed more than six months then the President may summon a joint sitting under Art. 108 of the Constitution, but as the number of the members of the Lower House is double that of the members of the Council of States has, in effect, no more than a delaying power of six months and after that it can be overruled. It may, however, be emphasized in this connection that such a provision allows the members of the Council of States to express their views on a common platform with the possibility of influencing the members of the House of the People.

A unique occasion in the annals of the Indian Parliament occured on 6 May, 1961, when the two Houses met in a joint session for the first time to reconcile over the differences which had arisen between them on some of the clauses of the Dowry Prohibition Bill. The Dowry Bill was first passed by the House of the people on 9 December, 1955. The Council of States adopted the Bill with three amendments on 16 December, 1959. The House of the People did not agree to any of these amendments which were discussed by it on March, 1960. The Council of States at its sitting held on 30 November, 1960 insisted on the amendments which necessitated the calling of a joint sitting. This meeting of the two Houses, together, though an historic occasion in itself reflected the utility of the Second Chamber as operative of "checks and balances in the legislative machinery." The discussions between the two Houses mirrors "difference on points of view for the purpose of shaping a law which would be free from the defect of excessiveness or ineffectiveness,"[21] as was conceded by Mr. A. K. Sen, Union Law Minister. In this connection Mr. Sen emphatically stated that "we are.....as responsible legislators quite conscious of the fact that no law should be passed, however laudable the object may be, which may be turned into an instrument of oppression." It is here that the second chamber plays its important part.

(2) Financial Powers

Unlike ordinary legislation, the right of initiation in financial matters rests only with the Lower House. Art. 109 of the Constitution lays down that after a Money Bill[22] is passed by the Popular House, it may be transmitted to the Upper House which may make recommendations within 14 days and these may or may not be accepted by the Lower House. In any case the Bill does not have to go again to the Council. It is passed by the House of the People and submitted to the President for assent. If the Money Bill is not returned to the House of the People within a period of 14 days the Bill is deemed to have been passed by both the Houses at the expiration of the period in the form in which it was transmitted to the Council of States. The Indian Constitution in this respect has adopted in all its essential features the English practice where the Parliament Act of 1911 defines Money Bill as a special variety and places them entirely and exclusively under the House of Commons. This principle that "all gifts and supplies to His Majesty be the sole gift of the Commons" was evolved after the Lords, which combined the two Estates of the Realm—Lords Spiritual and Lords Temporal—surrendered gradually the right of taxing themselves separately. it was followed by the Parliament Act of 1911 which lays down that a Money Bill once passed by the House of Commons should be accepted or returned with a recommendation to the House of Commons within a period of one month, and that if this recommendation was rejected by the Lower House, the Money Bill should be deemed to have been passed by both the Houses of Parliament and should be presented to His Majesty for Royal assent.

As we have seen, initiative in financial matters is the prerogative of the Lower House. Although the Upper House suffers from this serious disability, it may be pointed out that it still has some part to play in

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the country's finance. Despite the fact that the budget is voted upon by the Lower House, the Constitution lays down that it should be presented to both the Houses. While laying the papers before the Council no budget speech is made in the Council by the Government Member. As is provided under the Rules, the Council of States has a right to have a general discussion on the Budget. This discussion in the Council usually precedes and thus contributes to the main debate in the House of the People. The Council of States has also claimed a right to discuss the Comptroller and Auditor General's Report and the Accounts on the ground that 'under the Constitution, the Reports and the Accounts are to be laid before the legislature;' Upper House also claims the right to scrutinize and discuss the accounts.

The Council of States exercises further control over the country's Exchequer by its association with the Public Accounts Committee. Till 10 May, 1954, this important instrument to keep a strict check over the spendings of the Government was the prerogative of the House of the People, when on that day a motion was adopted to the effect that seven members of the Council of States be associated with the Public Accounts Committee. At the time of the adoption of this motion the Speaker of the House of the People pointed out that so far as deliberation, voting and every other matters were concerned members of the Council of States, who were associated with the Committee, would have the same status as other members of the Committee. Yet it was emphasized that the Committee was a committee of the Lower House and the associated members would be under the control of the Speaker.[23] This is a departure from well established conventions.

(3) Power of Impeachment and election of the President

As regards the election of the President and Vice President, the Council enjoys equal status with the House. The Council has a right to present an address to the President for the removal of a judge of the Supreme Court and High Court, the Comptroller and Auditor-General and the Election Commissioner. The Council further enjoys a co-equal power with the House of the People in approving Proclamation of emergency.

(4) Control Over the Executive

The Council of States is powerless in the sphere of control over the executive. The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the Popular House. The Council is not competent to pass a vote of censure or no-confidence against the Cabinet. Again, it is the Leader of the majority party in the House of the People who is chosen as the Prime Minister.[24]

The helplessness of the Council in this respect was emphasized by the Chairman, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, in the very first session in 1952.[25] The Chairman explained that the Constitution makes the Cabinet responsible to the House of the People only, the members of the Council of States can neither ask questions of the Government, nor can they move an adjournment motion for raising a definite matter of urgent public importance, but the Government have voluntarily consented to answer questions asked by the members of the Council for the sake of keeping them informed. In 1954, it was also permitted to move a resolution for raising a discussion on the teachers' strike in the State of West Bengal which by its very nature was a motion of censure on the Government.

The Council of States has no control over such of its members as are members of the Council of Ministers. Though, of course, there has been no ruling to this effect

Relations Between the two Houses of Parliament

"It is the habit of institutions to give birth to loyalties, and when two institutions are placed side by side it is easy for clashes to occur and feelings to run high," writes Morris-Johnes. In a federal state, for example, according to him no amount of labour can prevent a serious

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of competition from arising between the centre and the units. The same is true of relations between Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. The antagonistic feelings between the two wings of Parliament should, therefore, occasion no surprise.

Bicameralism in India came into being only in 1952. Nevertheless this short space of time has proved enough for the development of rivalry between the two Houses. There have been a number of incidents which bear testimony to this statement. To quote one, the first major clash between the two Houses occurred during the Budget session of 1953. Though the issue was small, passions were thoroughly roused on both sides. On the 29 April, 1953, Mr. C. C. Biswas, the Union Law Minister, who was not only a member of the Council of States, but also its leader, during the course of a discussion on the Income Tax (Amendment) Bill 1952, which was certified as a Money Bill by the Speaker, expressed an opinion to the effect that the Council would be reassured if it were told categorically that the Speaker had applied his mind to this question and issued the certificate after a full and fair consideration of the matter. To this, the House of the People took an exception and desired him to be present. On this the Council of States moved a motion to the effect that he should not as he was a member of the Council of States. [Art 105 (3)]. The House of the People insisted on its right of controlling the members of the Cabinet and demanded his presence. [Art. 75(3)] Mr. C. C. Biswas appeared but did not speak. But neither the Speaker of the Lok Sabha nor the Chairman of the Council of States expressed any opinion. Though this matter[26] was closed the Prime Minister took an opportunity, while addressing a joint meeting of the two Houses on 6 May, 1953, to declare:

"The successful working of our Constitution, as of any democratic structure, demands the closest co-operation between the two Houses. They are, in fact, parts of the same structure and any lack of that spirit of co-operation and accomodation would lead to difficulties and come in the way of the proper functioning of our Constitution. There can be no constitutional differences between the two Houses, because the final authority is the Constitution itself. That Constitution treats the two Houses equally except in certain financial matters which are to be the sole purview of the House of the People."

According to the constitutional theory the Prime Minister was right in his statement that the Constitution places the two Houses on equal footing. The Council of States possesses not only a suspensive veto but can initiate legislation except Money Bills. If it cannot agree with the legislative proposals of the Lower House it can compel a joint sitting of the two Houses. As a federal second chamber, the Council has certain additional powers which the Lok Sabha does not possess. By passing a resolution with two-thirds majority, the Council of States can transfer a matter, enumerated in the State List to the Concurrent List, thereby vesting legislative competence in this matter in Parliament. Further, on its advice, communicated through a resolution, the Government of India can constitute an All-India Service whose members will be appointed by the Union Government. Practically speaking, however, in these respects the Council of States does not so much play the role of a component of the Union Parliament; it rather functions as a body of States' representatives. An opinion expressed by them is tantamount to a consultation with the States. Unlike the American Senate, it has no right to interpose itself in any matter of Government policy or appointment and, like the German Bundesrat, it does not share responsibility in administration. The Prime Minister, as the leader of the majority party in the House of the People, and his Cabinet depend for their existence on the lower Chamber and will, therefore, naturally pay it greater respect and more attention. The important leaders of political parties like to be in the lower Chamber as its debates and discussions attract the attention of the whole country and it is the

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place where important decisions are taken. It can, therefore, be safely concluded that under the Parliamentary system in India, the Council of States, like the British House of Lords, is not only "a second chamber but a secondary chamber."

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9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid*, pp. 926-28.
11. K. V. Rao : *A Parliamentary Democracy of India*, p. 117.
12. *C. A. Debates*, Vol. IV, p. 1208.
13. *Ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 118.
14. The draft Constitution had not provided for the elections to the Council under the system of proportional representation. But a passionate plea for it by Pandit H. N. Kunzru, who argued that proportional representation alone would ensure the representation of different views in the Upper House, had the desired effect.—*C. A. Debates*, Vol. VII, p. 1124.
15. Despatch on Proposals for Constitutional Reforms 1930, para 146.
16. Alan Gledhill : *The Republic of India*, p. 116 (Macmillan & Co., London).
17. *House of Lords Debates*, 5th Series, Vol. 44, cc. 701-02.
18. James Bryce, *op cit.*, p. 448.
19. Hansard (Commons), 3rd Series, Vol. 149, c. 1770.

20. Until 1911 there were no statutory [illegible] governing the relations between the two [illegible] of the British Parliament. Even after Commons declaration that Lords should not interfere [illegible] the details of supply, it was still possible for the Lords to reject outright a bill concerned [illegible] finance without breaking the rule. It was to overcome this difficulty that the Parliament Act of 1911 was passed. This Act provided that Lords could do no more than prevent a bill from passing for three sessions. They could hold a 'money bill' for only one month. The five years' period (1945-50) of Labour Government produced a new Parliament Act still further limiting the delaying power of the Lords, so that after 1949 a bill could go for the Royal Assent, in spite of rejection by the Lords, after being passed through the Commons in two, instead of three successive sessions.

21. Debates of the joint sitting of Houses of Parliament, 6th May 1961, p. 11.

22. Definition of a Money Bill, as given in Article 110 of the Constitution of India, is a verbatim reproduction of Section 1(2)(3) of the British Parliament Act of 1911.

23. Parliamentary Debates, 10 May 1961, c. 6959.

24. But there is nothing to prevent the Prime Minister to be chosen from the Rajya Sabha. In Madras, as early as in 1947 a member of the Upper House (Mr. O. P. Reddiar) became the Chief Minister. Again in the same State a nominated member of the Council (Mr. C. Rajagopalachari) became the Chief Minister. In Bombay, after the first general elections of 1952 its Chief Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai was first a member of the Upper House before he was later elected to the Lower House.

25. *C. S. Debates*, Vol. I, para 1, cc. 41-43.

26. That the Member of the Rajya Sabha have the equal rights as that of the Lok Sabha was once again asserted during the last session of the Parliament when a motion was tabled by the Minister of Commerce and Industry for the Constitution of a standing committee of the Parliament on the Public Undertakings. The Members of the Upper House herein were supposed to be provided with an associated status. The elder men could not reconcile themselves to such a move. They strongly asserted their rights of equal status. The Government was therefore forced to defer this motion for reconsideration.

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IDEOLOGICAL ROOTS OF CHINESE AGGRESSIVENESS

A Study of Chinese Ideology : In the Background of Ideological Conflict in the World Communist Movement

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Full appreciation of the motive behind Chinese aggression is called for in order that a basis is created for an effective policy. Various interpretations emanating even from the highest quarters vary; often they are wide apart and even, at times, one contradicts the other. To meet a crisis of unprecedented magnitude what is required is a unified understanding of the preamble facing us so that the nation's effort might be vigorous and sustained. Such an understanding is necessary on another consideration also. It would create an awareness of the true nature of the danger posed not only for India but for the people of the whole world. Our fight would thus get merged with the fight of all peoples against this new danger which threatens to undo the gains of the last several years and brings the world to the brink of a war.

Chinese aggression came as a surprise and shock. Nehru was pained and bewildered. He told the Lok Sabha on November 8, 1962, that "it was difficult for him to say what the Chinese wanted."[1] Evidently Nehru was not prepared for this perfidy. How could he be? India and China had both suffered from foreign aggression and exploitation. Both were engaged in overcoming centuries-old backwardness and ensuring bright future for their peoples. How could it be imagined that one could attack the other? Nehru has given his anxious thought to this problem. On December 25, 1962, he explained the motive behind Chinese invasion in an interview to the Editor-in-Chief of the Hearst chain of Newspapers "……I suppose the invasion is a part of their general programme of expansion.

It was a desire to humiliate India and show off that they are the boses of this part of the world." In reply to a further question he said "they wanted very much to impress the countries round about too."[2]

But what is behind this programme of expansion? What impels China towards this path? Is it inherent expansionism in China's world vision?[3] It may be true in in the sense that people retain some of their historical traits and do not easily give them up. But let us not forget that Chinese people, today, are united under a powerful ideology. It is the nature and character of this ideology which is a decisive factor in determining their attitude on problems of the day. So our discussion of the Chinese motive would remain unreal unless we probe deeper into their mind to get at the truth. Before we proceed to that discussion let us clear some of the misconception about Chinese motive of aggression.

One such misconception is that it is due to economic strains and food crisis in China. There is no supporting fact to prove that it is so. On the contrary there are evidences to show that there is no famine in China though food shortage remains real.[4] But this is nothing new. According to the study made from historical records it was found that between 108 BC and 1911 A.D. there were 1828 famines, or one almost every year. Potential or actual famine is so much a part of cultural expectation that official figures included a factor for famine in the normal death rate.[5] What is new is that millions of people are not starving, as they did throughout chronic famines in the twenties, thirties and forties.[6] On July 31 1962, Richard Starns reported in the New York World Telegramme immediately following a trip to Honkong and South East Asia; "that there is not one shred of evidence known to the West that famine threatens Communist

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China....Red China's army is still well fed. There is no indication available to Western observers that the army is no longer loyal or would not fight, and fight very hard.... The hard simple truth is that American policy cannot prevail in South East Asia or anywhere else in the world as long as it is based on myth and wishful thinking."[7] Clair McDermott, currently Peking correspondent to Reuters reported in September 1962, that off-ration restaturants were again open in the cities and seemed well supplied.[8] Doctor Armond Forrel, a member of the Swiss Federal Assembly, informed on his return from China in June 1962 that he was allowed to roam the streets freely, saw nothing to indicate starvation, no begging, and only one case of rickets."[9]

Industrial production has rapidly increased in China with speedy increases in the quantity and quality of both labour and means of production, industry's productive capacity has expanded at rapid rates. In agriculture also, though officials claims are dubious, "there appears to be little reason for challenging the assertions that agricultural output did increase."[10] So the suggestion that this aggression has anything to do with economic strains or food crisis in China has no foundation.

A theory has been broached that Peking's objective was limited and specific. It was not a major invasion but a "political move to pressurise New Delhi to a compromise."[11] New Delhi was confronted with the dilemma of having to seek Western aid and drastically re-adjust the country's economic plans or to come to terms by surrendering what might appear to be a negligible portion of territory in the North.[12] Peking had calculated that by exerting such pressure it would be able to get Ladakh. But Peking's plan miscarried because of Indian spirit to resist. Peking has changed its tactics. Her withdrawal is meant to increase the pressure on Delhi to come to the negotiating table.[13] Peking also confirms this view when it says that "its use of force had brought about a de facto cease-fire.[14]

It might be a plausable explation of Peking's immediate objective but the very fact that China chose such a crude method against a great and friendly country quires some other explanation. It inv the appreciation of the role of Nehru his policy of non-alignment. In Pek view Nehru has exhausted all his pro sive possibilities. He has been writte as a reactionary. Thus Peking's ide has determined its total attitude towards Nehru Government which in its turn responsible for Peking's choice of tactics.

Marxism and Boundary Dispute

Marxist theoriticians hold that stir up of trifling frontier problems goes ag the spirit of Leninist foreign policy. Khrushchev's view dispute of a bo nature should be settled without u arms.[15] He has denounced China for sorting to hostility for territories. Refe ing to China's withdrawal he rema "there may, of course, be people who say: The People's Republic of China now withdrawing its troops actually to line on which the conflict began, would not have been better not to move from positions on which these troops stood at c time? These arguments are understan able, they show that people display conc and regret over what has happened."[16] in Khrushchev's view this senseless disp should not have been started and loss life and blood-shed should have been av ed. The Italian Communist Party C Togliatti, one of the top Communist the ticians, called the India-China border co flict unreasonable and absurd.[17]

Lenin condemned wars over frontiers He attached more importance to pe than to territory. He even surrende large Russian territory to Germany Brestlitovsk in 1918 to win peace. This what Lenin says on the conclusion of pe with Esthonia ".....the peace was c cluded under the conditions by which made a number of territorial concessions by which, indeed, we made it manifest the question of frontiers was a question secondary importance to us, while question of peaceable relationship was merely the most important question principle but also one of such a nature

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by it we were able to win the confidence of nations which had been hostile to us."[19] Had the Chinese been genuine anti-imperialists they would have been guided by larger interests of people's strategy against imperialism and by overwhelming considerations of strengthening peace forces. But the Chinese vision has been blurred because of their attitude towards national movements and nationalist Governments.

The official organ of the Chinese Communist Party, the **People's Daily** of Peking, openly attacked the Soviet Union for criticising China for the border conflict with India.[20] It said that "some people who claim to be Marxist-Leninist have forgotten Marxism-Leninism completly. They have never bothered to make an analysis from the class point of view of the Nehru Government's reactionary policy on the boundary conflict. China's critics who said that the Nehru Government had been pushed towards the West because of China's attack were mistaking the cause for the effect."[21] It is clear that Chinese aggression has relation with the "class-nature" of Governments. What a danger this theory poses for Governments whom the Chinese might choose one day to brand as reactionary!

"Class Character" of Governments

Liu Shao-Chi in his address at the Conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions held in November, 1949, stated his "class analysis" of the role of nationalist Government of neutralist countries. The Chinese path, which he made obligatory for the Communist Parties of under developed countries, was the path of a united front which "must be led by the working class and its Party, the Communist Party". He further said that "it must not be led by the wavering and compromising national bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie and their parties."[22] The Chinese want Communist parties in under developed countries to work against the nationalist Governments and even encourage Communist led armed struggles against them, while the Russians want the Communist parties to co-operate with these nationalist Governments (whom they identify with the national bourgeoise). The Chinese do not trust the anti-imperialism of these Governments because "These states can never expect to effect the transition to socialism, nor indeed can they thoroughly fulfil the task of the nationalist democratic revolution. It should be added that even the national independence they have won is by no means secure. . . . In the final analysis they can never escape from the control and bondage of imperialism."[23]

This was not the attitude of Peking between 1954-59. It is true that the **Peoples' Daily** had accused Nehru of interference in the affairs of Tibet in 1959, but at the same time it had commended Nehru's role as an anti-imperialist.[24] Its comment at the time was "He (Nehru) is a friend of China and an opponent of the imperialist policy of war and aggression."[25] This attitude changed after the Tibetan episode. The Chinese could not appreciate the friendly criticism by Nehru of China's role in Tibet. Nehru's sympathy for Tibetan aspirations for autonomy,[26] was bitterly criticised. The stiffening of attitude and stirring up of boundary conflict may have close relation with the Tibet episode. It is after this that "the 'class nature' of Nehru Government as the Government of the big bourgeoisie and the Landlords of India whose interests are closely connected with those of the imperialists"[27] became quite clear. The Indian nationalist movement as a whole was slandered. The British imperialists had handed over their rule to the big bourgeoisie and big landlords on conditions "which basically preserved intact the economic interests of British colonialists."[28] The wonderful tradition of our national movement is written off and our independence is presented as a shady deal with British imperialism. Compare this attitude of the Chinese with that expressed in Moscow's statement of 81 Communist Parties to which, among others, China was a signatory. The statement reads: "The peoples of the colonial countries win their independence both through armed struggle and by non-military methods depend-

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ing on specific conditions of the country concerned." Further it says: "The colonial powers never bestow freedom on colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they were exploiting."[29] So it is people who win freedom by force or peaceful methods. Freedom was never presented on a platter.

The Chinese portray Nehru as an arch reactionary and according to them he is now in the same lair as imperialist jackals."[30] It is difficult to imagine what changes have occured in India's domestic and international situation that Nehru has been compelled to go over completely to the "imperialist camp." Li Wei-Han, Director of the Department of United front work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, has furnished the explanation. If the national bourgeoisie does not accept the leadership of the working class it is bound to capitulate to imperialism.[31]

Nehru and Foreign Aid

The Chinese explain increasing dependence of Nehru on imperialism because of foreign aid. The U.S. aid to India is a barometer of the foreign policy of the Nehru Government.[32] The aid which was at 789.1 million dollar between 1949, June,—1956, June went upto 1936.7 million dollars in 1956, July,—1959, July. It jumped up to the colossal figure of 3872.4 million dollars in 1959, July,—1962, July. This indicates the shift in Nehru's policy against China.

What the Chinese do not explain is the enormous increase in Soviet Union's assistance to India during these years. Soviet credit for the Third Plan alone amounts to 240 crores of rupees a sum far greater than what all other countries have promised. Moreover, this credit is for industries of great importance for our country. The Soviet Union approaches the problem of newly independent countries from a different angle. These countries are faced with the problem of putting an end to their backwardness and they want to escape from monopolist domination. Russia wants them to stand on their own legs and maintain their independence through indepen- dent economic development. With this in view Soviet Union's assistance has particularly in the fields of heavy basic industries—all of them in the sector. But in Chinese thinking the Union is by such help bolstering up regime of the big bourgeoisie. The **Daily** has given expression to the that extension of economic and other by Communist countries to non-Com nist countries side by side with the U is wrong.[33]

Let us refer again to the Statement 81 Communist Parties in 1960, to w China was a party. "They (Socialist co tries) consider it their international d to help the peoples in strengthening independence. They help and support countries generously in achieving gress, creating a national industry, de loping and consolidating the national nomy and training national personnel, co-operate with them in the struggle world peace, against imperialist agg sion."[34] How completely they have go back on their own commitment!

The fact remains that the aid receiv without strings from the Soviet Union the USA and other friendly countries proved to be a factor of tremendous portance for the development of our co try. We grow but not at the cost of independence. No longer is it possible imperialism to employ capital exports a weapon of enslavement of under de loped countries like India. This is a phenomenon which the Chinese need note of.

Inevitability of War

The Chinese believe in the inevi lity of war. They quote the authorit Lenin who had drawn the conclusion under the conditions of imperialism was inevitable. The Chinese say: "T (modern revisionists) hold that when perialism still exists and when the sys of exploitation and oppression still exi is possible to eliminate war and elimi arms throughout the world."[35] The C theoretical position leaves people no pect other than cold war and its dev

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ment into a shooting war. They do not realise that the world today is entirely different. Imperialism is not the only force, far less a dominating force today. Forces of peace have grown tremendously. People all over the world are overwhelmingly against war. Under conditions of today there is the possibility that war can be prevented.

The Chinese are also not impressed by the revolutionary advance in science and technology which has changed the whole strategy and tactics of war and which in its turn has made war difficult to break out. "Wherever we look, not one branch of technology, such as atomic energy, rockets, etc., has, as the modern revisionists assert, changed the basic features of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution to which Lenin drew attention."[36] It may not have directly changed the essence of imperialism but modern war technology has exerted great influence on international relations. By making war difficult it has ensured peaceful development and prosperity and has dealt a mortal blow to forces working against the interests of the people.

Marx and Engels attached great significance to the development of war technology because of the influence it has on the course of social development. Engels has said : "Militarism comes to an end as a consequence of its own development."[37] N. K. Krupskaya quotes Lenin's remarks on the destructive character of war due to development of military techniques : "The time would come when war would be so destructive that it would become impossible."[38]

The Chinese have a cold-blooded and perverted attitude towards war. They exhort people not to be afraid of war because the enemy is weak. War entails great sacrifices but if they sacrifices are imposed by imperialists "these sacrifices will soon be redeemed because the victorious people will soon build a civilization a thousand times better than the capitalist system and a future for themselves which would be really glorious."[39] The issue is not whether one is or is not afraid of war but whether he is for war or aganst war. To talk against war and its consequences does not mean that one is afraid of war. Then again if war means a glorious future for mankind why not welcome it? Why not make sacrifices which are going to be redeemed? This is where the Chinese thesis leads us. War may be regarded as desirable because it speeds up the course of world revolution. The Chinese position has close resemblance with the attitude held by Trotsky. Trotsky once wrote to a friend "if the revolution does not prevent a war, war will be able to help the revolution."[40] The Chinese have practically adopted the attitude of revolutionary Bonapartism. Evidently they have forgotten the dictum uttered by Robespierre that no people likes "armed missionaries."[41] Perhaps they have learnt this truth to some extent in their Himalayan expedition. They would learn it at much greater cost later on.

Peaceful Co-existence

Because the Chinese believe in the inevitability of war, they have no faith in the principle of peaceful co-existence. With whom to co-exist if international relations cannot change till the very last capitalist has vanished from the face of the earth? The principle behind co-existence is that various forms of social order exist and will continue to exist for a long time. In this situation a 'reasonable principle of International relations is the principle of peaceful co-existence with a different social system.'[42] A Policy of co-existence and peaceful competition will be a test of the strength or otherwise of the system. War will be eliminated even if capitalism exists in a part of the world. This principle connotes that "ideological and political disputes between states must not be settled through war."[43]

The principle of co-existence for the Chinese is transitory. This has to be terminated either by imperialism or by socialism because at some stage one or the other has to take recourse to war. This is true for socialism as well because it has to believe in the future revolutionary collapse of imperialism.[44]

For the Chinese, co-existence is a tac-

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tical move and they will choose their time to violate it when the situation is in their favour. "Co-existence is only a tactic, one step further towards communism."[45] Khrushchev's conception of co-existence is different: 'The socialist countries do not in the least fight against war and peaceable co-existence because capitalism is still strong. No! We simply do not want any more wars. The question when this or that country will take the road to socialism will be decided by the people themselves."[46] Do the Chinese have confidence in their social order? Probably not. Had it been so they would have captured at least the heart and imagination of the people of Asia and Africa by demonstrating the health and vigour their system possesses.

Disarmament

Like co-existence disarmament is also a tactic. The purpose of disarmament proposals for the Chinese is "to unmask the aggressive and bellicose nature of imperialism."[47] If the disarmament proposal is a tactical move, if they themselves have no faith that it can ever succeed, can it inspire confidence among people? They further say "but there are people who believe that such a proposal can be realised while imperialism still exists and that the danger of war can be removed by relying on such a proposal. This is an unreal illusion. Only when the socialist revolution wins in the whole world can there be a world free from war, a world without armaments."[48] So, in their view peace, peaceful co-existence and disarmament are possible only when imprialism has vanished from the face of the world. For the Chinese war becomes fatalistically inevitable. There remains no hope for the world except the prospect of utter destruction. Does this attitude fit in with the peace manifesto of Nov. 23, 1957, signed, amongst others, by the Chinese Communist Party? "We, representatives of Communist and workers parties, completely aware of our responsibility for the fate of the peoples, declare that war is not inevitable, war can be prevented, peace can be safeguarded and consolidated."

"Nobody can deny that the proposals submitted to the United Nations for consideration regarding the curtailment of the armaments race and the removal of the danger of atomic war, about peaceable existence of States, about the development of economic co-operation between them which constitute a decisive factor for the creation of indispensable confidence in relations between the States, corresponding the vital interest of all peoples. . . . ." It has been clearly envisaged in the Manifesto that Peace and Disarmament are not beyond the realm of possibility because the people are vitally interested in them. There is a clear line of demarcation between Russian and Chinese thinking on the problem of disaarmament. The Soviet leaders assert that their disarmament proposals are not merely a "diplomatic manoeuvre". In their view disarmament becomes feasible because it is supported by millions of people all over the world. If peace and disarmament are, as the Chinese think, mere tactics, merely a means of unmasking imperialists, these cannot constitute a practical aim. How can the people be mobilised, their support obtainedd in this situation?

The Chinese Concept of Peace

The Russians regard fight for socialism and peace as one. In their view "struggle for peace and against aggressive imperialist forces is bound up organically with the struggle for socialism."[49] But the Chinese distinguish between struggle for peace and struggle for socialism. "The struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism are two distinct struggles. It is a mistake not to draw a precise distinction between these two kinds of struggle."[50] If this is the position how do they hope to get the communists, support them if they feel that they forge for peace? Is it not a mere hypocrisy? Why should the elements other than communists, support them if they feel that they are being exploited for other political purposes? Again if peace and socialism are two distinct struggles, if they are not organically one, peace might be sacrificed for the more important objective of achieving socialism. Thus they keep always open

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window to war. There is every likelihood of even an offensive war because with the increase in strength of socialism there may be a tendency, even a temptation, to "settle accounts" with "reactionary" 'oppressor'" States in the name of a better social order which constitutes the most important aim with them and peace always a secondary aim. As always happens, such a war is waged ndt for any higher objective but for some narrow national interest of a particular country.

The imposition of socialism by force poses a problem for communist countries themselves. "For in principle" as Kardelj points out "if socialism can be imposed on a non-socialist country, it is also possible to impose this or that internal or external policy on a socialist country."[51] For example the Chinese consider People's Communes one of the most advanced forms in the development of world socialism and recommend them to others. They regard the realisation of communism in China as as a matter not of the distant future. The use of the form of People's Communes makes it a practical possibility.[52] There may be differences with this line. It may be objected that the Chinese are trying to move faster than objective conditions allow, that they are trying to jump over stages in the advance towards communism.[53] If the Chinese try to thrust their theories on others, interstate relations between communist countries may get vitiated.

This analysis of China's ideology, confirms the view that Peking's disposition to attack is a real problem. Aggression on India and China's attitude on the Cuban crisis are unmistakable protents. This is not a theoretical stand only, not simply the way China analyses the present international situation. This philosophy leads to adventurism. "A line based on the inevitability of war in fact mans a line based on war, including here an offensive war."[54] China's isolation even from practically the whole Communist World not to speak of dther countries has constituted and will constitute the only check on their expansionist ideology.

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THEORY AND PRACTICE OF CONTROLLED DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN

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I

After an experience of military dictatorship, Pakistan is having another experiment with a constitutional government. This in itself may be regarded an acchievement of the military regime, for by giving a Constitution to the people of Pakistan, it has succeeded in accomplishing a "stupendous" task which baffled the ingenuity of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly for the first seven years after the birth of Pakistan. On the 24th October, 1954, the Governor-General of Pakistan proclaimed a state of emergency, asserting that "the constitutional machinery has broken down."[1] The Constituent Assembly was dissolved whereas the Constituent Assembly of India "enacted" the Constitution of India on the 26th November, 1949.

Th New Constitution of Pakistan is not the result of deliberations of a Constituent Assembly enjoying the mandate of the people as expressed in a general election. It is the work of a Constitution Commission appointed by Field Marshal Ayub Khan with Mr. Justice Md. Sahabuddin of the Supreme Court as its Chairman.[2] It claims to have been guided by the experiences provided by the working of the previous Parliamentary Governments of Pakistan. But ultimately it is the expression of the political ideas of President Ayub Khan. Many of the recommendations of the Commission have been modified in final form.

President Ayub has brought back the Constitutional Government with open eyes. It is his belief that "without institutions which the Muslims have never been able to develop so far during the last 1,400 years, society cannot move from one stage of progress to another stage of progress." But in reality, it is the result of his realisation that "by sword, one can do anything, but he cannot stand on it." In the interest of stability, it is essential that some popular elements should be associated with the Government. Because, a Government which is not based on the consent of the people is a crude form of government and is untenable. The eclipse of popular governments in some countries is only a temporary phase and democracy must usher in some form or other. The enlightened self-interest of dictators lies in permitting some popular control over their powers. But President Ayub Khan wants to prove his efforts to restore the Constitution in Pakistan as "an earnest of his honesty" and an act of self-negation.

On October 8. 1958, when General Ayub overthrow the Government by a military coup, he assured the people that his "ultimate aim is to restore democracy but of a type that people can understand and work."[3]

The institutions through which progress will be made have been realised through "Controlled Democracy" and "Basic Democracies." The previous parliamentary system necessarily entailing the party system have been tried and proved to be the breeding ground of all sorts of corruption and factionalism.[4] Moreover, it was based on false assumptions. It was based on the vote of the individuals, assuming that every individual is capable of forming his correct judgement on various intricate issues of national and international policies.[5] It was based on the premise that it is representative of the people, at least of the majority sections of the voters. But more often than it is commonly believed, governments elected under universal suffrage represent only a minority of the voters. Where multi-party systems prevails, this happens quite often. but even under two-party systems, it is not a rare phenomenon. Moreover, the results of national elections reflect for less the opi-

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nions of the electorates than the forces and interests behind the parties and the propaganda machines which are manipulated by powerful, centrally-controlled organizations with the aid of high finance and diabolically clever methods and super media of communications. It encourages demagogy. It tends to involve prejudices, passions and emotions: and to indulge in electoral outbidding, there is an increasing tendency to sacrifice the good of the country and even the real interests of the voters to their own immediate and apparent interests. There is, thus, a competition among the parties in breaking laws. The result is that instead of educating the people in the difficult art of self-government, false slogans are raised, and unnecessary passions and excitements are aroused, which befog their minds. During the general elections, people cannot judge upon different issues, as many issues are confused together. Moreover, the issues cannot be separated from the personalities behind them.

Thus, according to President Ayub Khan, general elections under universal franchise do not necessarily result in obtaining the views of the people on different issues correctly. It is also not truly representative. Moreover, it entails definite harms. Therefore, he has envisaged a system of democracy in which people will be indirectly consulted and associated with the task of governance of the country and at the same time, they will not be allowed to misuse their powers. Some controls have been put on them. The whole country will be divided into not less than 80 thousand electoral units and each unit will elect one Elector. These 80 thousand Electors will form the Electoral College of Pakistan to elect the President and the National and Provincial Assemblies. If any referendum is to be held, it will be held among the Electors, and not among the people. Thus indirect election is the rule, and the direct election of the Electors is an exception. According to President Ayub Khan, the new institutions are not different in essential practice from the "uncontrolled democracies" as prevalent in other countries. Whatever curbs have been put on the people of Pakistan [illegible] desirable as is evident from a study of [illegible] workings of democratic institutions in [illegible] countries.

How far the new arrangements [illegible] duce "real democracy" can be seen [illegible] when the new Constitution is examined [illegible] in detail, because the new Constitution [illegible] the concretisation of President Ayub [illegible] ideas of controlled democracy.

II

The New Constitution provides for [illegible] Presidential form of Government. It pro[illegible] vides for a President to be elected by basic democracies as constituted under the Basic Democracies Order, 1959, and the tenure of his office is 5 years. But this is a temporary provision (Part XII, Chapter 1, Article 229). According to Articles 155 and 158, there will be not less than 80,000 Electors, constituted according to the Electoral Roll of Pakistan, and they will form the Electoral College to elect the President and National and Provincial Assemblies. He is eligible for-election only for once, but in exceptional circumstances he may enjoy 3 terms.

By Article 31, the executive authority of the Republic is vested in the President and it has to be exercised by him directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with the Constitution and the Law.

The President is to appoint his Council of Ministers and the latter shall be responsible to him. If any member of the Legislature is appointed Minister, he will have to resign his seat in the Legislature.[6]

The President is the supreme authority of the Republic. The Supreme Command of the armed forces is vested in him. He can raise and maintain the services and their reserves, can grant commission, can appoint the Chief Commanders and determine their salaries and allowances.[7]

For a period of 20 years, the post of Defence Minister has been reserved for a person who has held a rank not lower than that of Lieutenant-General in the Army or an equivalent rank in other fighting forces, if the President is himself not a military

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No bill passed by the National Assembly can become law unless it is assented to by the President. But the Presidential veto can be over-riden by passing it again by a majority of two-thirds. This provision is similar to that in the American Constitution. In India, a special majority on the second time is not required to over-ride a Presidential veto. Moreover, the President of Pakistan can by-pass the National Assembly by referring the issue of dispute to a referendum in the form of "yes" or "no" for the particular measure.[9]

This is a very significant power of the President in the field of legislation. In America, between 1789 and 1925, the veto was used 600 times, but it was reversed by a two-thirds majority only on 36 occasions. Thus in America, where independence of all the three organs of Government has been rigidly observed, the Presidential veto has developed into a means of guiding and directing the law making authority of the nation.[10] Moreover, the President has been given power to legislate through Ordinances after issuing a Proclamation of Emergency and the National Assembly by Article 30, Clause 6, has been deprived of the power to disapprove of the Ordinance. These Ordinances will have the same effect as a law passed by the National Assemly.[11]

In financial matters, there is almost no control of the National Assembly on the President. It cannot discuss and vote the main budget of the nation. The salaries of President, Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries are to be charged to the Central Consolidated Fund, and it cannot be voted by the Central Legislature. The demands for grants of recurring expenditure which will cover defence and other regular items of the National Budget shall not be subject to the vote of the National Assembly. Only new proposals for expenditure are to be voted by Parliament.[12] According to Article 41, Clause 4, the National Assembly will have to secure the consent of the President before reducing a demand for a grant for recurring expenditure.

Moreover, the President can dissolve the National Assembly, though it is also provided that after dissovlving the National Assembly, the President will have to get himself re-elected within 120 days.[13]

The Constitution also provides for two Provincial Assemblies for West Pakistan and East Pakistan. The Legislative subjects have been divided between the Centre and the Provinces. The Third Schedule lists 49 subjects on which the Centre can legislate. Following the American tradition, the powers not delegated to the Central Legislature are vested with the Provicial Assemblies. The abrogated Constitution contained 30 items in the Central list, and 19 in the Concurrent list. The residuary powers were vested with the Provinces.

But the division of legislative powers between the Centre and the Provinces is not real. The judiciary cannot invalidate a law which has been passed by any legislature by transgressing its Constitutional limits. Moreover, the Constitution itself empowers the Central legislature to legislate on items not mentioned in the Central list, if the National interest of Pakistan so requires.[14] It has also been provided that the responsibility of deciding whether a legislature has power under this Constitution to make a law is that of the legislature itself.[15] The legality of a law cannot be questioned on the ground that the legislature which enacted it had not power to do so. Above all, if a Provincial law conflicts with a Central Law, the former will be inoperative.

The concepts of federalism as propounded by Prof. K. C. Wheare[16] and Sir Robert Garran[17] make it quite clear, that the essence of federalism lies in the independent status of the Central and Provincial Governments in their own specified spheres so that no government should encroach upon the other without its consent and in the case of any encroachment there should be a Supreme Court to set aside such an action which has been described by Prof. Willis as the "operator" of the Constitution. The independence of the judiciary is peculiarly essential in a Federal form of Government.[18] Viewed from these stand points, it becomes quite obvious that the new Constitution of Pakistan

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does not provide for a Federal Government. There is merely a Legislative devolution to be practised on the sufferance of the Central Government.

The Provincial Governors are appointed by the President and are to hold office during his pleasure. The Governors will appoint their Council of Ministers but in choosing the personnel of his Council of Ministers, the Governor shall be guided by the advice of the President.[19] In case of conflict between a Provincial Assembly and a Governor, the National Assembly will decide the issue.[20] With the concurrence of the National Assembly and the President, a Governor can dissolve the Provincial Assembly. These provisions make serious inroads into Provincial autonomy.

The new Constitution is conspicuous by not providing judicially protected fundamental rights of the citizens in the Constitution itself. There are some "principles of law-making" which include provisions for freedom of speech and association, equality of citizens, freedom of movement and right to acquire property, freedom to follow vocations, freedom of religion, protection against retrospective punishments and protection against forced labour, etc.[21] But these rights are not justifiable. They are like Directive Principles of State Policy of the Indian Constitution. By Article 8(1) "the responsibility of deciding whether any action of an organ of authority of the State or of a person performing functions on behalf of an organ or authority of the State is in accordance with the principles of policy is that of the organ, or authority of the State or of the person concerned." Again, according to Article 8(2), the validity of an action or of a law shall not be called in question on the ground that it is not in accordance with the principles of policy and no action shall lie against the State or organ or authority of the State or any person on such a ground."

Thus civil liberty can exist only at the mercy of the National Assembly and the President. This makes fundamental civil rights to be quite meaningless. In England also, there is no constitutional guarantee of fundamental civil rights. But the whole history of the British Constitution development is a history of the struggle between the State-power and the people the struggle has culminated in the final umph of the people. And now the sovereignty of the British Parliament is another name for the sovereignty of the people. In other countries the incorporation of fundamental rights in the constitutions themselves has become the touchstone of judging their democratic character.

Moreover, Article 225 provides for the continuance of "all existing laws" which include the much-hated Frontier Crimes Regulation and the recent amendment of the Code of Criminal Procedure which deprived persons detained under the Security of Pakistan Act, 1952, of the right of Hebeas Corpus, will remain on the Statute Book. Moreover, no Bill or amendment of a Bill relating to preventive detention can be moved in the National Assembly without the prior consent of the President.

Judging by the extraordinary powers which the President possesses, it is only fit that he should enjoy the confidence of the people and as the Constitution Commission recommended "such confidence will be forthcoming only by the direct election of the President" as in America. But the new Constitution provides only for the indirect election by the basic democracies who may be easily susceptible to pressures. The basic democracies are the Gram Panchayats of our country. When the Electoral Roll is completed, an Electoral College consisting of not less than 80 thousand Electors will be constituted.

The only control over the President provided by the power of the National Assembly to impeach the former. But this power is also hedged by extraordinary limitations. In America and India, a two-thirds majority of the Senate and both Houses of Parliament respectively are required to impeach the President. In France, only an absolute majority of the two houses of Parliament is sufficient to propose the impeachment of the President and then the case is to be decided by

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High Court of Justice. But the President of Pakistan can be impeached by not less than a three-fourths majority of the National Assembly. Even then if the proposal to impeach the President fails to secure the support of at least one-half of the members of the National Assembly, then the proposers shall cease to be members of the Assembly. Thus, in Pakistan, the required majority for impeaching the President is not only larger, but there are also penal sanctions against the proposers who may recklessly resort to such an extraordinary method.

Judging by the American experiences, it can be asserted that for all practical purposes, this provision will remain almost the dead letters of the Constitution. Only President Johnson was sought to be impeached, and he too escaped. In Pakistan, the process has been made more difficult than that of America.

Above all, what makes the situation more anomalous is the comparative importance attached to the office of the President than the Constitution itself. For amending the Constitution only a two-thirds majority is required, whereas to impeach the President a three-fourths majority is essential. This obviously makes the President more important than the Constitution.

Thus, though the President is the pivot of the new dispensation, and is all-powerful, he is not to be directly elected as in a Presidential system.

By making the President to be indirectly elected and not responsible to the National Assembly, the Constitution of Pakistan combines the unsavoury aspects of both the Parliamentary and the Presidential forms of Governments respectively. Moreover, in no country where Presidential forms of Government prevails, the President has been given the power to dissolve the national Parliament. The French President in the 5th Republic has been vested with real powers and at the same time he also can dissolve the national Assembly, but only after consulting the Prime Minister and the Presidents of Senate and the National Assemblies but the French Constitution does not provide for a Presidential form of Government, as the essential feature of Parliamentary Government, i.e., the responsibility of the Government to the National Legislature has been retained there. Moreover, the French Constitution provides more for a plebiscitiary democracy than for a Presidential or a Parliamentary form of Government. The example of Pakistan is indeed unprecedented.

III

This is the net picture of President Ayub Khan's ideas of "Controlled Democracy." The National Assembly is almost deprived of its powers to control the finances of the State, and in matters of ordinary legislation also, it is dependent upon the President. Provincial autonomy is a misnomer and civil liberty is dependent upon the mercy of the executive. There shall be no political parties[22] and no election can be fought on the basis of Political parties, because Political Parties and despotism of the Government cannot co-exist. Political parties have acted as the sentinel of the rights of the people. Though the National Assembly can permit the functioning of political parties, this depends on how far the National Assembly is allowed to discharge its functions independently. The Provincial Governments and Assemblies are not in a much better position than that of administrative divisions of a Unitary State. And the National Assembly can also be drilled and disciplined by the President to the point of accepting the Presidential leadership in legislative matters.

The Parliamentary form of Government has been disclaimed as it does not suit the genius of Pakistan, because the sense of basic unity, and cool-headedness and sense of mutual toleration, "which are the special characteristics of cold countries," are not present in Pakistan. But the basic reason of rejecting a Parliamentary form of Government seems to be that in this the daily and occasional accountability of the executive to the Parliament and the people are inevitable, which will prove to be an insurmountable hurdle in any design of setting up a benevolent and enlightened despotism which is implied by President Ayub's ideas of Controlled Democracy. It

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has also been alleged that the period of Parliamentary Government in Pakistan has been a period of waste and corruptions. But if waste and corruption can creep up in a Parliamentary form of Government where there is so much of popular control, there is no reason to believe that they will also not creep up in a form of Government in which the executive is enjoying almost absolute power. After all, Lord Acton's dictum is a constant reminder that "power corrupts and absolute power absolutely corrupts."

The new Constitution has been tailored to suit President Ayub Khan as President. President Ayub may be a good man and he may be true to his profession of being the saviour of Pakistan. But what will become of the Constitution once the man, for whom the Presidency was intended, disappears is difficult to predict. There have been similar instances in Germany and America. In 1787, at a deliberation at Philadelphia the image of George Washington was there for Presidency and he was suitably installed as the First President. But the office has flourished under a great variety of occupants. In 1871, the Constitution of the German Reich was fashioned to suit Bismarck as the Chancellor. It worked well during his tenure of office, but it failed to function well under his sussessors. Considering the precedents it is anybody's guess as to what may be the course of development under the new Pak Constitution after President Ayub Khan passes from the scene.

All in all, we can say that the new Constitution of Pakistan does not follow the old Constitutional traditons. In making such breaks, it does not follow either the American or British precedents as such. But is seeks to combine some elements of the American, British and the new French Constitutions which suit the purposes of President Ayub Khan. But one thing appears to be obvious. If the new Constitution is worked faithfully, and we can only hope that it will be, it holds out a better prospect of a more firm and stable Government in Pakistan. But further predictions are difficult. One point, however, cannot be overlooked. Two years ago, when elections to various [illegible] Democracies were held, people were informed that the elected Basic Democrats will also form the electoral college for Pakistan to elect the First President and different legislative bodies.[13] This is against the general procedures of law recognised by the civilized nations of the world. Though the rule "ex injuria jus non oritur"—law cannot originate in an illegal action—has important exceptions. But to base the basic governmental structure of Pakistan on such an exception cannot be regarded as a sign of healthy traditions. Under such circumstances, the conclusion is irresistable that President Ayub wants to provide merely a Constitutional cover to his otherwise unconstitutional authority.

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1. Sir Ivor Jennings: *Constitutional Problems in Pakistan*, Cambridge University Press, 1957, p. 3.
2. Most of the members of the Commission were lawyers and businessmen of medium standing. The *Guardian*, Feb. 14, 1960, called them "dark horses."
3. F. M. Ayub Khan: *The Mah-e-Nau*, Karachi, 1962, p. 37.
4. *Ibid*, p. 9.
5. *Ibid*., p. 11.
6. Article 104 of the Constitution of Pakistan.
7. Article 17 of the Constitution of Pakistan.
8. Article 238.
9. Article 27, Clause 5.
10. W. B. Munroe: *The Government of the United States*, published by the Macmillan Company, New York, Fifth Edition, 1947, p. 178.

"In any event, all recent chief executives have assumed the right to veto any measure which they regard as unwise or inexpedient; they have not restricted themselves to those that seemed to be unconstitutional or unworkable. What was intended, therefore, as a weapon of executive self-defence has developed into a means of governing and directing the law-making authority of the nation. It has been expanded into a general revising power, applicable to all measures of whatever sort."

11. Article 30.
12. Article 41, Clause 5.
13. Article 23, Clause 4(b).
14. Article 131.
15. Article 133.

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16. Dr. K. C. Wheare, *The Federal Government*, Second Edition, by Oxford University Press, p. 15.

He writes : "In the case of Federation, the fundamental principle is that general and regional governments are co-ordinated . . . . that each Government should be limited to its own sphere and within that sphere, should be independent of the other."

17. Sir Ribert Garran's definition (quoted in the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Australian Constitution*, 1929, p. 230) is, perhaps the best. He defines it as "A Form of Government in which sovereignty or political power is divided between the Central and Local Governments, so that each of them within its own sphere is independent of the other."

18. *Hamilton in the Federalist* No. 78, page 505, observed : "The complete independence of the Courts of Justice is peculiarly essential in a limited Constitution. By a limited Constitution, I understand one which contain specified exceptions to the Legislative authority ; such for instance, as that it shall pass no bills of attainders, no ex-post-facto laws, and the like. Limitations of this kind can be preserved in practice in no other way than through the medium of the Court of Justice whose duty it must be to declare all Acts contrary to manifest tenor of the Constitution void. Without this, all the reservations of particular rights and privileges would amount to nothing."

But whether the new Constitution of Pakistan is a "limited Constitution" is to be doubted. Because certain specified exceptions in the form of Bill of Rights as existent in the American Constitution have been sought to be incorporated into the Pakistan Constitution under Part II under the heading of principle of Law-making and Policy. But by Article 5, the responsibility of ensuring the conformity of law with the principles of law-making and policies is that of the legislature concerned. Moreover, by Article 6(2), the Courts of Justice have been expressly excluded from pronouncing upon the validity of law on such a ground. In Pakistan, the British example of Legislative Supremacy has been sought to be followed, but in a mistaken spirit and with certain checks, *i.e.*, referendum and Executive Veto.

19. Article 82.

20. Article 74.

21. Part II from No. 1 to 16.

22. Article 173—"Except as permitted by Act of the Central Legislature, any person who in connection with an election . . . holds out himself or any other person as being a member of or as having the support of a political party . . . shall be punishable."

23. The first election to these Basic Democracies took place in 1960 on a non-party basis. Electoral issues were local, not national, and often guided by considerations of family, caste and religion.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

By Prof. O. C. GANGULY

About a forthnight ago we had the good fortune of inspecting a provocative Exhibition of Architectural designs and plans by the energetic members of the Architects' Club. The members very frankly but diplomatically disarmed all criticisms by labelling the exhibition as "Architecture in India,"—carefully avoiding any suggestion of "Indian Architecture." This is a bold and glaring denial and repudiation of the great traditions of Indian Architecture—which have grown and developed through the centuries, suitably changing its forms and patterns according to the different political, social and spiritual needs of the different periods of Indian history. It has been assumed by the valiant interpreters and imitators of the Modernistic Architecture of Europe that traditional Indian Architecture has escaped to exist. They have somewhat daringly assumed that the great traditions of Indian Architecture are now dead and, the same cannot be revived, re-vitalized, or brought to life again to meet the moods and conditions of our modern life. On this assumption our modern architects have denied the surviving Language of any manner of Indian Architecture which is believed to have died out owing to exhaustion and loss of energy. On similar logic, one might claim that the old archaic and decrepit language of Tulasidas has died out of exhaustion and has outlived its use. But our great politicians and leaders of modern

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thought are insisting that the language of Kabir and Tulsidas has not died out, and, in capable of a new life and a new development is unable to function as the State Language (Rastra-bhasa) of India. On a similar logic, Rabindranath Tagore had not despised or repudiated the old Bengali Language which began to function in the 9th Century in the archaic language of the Charyya-Padas, loose sparkling gems of Buddhist songs which we still admire. Rabindranath by his creative powers and great devotion to the vernacular language of Bengal has invested it with a new and dynamic life and a sumptuously rich vocabulary, capable of expressing new ideas and thoughts of our New Life. If our great Poet had accepted the theory of a dead language, he should have expressed himself in French, or in German and not in the traditional language of Bengal.

I humbly claim that the old and traditional language of Indian architecture has not died out of exhaustion, or loss of energy, —but is still alive and capable of new developments, new expressions, new designs, and new patterns to meet the challange of our New Age. Will the modern architects in India refuse to bestow on the great traditions of Indian Architecture—a new life and new destiny, richer than its past history? It may be argued, and it is being argued, with a show of specious logic—that times have changed, and, that revolutionary changes have overtaken us in all phases of our life—and the demands of our patrons have changed—and the change of our economic condition has necessitated the introduction of new media and materials for our building projects. The red sand-stone, the white marble, and the black granite, have inevitably given way to brick and mortar to cement and concrete, to iron and steel, —as building materials which call for **new** forms of architecture—suited to the character of the new materials, in which the traditions and principles of Indian Architecture have **no** place. Nobody now needs temples or palaces, the needs of the day are huts and hovels for our political refugees, and cheap utilitarian tenements and covers for our labourers and clerks—who cannot afford the expenses of any manner of orna- mental building. So that our buil... models should be in the monostr... monotonous "Match-Box" style of Archi... ture, such as, we have set up for our ... Secretariat Building on Hastings Stree... devoid of all manner of architectural pre... sions, and from which all canons o... Beauty have been ruthlessly abolished.

It cannot be proved that the new ma... rials of steel structures, iron joists ... other mechanical devices—have in any w... cheapened the costs of our buildings. E... cheap Apartments and Flats—now built ... our engineers, cannot be let out to ... citizens at rates within the paying capa... of our bustee-dwellers. The enorm... figures of our Building Budget of the Ce... tral Government—have led the Ministry ... Works, Housing and Supply to call fo... halt to these new and rackless build... enterprizes. So that the slogan, t... "Match-Box" style is cheaper then the s... called Decorative style of Indian Archit... ture—is an empty boast, and there is ... justification for our repudiating the achie... ments of our great national traditions, ... the score of economy.

A few decades ago—a section of our s... called educated men had repudiated the ... of our time-honoured national dress—in t... name of progress and enlightenment, a... had adopted the European dress. And ... Great poet—Dwijendra Lal Roy,—himself ... England-returned man, had to lash out ... biting verses to chastize this folly: "Am... Chedechi Duti O Chadar, Amra Sejechi B... Bandar." We have forsaken our **dhoti** a... our scarf. We have decked ourselves ... imported monkeys?

The recent tendency to abolish ... national dress—in our building habit ... the apish initation of the imported style ... deserves—a similar castigation.

Fortunately this foolish imitative hab... in our current building practices have r... ceived very sound visible protests—in sev... ral of our recent architectural enterpris... as for instance, in the beautiful Temple ... at Belur, in the equally dignified edifice ... of the Ram Krishna Cultural Institute ... Gol Park, in the magnificent Temple ... Lakshmi-Narayan—set up by the Bhar... Brothers near Vivekananda Road, ...

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last though not the least,—in the sombre and meditative grandeur of Birla's Planetarium.

In other parts of India—attempts have been made with more or less success,—to use the Language of our National Architecture—but the examples that I have just cited in the new buildings prove that Indian Architecture—is **not** dead,—but, is yet a living language—and its present achievements—point to greater achievements in the future.

What form our Future Architecture will take will depend on the attitude, on the devotion, on the skill and on the Vision of our Modern Architects—their capacity to bring new life and energy into our national Language.

It is sometimes said that a House is nothing more or less than a machine for living. But it is more than a prosaic protection against the assaults of trespassers, and rain, and wild animals. But according to our old Indian ideas—a house is a **Vimana**, —a 'Divine Mansion' for our divinities—and, also for human beings—seeking for their divinities.

Human beings with a passionate faith in their divinities—their **Ishta—Devatas**—cherish as their highest aim—,

"To Find **Within** God—Whom They
Find Everywhere **Without**"—

I humbly claim—Architecture for the use of human beings deserves more beautiful forms—than what our modern Architects—are inclined to bestow on their new engineering feats.

I have been humbly contending that the traditions of our national Architecture—are still continuing and are capable of a new life and a new renaissance.

Fortunately for me,—in the Souvenir published in connection with the Exhibition held by the Architects' Club on the 24th January last, a distinguished modern Indian Architect—Mr. S. C. Mukherjee—has been pleased to support my contention that Indian Architecture is not dead—but is now on the threshold of a New Renaissance. I will quote the remarks of Mr. S. C. Mukherjee which entirely support the views I am contending for :—

Referring to the past history of Indian Architecture—he says :—

"A Renaissance in Architecture followed the great political and social upheaval on the Indian soil. It was during this period, the Indian intellect reached its high watermark in many branches of Art, Science and Literature. If one views the present and the near future from the pedestal of the past, a vision that appears—is of another Renaissance, clearing the Augean stable of cliches, modes and forms breathing a fresh air of freedom and democracy this country is now up to build. The hetrogeneous conglomeration,—in the architecture that was and is continuing still, will be a passing phase. Foreign influences are likely to continue along with confusion of thought and consequent weakness for sometime more,—but, with an awakened national spirit, they will disappear.

A new Architecture is going to be reborn."

This new Architecture—cannot be a blind imitation of the Forms of Modernistic Architecture of Europe—which dominated the examples cited in the Exhibition of the Arcchitects' Club.

Alluding to the imitation of Foreign patterns and forms—Mr. S. C. Mukherjee is led to remark :—

"An Architecture not having the roots in the Soil—cannot prevail for long, and in course of time—is bound to degenerate and disappear.

Political domination is not enough to establish the art of an alien conqueror in the land of the conquered."

Fortunately—the era of British dominion in India has ended—and we are living now in a new National Era—in which there is enough scope—for the Renaissance of our National Indian Architecture.

I humbly appeal to our Modern Indian Architects—to learn the Language of our national Architecture—which they may have forgotten, and make it a powerful instrument of our national belief and aspirations—which cannot be expressed in the language from Europe.*

* An address delivered before the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on 3rd March 1963.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BURDENS OF INCOME TAXATION

By KARUNA K. NANDI

During the course of the little more than four weeks of debates, discussions and pronouncements on the current year's Union Budget proposals, both in Parliament and outside since we went to press last month, singularly little, it is surprising, appears to have been said about the ditribution of the burdens of the Budget tax proposals in so far as their impact on the different sections of the community is concerned. The changes in the tax proposals since enunciated by the Union Finance Minister has not, visibly, made any readjustment of views in this behalf necessary taking, of course, the Budget as a whole in the final form in which it has now been incorporated in the annual Finance Bill for 1963-64.

For a realistic assessment of the impact of the Budget proposals, consideration of the existing structure of income distribution and an estimate of the benefits accruing therefrom to the different sctions in the background of the demands made on them through taxation and other means, would seem to be both a pertinent and a needful requisite. If one were to go by what is already kown of the pattern of income distribution in the country, and its modification sought or likely to be conditioned by the current taxation proposals, the conclusion would seem to be inescapable that the burden would fall disproportionately more heavily on the lower income groups and on the poor, while the rich and the very rich would seem to have been barely affected at all.

The changes made in the taxation proposals since the Budget was intially presented to Parliament would not, on a close analysis, seem to make any very substantial difference in the position as might eventuate from the original tax proposals. So far as the low income groups and the poor are cencerned, the changes proposed (and now incorporated in the Finance Bill) cover only crores at the disposal of the Centre.

two principal items: (i) a reduction in the excise duty on kerosene by 2 nP. and [illegible] per litre on the superior and inferior [illegible] of this mineral oil, respectively, and (ii) [illegible] emption from the compulsory savings [illegible] sit of all those whose annual land revenue liability does not exceed Rs. 5 and persons engaged in professions whose income within the income tax exemption limit and others. The gross loss of estimated receipts on account of these two items of concession is assessed at Rs. crores. The other concessions provided affect only the comparatively affluent and would not affect, beneficially or otherwise the comparatively less affluent and the poor.

So far as the reduction in the excise duty on kerosene is concerned, it is obviously more of a political concession rather than a fundamental revision of the principles upon which the Budget may be said to have been formulated. And, although the gross impact of the reduction on revenue estimates on this account, at Rs. 11 crores, may be regarded as fairly substatial on the face of it, it is not likely to afford any substantial relief to the individual consumer of the commodity as the per capita consumption of this mineral oil is really no more than merely nominal. As regards the exemptions to the operations of the Compulsory Saving Deposit Scheme offered to certain sections of the income earners, is concerned, the Union Finance Minister has, very adroitly, lumped the estimated loss of receipts on this account with the revenues from the concessions in the Super Profits Tax. In the result no clear picture emerges as to the actual estimated loss of receipts from this sources alone as apart from the revenues derived from the Super Profits Tax. Originally, the estimate of incomings from the Compulsory Savings Scheme was placed at a gross of between Rs. 65 and Rs. 70 crores of which some Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 crores would accrue to the States, leaving a net Rs.

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gross revenue estimated from the Super Profits Tax originally was placed at between Rs. 25 and Rs. 30 crores which, as we endeavoured to show in our last issue, was an under-estimate and which should have been, on the basis the Tax was to be levied, nearer Rs. 36 crores. Now it is estimated that the reduction in incomings from the Compulsory Savings Scheme together with those from the Super Profits Tax on the revised basis would amount to a gross loss of receipts of Rs. 19 crores. We have not at our disposal all the necessary materials enabling us to calculate the loss from Super Profits Tax alone, but having regard to the revised bases upon which it would be levied, the amount would be bound to be quite substantial indeed. The effect of the revision of the conditions for the levy of Compulsory Savings imposts, therefore, on certain sectors of income earners would be merely nominal. As earlier propounded, therefore, that the concessions in the original taxation proposals now incorporated in the Finance Bill, would, therefore, not seem to have materially affected distribution of the burden.

It is already an established finding that the taxation of incomes has not brought within its fold any significant proportion of the increase in incomes of households above the tax-exemption level in the process of development and growth of the national income over the last few years. According to a study carried out by the Reserve Bank of India, it is demonstrated that while the incomes of household above the tax-exemption level increased by 24 per cent, their disposable icome, that is income **net of taxation,** increased by 25 per cent. The question which would seem to be of paramount importance is whether the currently proposed taxes on incomes, even after due regard has been paid to the changes since incorporated, would be likely to correct or even substantially modify this trend ?

A significant innovation in the current tax proposals would seem to be the choice offered to assessees even in the highest income groups of converting a part of their tax liabilities (so far as the additional tax is concerned) to compulsory savings. This would seem to be a singularly futile proposition so far even as the middle income groups are concerned, and substantially more so where the highest-income bracket assessees are involved. When income exceeds the level of the even comparatively modest Rs. 10,000 per annum, a certain proportion of it is known to be normally saved in one way or another. It is obvious that converting a part of their savings, already voluntarily undertaken, into **compulsory savings** would not add to their existing burdens in any way. It does not, normally, impinge on consumption and does not, therefore, serve any specified or even desirable economic objective. Allocations of savings to preferred uses and the purpose of channelling them into premediated grooves might as well have been pursued in a different way without seeking to lighten the burdens of the more affluent as compared to the less affluent and the poor.

A carefully carried out study of the trends of **income-taxation** in the country after the additional imposts that have been imposed in this sector of taxation, should be a rewarding effort. Such a study would reveal certain interesting facts when the additional burdens of taxation on incomes in the current Budget proposals have been viewed in the perspective of the **total** burden.. Taking the rate structure of taxes in respect of salaries as being rairly representative of the degree of **progression** in the income-taxation system, it would be found that the incidence of additional burdens follows a decreasing or diminishing trend beyond certain income levels. This is accounted for by the fact that the new surcharge on residual incomes remains a fixed per centage of the income beyond the level of Rs. 42,000 per annum. Thus, the gross additional burden on an assesse with a salary income of Rs. 40,000, comprising additional surcharge plus compulsory deposit, expressed in terms of percentage of the over-all annual income, would work out to nearly 5.00 per cent while another with an income level of Rs. 2,00,000 from identical sources, would have to bear a gross additional burden on this account of the significantly less 2.71 per cent. The following table demonstrating the progression of the

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income taxation burden at selected income levels, would be quite revealing :

Tax As Percentage of Salaried Income

(Married with more than one child)

Annual income	Tax as a percentage of income		Additional tax liability as a per centage of income
	1962-63	1963-64	
1	2	3	4
Rs. 3,600	nil	nil	nil
„ 5,000	0.84	1.84	1.00
„ 10,000	4.79	6.80	2.01
„ 15,000	7.81	10.29	2.48
„ 20,000	11.36	14.28	2.92
„ 25,000	16.18	19.28	3.10
„ 27,000	18.24	21.37	3.13
„ 30,000	20.82	23.97	3.15
„ 33,000	23.31	26.46	3.15
„ 36,000	25.38	28.52	3.14
„ 40,000	27.65	30.85	3.20
„ 50,000	33.81	36.95	3.14
„ 60,000	39.28	42.28	3.00
„ 70,000	43.92	46.77	2.85
„ 1,00,000	53.05	55.63	2.58
„ 2,00,000	67.30	69.33	2.03

With income-taxation, in the current Budget proposals, one has also to take into account the incidence of Compulsory Savings incumbent upon all those whose incomes are above the minimum tax-exemption levels to be able to arriv at a correct assessment of the actual burdens on the tax payers as between different income levels. The following table showing the maximum savings deposits to be made on this account and their incidence as a per centage of the income should be interesting in this connection :

Maximum Savings Deposits of Salary Earners

Annual income	Compulsory savings	Deposit as a percentage of income	Tax plus C.S.D. as percentage of income
1	2	3	4
Rs.	Rs.		
5,000	149	2.98	3.98
10,000	250	2.50	4.51
15,000	337	2.25	4.73
20,000	415	2.08	5.00
36,000	597	1.71	4.85
70,000	845	1.20	4.12
100,000	999	0.99	3.30
200,000	1,368	0.68	2.71

In the above 2 tables we have studying the effect of the additional charge on income taxation on wholly ed incomes or salaried incomes, as the gross additional burden in the Budget proposals by way of both tax compulsory savings. In the latter table find that the incidence of the total tional burden, expressed as a per of income, maintains a steady upward gression at the income levels bet Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 20,000, but follows tinctively regressive trend from the of Rs. 36,000 per annum and upw Thus, while the additional burden income earner at the Rs. 20,000 per level is as high as 5.00 per cent of the come, at the Rs. 200,000 per annum the additional burden is just a little than 50 per cent as at this lower in level and even less than the lowest Rs. per annum income level by as much as per cent.

Direct tax liability is always legitimately higher, all over the wo for **unearned incomes** compared earned incomes. Basically the sa principle is maintained in this coun also. But what is significant in the pres instance is that when it became neces for the Exchequer to lay additional dens on incomes for purposes of revenue, **unearned income-receiving sector** has comparatively much more lightly let In spite of the fact that this sector has pay a basically higher tax per centage those who earn their incomes, there w not seem to be any legitimate justific for making this invidious distinction in mulating additional tax-proposals as tween these two sectors of income-recei The following table would be interesti

Tax On Wholly Unearned Income

(Married with more than one child)

Annual income	Tax as a percentage of income		Additional liability percentage income
	1962-63	1963-64	4
1	2	3	
5,000	0.84	2.00	1.1
10,000	5.60	7.57	1.9

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	9.13	11.57	2.44
15,000	13.30	16.10	2.80
20,000	33.39	36.24	2.85
40,000	51.42	53.75	2.33
70,000	62.09	44.00	1.91
100,000	74.55	76.00	1.45
200,000			

One of the basic criticisms of the present income-taxation structure in the country relates to the formulation of the slabs in progression which follow close stages at the comparatively low-levels of incomes, while at higher stages the slabs cover wider ranges, with the result that at the highest slabs taxation incidences begin to evince a less than proportional progression, especially at the above Rs. 2,00,000 per annum income level. When, therefore, a levy is imposed in the shape of additional surcharge as a fixed per centage of the **residual income** after taxation, the result inevitably is to set in trends of regression in the gross additional tax burden expressed in terms of a percentage as one moves up higher in the income scale. It would have been a simple matter to correct this regressive trend by introducing a corresponding progression in the rates of surcharges to be levied.

What would seem to have been intended is to provide for needed additional revenue without a corrseponding attempt to evenly distribute the burdens proportionally upon the different income levels. Even if it is denied that there was any deliberate intent to let off the highest income groups comparatively more lightly in formulating this additional tax proposal, it might have been presumably conditioned by the consideration of avoidance of sectors of incomes at which, notoriously, large-scale tax-evasion occurs with a view to ensure collection of the needed additional revenue. Such a view of the matter would seem to be supported by the manner the additional tax liability has been formulated. The intention, obviously, seems to have been to raise the tax liability of the middle income groups substantially without any explicit reflection of this intention on the basic slab rates. It may, of course, be argued that the principle of "slab-progression" has been followed in formulating the additional surcharges on residual income in conformity with the principle of basic tax progression. Thus, the additional surcharge is calculated on the amount of the residual income, that is, income net of taxation, at the following rates:

(i) On the first Rs. 6,000 of the residual income .. 4 per cent
(ii) On the next Rs. 9,000 of the residual income .. 6 per cent
(ii) On the next Rs. 12,000 of the residual income .. 8 per cent
(iv) On the next Rs. 15,000 of the residual income .. 9 per cent
(v) On the balance .. 10 per cent

The above rates are subject to the proviso (i) that no additional surcharge is payable where the residual income does not exceed Rs. 6,000 in the case of a Hindu Undivided Family; Rs. 3,600 for an individual with more than one child; Rs. 3,300 for an individual with one child and Rs. 3,000 in every other case, and (ii) that the additional surcharge payable shall not exceed the sum of (a) an amount calculated at 3 per cent on so much of the residual income as does not exceed the limit specified above; and (b) one half of the amount by which the residual income exceeds the aforesaid limits. The Finance Minister has estimated additional revenue from the above surcharge and the surcharge of 20 per cent on income tax payable by registered firms at Rs. 45 crores. The surcharge on registered firms which was originally estimated to yield around Rs. 1 crore and which has since been reduced by 50 per cent, leaves approximately Rs. 44 crores to be derived from the surcharges on personal incomes only.

It will be noticed from the above that slab progression in the additional surcharge covers the residual income ranges from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 42,000 only, beyond which the additional surcharge is a flat and fixed 10 per cent of the residual income beyond these initial slabs. The inevitable result is that beyond the Rs. 42,000 level, the total additional burden on the tax payers follows a steadily regressive trend and its incidence, as between the levels at Rs. 42,000 and Rs. 2,00,000, is al-

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most halved as already demonstrated above.

Apart from that, there are several other factors which would appear to make this surcharge a highly regressive one. The first of these is that by relating the tax liability to **residual income,** the Finance Minister has virtually sought to deprive income-earners of the not exceeding Rs. 5,000 level of the exemption they had so far been entitled to on the first slabs of their incomes. It takes away the benefit so long enjoyed by a tax payer with a family burden, as compared to the one who had no such burden. For instance a person with an income of Rs. 5,000, married and with more than one child, had to pay in income taxes Rs. 42 per annum, the first Rs. 3,600|- of the income having been exempt from tax, while an unmarried person with a like income and who was entitled to tax exemption on the first Rs. 1,000 of his income, was paying Rs. 120 by way of income tax. But the manner in which the additional surcharge has been devised, the tax payer with the family burden will be required to pay surcharge on the whole of his income net of taxation, that is, on Rs. 4,958. In the result he will be paying Rs. 200 by way of surcharge while the unmar... person pays Rs. 195, as his residual in... net of taxation shall be Rs. 4,876. The p... cipal objection to this is not merely t... the former would be paying a little m... than the latter on this account, but ... the justification of the basic tax struc... in allowing him a higher exemption ... thus completely nullified. Besides, beca... the additional surcharge is imposed ... residual income, its marginal incidence ... incomes of Rs. 5,000 and below would ... extremely high. For example an unm... ried individual earning Rs. 3,1000 w... be paying a gross Rs. 166 by way of ... and surcharge while another within ... the exemption limit of Rs. 3,000 would ... paying no tax at all and pay only Rs. ... as compulsory savings deposit. It is, ... deed, a highly regressive impost, this a... tional surcharge on residual incomes. ... a person earning Rs. 5,000 per annum, t... additional surcharge works out at appro... mately 4 per cent of the income while ... person earning more than Rs. 1,00,000, i... effect of the surcharge on the portion ex... ceeding this amount works out at only 1... per cent. The following table would be i... teresting :

Average Rate of Additional Surcharge Payable at Selected Incomes

Income	Income from salaries		Earned income other than salaries		Wholly unearned income	
	Amount	Per cent	Amount	Per cent	Amount	Per cent
5,000	199	4	200	4	206	4.1
10,000	451	4.5	450	4.5	446	4.5
15,000	710	4.7	708	4.7	698	4.7
20,000	998	5.0	996	5.0	967	4.8
25,000	1,256	5.0	1,248	5.0	1,201	4.8
40,000	1,914	4.8	1,890	4.7	1,744	4.4
70,000	2,843	4.1	2,775	4.0	2,370	3.4
100,000	3,586	3.6	3,457	3.5	2,721	2.7
200,000	5,430	2.7	5,119	2.6	3,981	2.0

The one effective argument in favour of the additional surcharges may be that the income plus super-tax levels on the higher slabs of incomes is already so high, that there is no further scope of raising these rates without destroying basic economic incentives. For instance, the impact of a reduction of the marginal rate of 87 per cent at the highest scales by even as little as 6.5 per cent would have the effect of increasing net income, that is, income net of taxation, by as much as fifty per cent. It may be argued, therefore, that the effect of the additional surcharge on the higher income scales would be legitimately lower than on the lower income groups. But this

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effect of the maner in which this additional surcharge would be bound to operate would be such as to burden the lower income groups, especially those in the range between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 42,000 far more heavily than they should have been. This would be more so for those who are on the margin of two slabs, especially those who are just on the wrong side of the tax exemption limits.

It would seem, in the circumstances, that instead of the additional surcharge on residual incomes net of taxation in the manner in which it has been proposed in the current Budget, a straight increase in the income tax rate might have served the purpose of revenue gathering without laying the process open to the criticism which have been sought to advanced above. If the choice was between the aditional surcharge in the manner in which it has been imposed and a straight increase in income tax rates, even the lowest incomes above the present exemption limits would seem to qualify for such an increase. The argument has long been advanced that the rate of tax in the low income slabs has, indeed, been very low. A married person with more than one child and with an income of Rs. 5,000 per annum, as already shown, pays income tax of Rs. 42 gross in the year. The increased slab rate at the next tier is also comparatively nominal. It may be argued that it would be quite legitimate to tax these levels of income more heavily than they have so far been. For incomes of Rs. 10,000 and above, we would agree, there was certainly a scope for further rises in basic income tax rates, especially having regard to the fact that at the Rs. 10,000 level and above of incomes, there generally is some margin of savings, one way or another. In any case, at this level some deterrant against consumption would be a legitimate, perhaps, even a needed expedient. But for incomes of below Rs. 10,000 and especially those around the Rs. 5,000 level, such an argument would not seem to apply. Here the margin of savings is infintesimal, sometimes even wholly non-existent, especially having regard to the heavy burden of indirect taxation, especially those relating to excise imposts upon essential consumer commodities, that this sector of incomes has to normally bear and of which the burden on the higher income sectors is comparatively nominal. If the basic income tax rates were revised upwards in a straightforward manner for incomes from the level of Rs. 10,000 and upwards and say, upto Rs. 50,000, where the total impact of the income-cum-Supertax levies are not quite as proportionally heavy as in the higher scales of incomes, say 3 to 4 per cent at the lowest slab and a combined income-cum-supertax rate of 65 per cent on a slab of Rs. 10,000 exceedding Rs. 50,000 would have taken care of the additional revenue without going through the devious means of an additional surcharge on residual incomes in the manner in which it has been sought to be imposed.

One of the reasons why the Union Finance Minister sought the expedient of the additional surcharge on residual incomes rather than resorting to a straightforward increase in the slab rates of the income tax, may be that he wanted the whole of the revenue derived therefrom to accrue to the Centre without any part of it to be required to be ceded to the States as would be normal under the present system of tax division between the Centre and the States. But this could easily have been devised by passing necessary legislation to provide that the increased revenue from the increased rates of the tax would wholly accrue to the Centre alone.

On the face of it, as we have endeavoured to demonstrate in the foregoing paragraphs, the process of income taxation together with the new additional surcharges proposed, does not evenly distribute the burdens of it as between the different sectors of incomes. The middle income groups have to bear by far the most overwhelming proportion of the additional burden, while the highest income earners are comparatively lightly let off. The argument that when the already existing burdens of income-cum-supertax has been taken into consideration, the scope for further levies on the highest income brackets would seem to be nonexistent

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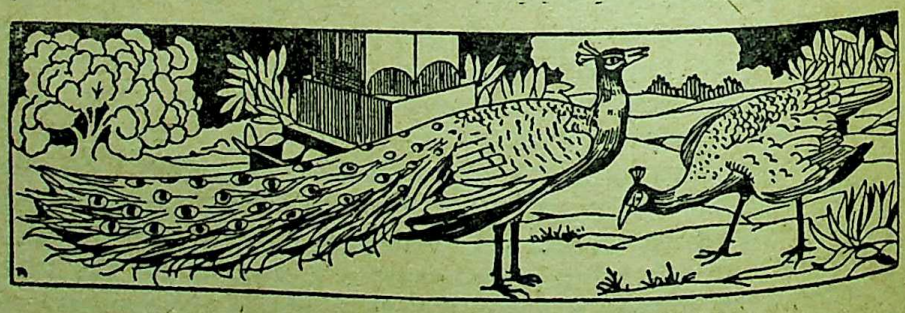
without corresponding destruction of economic incentives to the sectors from which initiative for new investments flows, would not seem, in the present conditions of economic growth in the country to be very sound. For one thing, basic initiative for economic growth has already been largely appropriated by the State and the private sector is left with very limited choice in matter. Since the question of private initiative in the process of economic growth has already been very substantially eliminated, the scope for economic incentives to private income-earners must also be said to have been correspondingly circumscribed. In the circumstances, a more proportional distribution of the burdens of additional taxation over all levels of incomes would seem to be both fair and legitimate.

What would seem to be all the more important to consider in this context is the present over-all taxation structure in the country, in which indirect taxation, a great deal of it on essential consumber commodities, plays such an overwhelmingly crucial part. We have already endeavoured to demonstrate in an earlier contribution to these columns that the effective ratio of indirect to direct taxation levels now stand at approximately 60 per cent to 40 per cent. When the States' imposts have been taken into consideration, the proportion of indirect to direct taxation would be found to be even higher. And since it is a truism that the impact of indirect taxation, especially when they cover a very wide range of essential consumer commodities they do at present in this country, f far more heavily on marginal inco than on those with a visible margin consumer surplus, the justification for kind of uneven distribution of the burd of income taxaation would seem to be even less cogent. For, a basic imperative public taxation policies is that they not tend to unduly affect the averag living levels in the country. This b imperative is recognized as valid even more developed countries with a h standard of living. In a country wh living levels are generally on the fl level of bare existence, the need to de taxation policies in such a manner t this, what would ordinarily be compa as mere rock-bottom living level, must be further depressed at any cost. One the effects of indirect excise imposts essential commodities of consumer co sumption is an inevitable inflationa pressure on the price structure. This h already been of a mounting incidence ev during the last few weeks since t Budget had been presented to Parliament If there is no further scope for basic in crease in taxation rates on slabs of incom at the highest levels of the scale, the would seem to be even less so at the low levels of income above the exempti limits. This is a factor which appears have been wholly disregarded in formu lating the current Budget tax proposa especially in the income tax sector.



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LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By Mrs. D. P. ROYCHOWDHURY

X

Marriages are believed to be made in heaven. It is beyond the means of human ingenuity to ascertain the truth of the doctrine. It can be affirmed however without conflict, that many a couple when they met for the first time, had not the slightest inkling that one day Destiny would unite them as man and wife. Whether the parents choose the mate or whether it is the individuals' own choice, it is always a leap in the dark. After years of companionship one may find a gleam of light to guide one in the discovery of each other. This formula is more true perhaps when one of the party happens to be an artist. For as a rule artists are supposed to be different from non-artistic types of men. Having spent a good part of my life with Sri D. P. Roy Chowdhury, my artist husband, I suppose I am eligible to ratify this view.

In dealing with Deviprosad one has to keep it in mind that he is a man of variegated character. His personality is entirely subservient to his moods. He does not believe in restraining the natural outbursts of emotions. When he laughs the room resounds with its sound. If he is angry he gives full vent to his passion. What he feels he must express, he does not know how to mince matters.

Throughout his life he has been a man of action. The artist has no sympathy for those who while away their time in idle pleasures though he was brought up in a home where the perpetual occupation of the inmates were either to play at cards or talk of the races. Raja Gopal Lal Roy, his uncle, did not fully enjoy going to the race unless he had a retinue to follow his lead. He used to bestir the hearts of the youngsters by bribing them with money, and therefore, was never in want of company. He tried the same trick on Deviprosad but was baffled in his attempt. The artist would accept that when offered but was not to be found at the appointed hour. The son's lack of enthusiasm was compensated however by the father. All interested parties gathered at Chowringhee, the Raja's Calcutta residence, during the racing season to discuss the possible winners. This so disgusted Deviprosad that he had no hesitation in denouncing his uncle's home as a "den of gamblers."

As far as my knowledge goes none has been able to amass wealth by betting on horses. On the contrary, there are instances where people took this game so seriously that in the hope of winning they lost all they had. The sight of beautiful animals running to win the prize does excite my heart with pleasure but the knowledge of the risk involved in it made me cautious. I was well aware that once Deviprosad's interests was roused towards that direction our fate was sealed. I, therefore, decided to forego a little pleasure rather than incite the artist to accompany me to the gambling field.

Deviprosad had a strong dislike for card games of any kind. The baneful memory of his childhood environment was responsible for this attitude of his. It made the position of the wife somewhat complicated. She took keen interest in the game of contract bridge but had no desire to irritate the artist for the sake of her own pleasure. How was the problem to be solved then? Fortunately my husband was posted at a place which gave thought to all these eventualities. To my great relief I soon discovered a club which was meant exclusively for ladies and where men were strictly prohibited. This I felt to be an ideal place for me and enlisted my-

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self as a member. My husband realized that I required some recreation after the end of my day's work and was pleased that I could find a place where his presence was not required. He had developed several hobbies with which he could keep himself occupied during my absence and when he was not otherwise engaged.

This does not mean that sports did not interest Deviprosad. He was a champion foot-baller in his time and won many a medal for "Tajhat," "Aryan," "Telegraph Stores" and his own team known as "New Boys Club." Billiards was anotther game of which he was very fond but since club life does not suit his temperament the opportunities for playing the game was not available in Madras.

To be fair to his uncle, it must be admitted that his interest was not confined to cards and races alone. He encouraged all sorts of sports. Regular competitions were held during special occasions and prizes were alloted to the winners. During one such occasion, competitors had to run to the starting point. The winner of the first prize burnt his tongue to get the position and had to be under treatment for quite a few days. Deviprosad was in no hurry to win the prize at the cost of damaging his system. He was the first to arrive at the spot where tea was served, took his own time to enjoy the drink and was quite pleased with himself to find that in spite of the delay he had won the second place.

Beside cards and races, there was one other object for which the artist had a great aversion. He strictly avoided all kinds of strong beverage. He carried this antipathy to such an extent that people belonging to fashionable society made fun of him and branded him as backward and uncivilised! At times he was so obstinate about this, that I had to find myself in quite an embarassing position. Once we were invited to dinner by some European friends. It is their custom to partake of some spirits before dining. On this particular occasion we were served with some sort of mild liquor—if I remember correctly it was called "creme, de-menthe," a sort of greenish wine. I am not accustomed to the use of this sort of drinks but just do oblige hostess I took a glass and sipped a But my husband declined to do even much inspite of repeated offers from other side. I could see that our hosts feeling awkward to drink when the of honour was not joining them. To save the situation I told my husband in own language to take a glass follow my example. That would affect him in the least while it please our friends. The artist did relish the idea, took a glass with a face and finished the contents in one The effect of it was tremendous. He fro all about the presence of others, rubb his chest with his hand and made much about nothing saying that he felt a bur ing sensation within. I knew there nothing to worry and felt amused in of my embarassment. He took his vengea later by putting the blame of initiating to drinking liquor on my shoulders.

In February 1937 our son beca seriously ill. Eleventh of February was birthday for which were arranged children's party. On that day we came know that he was suffering from a seri type of typhoid. In my anxiety I entir neglected myself. This affected my hea badly. We went to Calcutta while my was convalescing and was advised by physicians not to return to Madras for considerable period of time. About the of June a cherub of a girl came into life for a few hours and then got lost eternity.

As soon as the doctors permitted decided to return to my home in Mad My husband came to Calcutta to accompa us during the journey. As was his custo he brought us to the station much abo of the time, even before the train was He took us to the refreshment room a ordered for some soft drinks. For an accountable reason, I found him very mood and irritable. A little while after boarded the train, he asked me casua whether I had ever tasted gin. I was sur prised at the question and answered in the negative. It is just like "Sherbe (Sweet drink) and very refreshing, said

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why not try a little ? I was innocent about his motive and gave my assent to please him. As soon as the "gin" was consumed, he ordered for a peg of brandy. The ice was broken. It was not necessary therefore to tempt me any further or to enquire whether I felt refreshed or not. This enlightened me about the cause of his irritation. Since I did not like to touch the wrong chord and ignite fire, I kept silent. But I brooded in my mind whether he could not have been a successful diplomat if he had not chosen to be an artist.

A few days after my return from Calcutta my husband sent us to Connoor to recoup our health. This was another trick of the artist to get rid of us and have his own way. I like a fool fell into the trap.

This was the time when Hotel Connemara was flourishing in its business, dance, drinks, cabaret all in plenty. The dancing hall used to be packed in the evenings. The company consisted of mixed audiences of Europeans and anglicised Indians. No Indians ever thought of entering the place in their national costumes. The management therefore took it for granted that none ever would. But there was no written rule against such unforeseen events.

Deviprosad never aspired to be too smart. I do not say that it was beyond the range of his ability for I had seen him dress meticulously when occasion demanded it. But this he did most unwillingly. He preferred the loose Indian garments so suitable for our hot climate and deliberately avoided the tight-fitting clothes as far as particable. Perhaps, he was one of the few Indians, who dared to go to the Government House parties in their national dress long before India regained her independence. It is too much to expect such a man to deck himself in foreign costumes for the sake of entering a hotel. So long as he remained outside the dancing hall nothing happened. Inspired by some friends one day he took into his head to watch the cabaret. But as he was about to enter the hall, he was intercepted by the person who was in-charge of the entrance. The reason was that he was not in his proper dress. This to Deviprosad was not only a personal insult but an insult to a nation. He became furious, stood expanding his broad chest and declared in a defiant tone "I am going in, let who dares, stop me." The rumour of the hubbab soon spread all over the place. Mr. Banerji (the manager) came running to the spot and tried to pacify the artist by explaining the matter. But the latter was adamant in his determination. Poor Mr. Banerji was in a terrific plight. He did not know what to do when to his great relief he received orders from the authorities to allow the artist in, dressed as he was. Since then he became such a regular and lucrative customer of the hotel that any decent dress was good enough to allow him to roam all over the place.

A particular gentleman, who was also a regular visitor to the cabaret hall, used to occupy a certain table which gave a better view of the whole show. One day Deviprosad wanted that particular table to be reserved for him. He was requested to choose some other table since that was usually occupied by someone else. But once Deviprosad's decision was made he did not like to be thwarted in his wish. He said in a tone that demanded compliance, "Reserve all the tables in that line for me, will you ?" The management of the hotel were not prepared to incur monetory loss for any one, however regular he might have been, and acceded to the wish of our artist without any further protest. I was aware of the scuffle at the start and was therefore surprised to find how eager all were to serve the man whose dress was once considered unsuitable for the place when I paid occasional visits to the dancing hall. He used to sit with all his habitual accessories such as 'pan,' betel-nut and some such other things and felt as at home as if he was in his own residence.

Mr. Banerji the Manager, who, in course of time, became the friend of the artist, calmly bore the brunt of all his idiosyncracies. At one time when the artist went to visit him dressed in his khaki outfit, the waiter who was perhaps a new man, took him to be a "sadhubaba." Mr. Banerji, who came in all haste to meet the holy man,

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fell into a fit of laughter when he envisaged the great saint.

When Deviprosad did not feel like going to Connemara, our drawing room upstairs became the rendezvous of his friends. Often it so happened that at about 12 a.m. he would suddenly decide to entertain his guests to dinner without giving any previous notice to his cook. The poor man must have been at his wits' end when he received the order. All this occured while I was away at Connoor. The proceedings were related to me later with lot of gusto by our friend Sri R. N. Chowdhurie who was an unfailing member of these parties, that they always found a sumptuous meal waiting for them at the table even at that late hour. How the fellow managed to feed so many with such short notice, is beyond my power to comprehend. Perhaps he had been able to discover an Aladin's Lamp.

In Madras my husband missed the Puja Festival of Bengal to the fun of which he was used from his childhood. Consequently when at the approach of a "Holi" festival in which display of colour forms a very important part, he came and told me he wished to celebrate it in our place, I gave my whole-hearted consent. The list of expenditure that he put forward, which included a "dhoti" and a "chaddr" (upper garment) for each guest and a few bags of "abir" (coloured power) seemed rather exhorbitant to me. I expressed what I felt. At that the artist looked somewhat dejected and said in that case the idea should be given up. But I did not like to disappoint him, specially when I knew that this was not going to be a recurring expense and asked him to proceed with the arrangements which the artist did in right earnest.

A few lady friends were asked for my benefit who stayed in the house with me. We were detached from menfolk and celebrated the function in our own way. Special arrangements were made for the men guests in a corner of the spacious compound and away from the bungalow from where the din of their amusement was carried to us by the wind.

At about 8 P.M. when I went to [illegible] my friends off, the real cause of such [illegible] huge expense was revealed to me for [illegible] first time. Glittering liquors of diffe[illegible] varieties were being lavishly served to [illegible] who desired to drink. As a result of [illegible] the account went far beyond the estima[illegible] Two Bengali boys, Sachin Mukherjee [illegible] Kalikinkar Ghose Dastidar, were [illegible] studying in the School of Arts. The form[illegible] is no more. The latter (Kalikinkar) is one [illegible] the few loyal pupils that Deviprosad e[illegible] had. He still loves and respects his G[illegible] and is ever willing to serve him if he c[illegible] At this point, these two boys came ru[illegible] ing to me for more money. Still being [illegible] novice in the art of managing an artis[illegible] house I bluntly refused to pay a pie mo[illegible] An after thought, however, made me rea[illegible] my folly. I remembered I was dealing wi[illegible] a man who could stand no resistance wh[illegible] once his mind was made up. Besides, h[illegible] was one of those old type of Indians t[illegible] whom guests were almost as sacred a[illegible] gods. I knew that if I stood in the wa[illegible] there were others who would do all the[illegible] could to please him and the necessary [illegible] amount would surely come, may be fro[illegible] undesirable sources. I, therefore, literal[illegible] threw away all the money that I had in m[illegible] possession. The festival which started wi[illegible] such joy ended in a fiasco and the questi[illegible] of repeating it never occured to us agai[illegible]

It is evident form these incidents th[illegible] by now Deviprosad had acquired a tasie f[illegible] the drink that he once avoided with s[illegible] punctiliousness. He discovered that [illegible] stimulated the mind in the hours of depr[illegible] ssion and made free use of it when he f[illegible] the need. I could not be pleased with th[illegible] new addition to the artist's life. I kn[illegible] my husband disdained to become a sla[illegible] of any habit. This I used as my trump ca[illegible] I reminded him of the power of alcoh[illegible] and told him that unless he was careful [illegible] he would certainly be a slave to t[illegible] incurable and baneful habit. To prove th[illegible] fallacy of my argument and his o[illegible] strength of mind he did not touch the dr[illegible] for quite a few months. How and why [illegible] the practice was resumed, I do not rem[illegible]

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ber. Perhaps, as it happens in most cases it was taken as a soothing balm to drown some sorrow or because he could not refuse the request of friends.

In spite of all Deviprosad's arrogance, he is at heart a law-abiding man and strictly abstained from touching spirits when prohibition was introduced. People who knew him during the pre-prohibition period found it difficult to believe that this could be true. But alas, all his resolutions to be a "sadhu" in toto had to be postponed due to the decision of his medical advisers. According to their theory sudden resort to an abstemious habit is injurious to health.

VICTOR HUGO

The Man and his ideas

(Contributed)

The author of **Les Miserables** is a name to conjure with in the annals of French letters. Acclaimed as the doyen of French poets and recognized by the radical intelligentsia as their patron and benefactor, Hugo has left indelible foot-prints on the quick sands of French politics in the nineteenth century. Starting as an ardent devotee at the altar of classical poetry and Bourbon grandeur, the vicissitudes of his romantic evolution towards making literature an instrument for social progress and unfolding dormant historical forces, led him inevitably into the republican parlour; what with his profound love of human personality and transparent idealism, Victor Hugo was a veritable stormy petrel of French literature and politics, symbolising in himself the weaknesses, foibles and failures, as well as the dare-devilry of the revolutionary masses of France. Essentially an artist who was drawn into the whirlpool of radical public life in the heyday of his literary fame, he portrays in his magnum opus **Les Miserables** the many facets of contemporary crisis-ridden European society as well as his philosophy of life which led him instinctively to appreciate, if not live up to, the ideology of the death-defying insurrectionists at the barricades during the revolution of 1848, the Napoleonic Coup of 1851 and the Paris Commune in 1871.

Hugo's early catholic conservatism was partly strengthened under the influence of his opinionated mother, whose royalist sympathies were so strong that she took great risks in saving from the guillotine many a victim of republican fury. While still in his teens he won more than one laurel in the poetical contests held by the French Academy of letters and was recognized by Chateaubriand, the dean of French letters, as the enfant sublime. For a time poverty dogged his footsteps and he had to lead a sort of grub street existence, while his insatiable thirst for knowledge and fame goaded him on to devote even his hungry hours to the muse of poetry. The death of Louis XVIII in 1824 and the accession of Charles X did not diminish the intensity of the reaction that rode roughshod over the liberties of the people. The regime that awarded Hugo the cross of Legion of Honour and patted him with a pension, to boot, did not appear to his royalist heart in its true colours. But the death of Byron in the Greek war of Independence, drew a feeling tribute from Hugo who said that Byron's death was a domestic calamity to the French intellectuals. The first glimmerings of his genuine humanitarianism were seen during the agitation for the abolition of death penalty in which La Fayette, hero of many a freedom's battle in two continents, was playing a leading role in the evening of his noble career. The Cold-blooded nonchallance of the public execu-

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tioner getting ready with the gaping guillotine struck him and stirred his innate love of human personality to the inmost depths of his being. The efflux of time nurtured this noble characteristic of the poet and raised it to lofty heights of altruistic emotion.

Hugo, the creative artist **par excellence,** looked back to the dark days of mediaeval civilization in the Hunch-Back of Notre-Dame, and out of the ruins of Catholic architecture, he could discern and evoke the grandeur of the mediaeval monument. He enlivened the church of Notre-Dame into a bible in stone, and brought about a revolution in architectural tastes, a disinterested love of sculptural beauty, relegating the religious aspects to their time-worn insignificance. Catholic readers were shocked by this story of a priest's sensual infatuation for a gipsy girl. His words 'Vulture fatality, is it you that holds the human race in thrall?' rang out in tune with the anti-clericalism of the young radicals.

The end of the reactionery regime and the exile of the King, following the liberal revolution of 1830, won the approval of Hugo, notwithstanding his lingering love of monarchy and fear of republican extremism. His poetic idealism reinforced by the compulsion of historical forces in action, was drawn towards conscientious duty to help the humble and oppressed underdog who preferred death at the barricade to disgraceful surrender to tyranny. But his intimacy with the Duke of Orleans and the lavish compliments showered on him by Louis Phillipe revived for a time his devotion to the royal house. Elected to the French Academy of Letters, a rare honour reserved only to veterans and named Peers of France, Hugo once again relapsed into docile admiration of monarchical dogmas, dashing to the ground the hopes entertained by his republican friends who now looked upon him as a renegade of undependable radicalism. The Fourrierists, a French school of Utopian socialists, cultivated his friendship, as they themselves did not rule out the possibility of the metamorphosis of the monarchical regime in order to realise their dreams of ameliorating the lot of the working class. Hugo's faith in the re... litation of the fallen women through ... and his aspirations of Universal ... found an echo in the hearts of the Fou... rists. It was at this period that he be... to compose his famous novel Jean Tra... or Les Miseres which took the reading ... lic by storm the world over, under ... later title Les Miserables. Embodied ... this noble work of art is a whole phil... phy of life, the politico-economic ideal... of the poet-politician, and a mirror of ... complexities and contradictions of Fre... industrial society, as well as the life... solutions advocated by Hugo.

France was in the throes of an ind... trial revolution on the eve of 1848, ... year of liberal democratic upheavals ... Europe. The birth pangs of Capita... society caught up in the coils of its c... genital crises, produced a political u... heaval that brought the working ma... onto the agenda of history, as never befo... Over-production and inadequate marke... unemployment and under consumpti... poverty and pauperism, following close o... the heels of poor harvests and skyrocketi... food prices aggravated the economic sit... tion, resulting in large-scale beggary a... larceny, food riots and peasant uprisi... with their inevitable radicalisation of p... letarian consciousness, culminating in t... French revolution of 1848. The streets ... French cities filled with angry worke... and soldiers shouting slogans like "L... live the people" and "Down with Gui... Barricades were erected across the ro... and the troops held aloft their bayon... thirsting for people's blood. Hugo fre... mingled with the indignant crowd as ... messenger of peace. Asked about the ... come of the uprising he declared, 'The ri... will be quelled; but the revolution will ... triumphant'. Louis Philippe abdicated ... a regency was announced. On being ... by Hugo about the regency, the ... masses shouted back: "No Regency. D... with the Bourbons". He waxed eloquent ... the compatibility of constitutional mona... chy with liberty and said "Look at Qu... Victoria in England" but the furious cro... roared: "We are Frenchmen. No Regen...

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The poet of peace was eclipsed by Lamartine the more radical poet of reform and revolution, 'who had let fall on the guillotine a ray of his silver moonlight'. Lamartine cast his die in favour of a republic and won the day.

Under the new constitution, Victor Hugo was elected to the National Assembly. The provisional government headed by Lamartine went ahead with a dazzling programme of reform, consisting of guarantee of work to the able bodied persons, the establishment of national workshops, the abolition of death penalty for political offences and the proclamation of the republic. The new republic announced the end of slavery, the infamous imprisonment for debt, abolished the pillory and revoked the tax on salt and recognized the principle of universal suffrage. The national workshops which were just a feeble palliative, a form of unemployment relief, were denounced by the moderates as dangerous organizations likely to be misused by the extremists for revolutionary ends. A bill aiming at the ultimate dissolution of the workshops was introduced in the assembly. Victor Hugo completely misunderstood the role of the workshops and apprehending the growth of the Parisian paupers, and mistaking the measure as a premium on idleness, sided with the conservatives in supporting the bill. In his ill-thought out maiden speech he said:

"The national workshops are a fatal expedient . . . . we have already experienced idleness bred of opulance; you have created idleness bred of poverty, which is a hundred times more dangerous both for itself and others. The monarchy had its idlers ; the republic will have its loafers".

Hugo, the advocate of benevolent capitalism, despite his deep sympathy for the poignant poverty of the Parisian masses, failed the working classes in the hour of its need. The surging crowds filled the Palace Royale shouting "Down with Lamartine," —a melancholy anti-climax in the insurrection of June, 23. Victor Hugo held the opinion that the rebellion of the populace against the people 'the ignorant recourse to violence at the expense of the very principles of people's existence must be repressed.' He walked undaunted to exhort the fighting workers at the barricades, there to read the decrees. He asked the workers to surrender in the name of peace and order. He called Thiers 'a small man trying with his small hand to stop the roaring mouth of revolution'; nor did he love the brutal general Cavaignac who was breathing fire and slaughter. The workers set fire to Hugo's house, Cavaignac won the day. The victory of the liberal bourgeoise stunk in the nostrils of Paris, coming as it did wading through a hideous bloodbath; thousands were deported to penal colonies without trial. The sabre-rattler Cavaignac suppressed eleven newspapers; and Hugo founded a journal **L'Evenement** to voice the views of his co-thinkers. Unlike many others in the party of Order, Hugo was opposed tooth and nail to the vindictive treatment of the workers.

The second Republic proclaimed a new constitution. The country was preparing for the presidential election. Louis Napoleon, the fugitive prince, with the magic name of the famous conqueror appeared on the scene as a candidate. Hugo who was now in political doldrums, was dazzled into recognizing the adventurous prince as a candidate worthy of his support. The prince had a chequered career, and during his sojourn in prison, composed a brochure entitled "Thoughts on the extinction of pauperism" which seemed to overflow with the milk of human kindness, and solicitude for the welfare of the down -trodden masses. A beneficent president might spread plenty and prosperity over the land, even where political parties pre-occupied with hair-splitting polemics, failed to deliver the goods. Hugo thought in these terms, and what is more, the legends of the Napoleonic era, and even the name itself, had a hypnotic effect on the poet, who recollected in tranquillity the greatness of France revived by a great hero.

Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Second Republic. Hugo was elected to the National Assembly from a Paris constituency. Within six months his hero was found to have feet of clay ; the poet was

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disillusioned and a rupture was in the offing. The President sent an expedition to help the Pope against the Roman Republic set up by Mazzini. This was a sop to the catholic majority and a foretaste of Napoleonic jingoism. The French democrats protested and were met by military force and severe reprisals. Ledru-Rollin, a leader of the Left was forced to flee the country. The press was muzzled. Hugo made a fine speech supporting the bill introduced by a catholic philanthropist providing for a commission to study housing conditions and to make plans for public relief. The Keynote of Hugo's speech which jarred on the ears of the conservatives was that poverty could be abolished. "I am not one of those who believe that suffering can be suppressed in this world; suffering is a divine law, but I am one of those who think and affirm that poverty can be destroyed." Thus he bade good-bye to the dogma of catholic fatality. Hugo's progressive evolution was still more outspoken in the eloquent speech he delivered as the President of the World Peace Congress which met in Paris. He prophesied that a day will come when there will be no other battlefields than markets open to commerce and minds receptive to ideas, that one day cannons will be exhibited in museums just as instruments of torture are today! On January 15, 1850, he delivered an impassioned two hour speech in the Assembly declaring that the future of France should not be entrusted to the clerical party, and when he finished his peroration, all the members of the Left, nearly two hundred in number, marched in respectful saluation before him. Hugo's political evolution towards militant republicanism was now complete. Now that the President's electoral reform, with a view to eliminating the radical intelligentsia by means of bureaucratic legerdemain, was not acceptable to the Assembly, having failed to secure the stipulated three-fourths vote, Louis Napoleon prepared for the inevitable **coup d' etat** to prolong his hated regime indefinitely. On July 17, 1851 Victor Hugo made his most famous oration in which he exclaimed; "What because there was once a man who won the battle of Marengo, and therefore mounted throne, you too want to reign, you want to take into your little hands, the Sceptre Titans, the sword of giants, what what! After Augustus Agustulus! because we have had a Napoleon the must we have Napoleon the Little." **coup de'etat** was an accomplished Resistance was suppressed with an hand. Victor Hugo fled the country lived in exile for nineteen years, until fall of the second empire. The spectacle barricades, corpses strewn all over, wounded crying out in agony, and bloody scenes in the streets of Paris, ed Napoleon as a usurper in the eyes of friends of the Republic. He could now how a combination of economic interest and ecclesiastical reaction could defeat forces of progress and destroy political democracy. The parties of the Right inevitably reactionary and the conception of a beneficent ruler imbued with good intentions, was proved to be delusion. The chimera of liberal democracy without the invigorating spice economic equality was crystal clear to discerning observer. Hugo had now time as an exile to reflect on some of the fundamental truths.

The abdication of Napoleon, and fall of the second empire gave place to third republic. Hugo breathed a sigh relief and returned to France. On set foot on the French soil, with tears in eyes, he called out to the French troops sing by "Vive la France" "Vive la Francaise." The provisional government was confronted with workers imbued with a new revolutionary philosophy. Flourens Blanqui and Ledru-Rollin planned a coup **d' grace** against the bourgeois regime established the new Republic, called the Paris Commune. Steeped in half a century socialist egalitarianism, the communists set about the task of establishing a workers' state. The commune had seized power riding on the crest of a proletarian upsurging in Paris and had to fight with its back to the wall against Versailles and Prussia. Hugo frankly could not understand why Frenchmen should fight fellow Frenchmen

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The ideology of class struggle was alien to his conception of social evolution. Once again he donned the robes of the peace-maker and called upon French workers and patriots to honour their legacy and defend their civilization, abandoning the fratricidal civil war. Choked with patriotic emotion, he composed the following lines :

"O you furious fighters ! to what end
are you drawn ?
You are just like a fire devouring a
corn -field
Your victims are honour, and reason
and hope
France here, and France there, on the
slippery slope
Hold your hands, for success can breed
nothing but death
Between Frenchmen and Frenchmen
the cannon's hot breath
Spits forth, fratricidal, its stench its
flame.
But slaugher before it, behind shame."

The commune was supressed, with blood and iron. Many thousands were massacred, deported to penal colonies and detained without trial. Robespierrean terror paled into insignificance before the republican fury that unleashed the hounds of slaughter on the vaquished workers of Paris. It redounds to the immortal credit of Hugo that he proclaimed his right to offer asylum to the fugitives, who fled into Belgium where he lived in self-imposed exile during the civil war. No sooner he made this proclamation than the Belgian Government decreed : "One Victor Hugo, man of letters, sixty-nine years of age, to leave this kingdom without delay, never to return." He moved into Luxemburg forgiving the Belgian Government, and thanking the people for their hospitality. Even after the returned to France he maintained steadfastly that the vanquished leaders of the people deserved an honourable treatment. Many a prominent leader of the left owed his life to the timely intervention of Hugo. While the Rightist clerical press denounced him with bell, book and candle, Hugo remained the darling of the masses, the great humanitarian and ardent lover of the human personality.

On May 22, 1885 Victor Hugo breathed his last, two million Frenchmen followed the hearse to its last resting place within the walls of the Pantheon, while twelve young French poets formed a guard of honour. It was perhaps the first occasion in the history of mankind when a whole nation was rendering this honour to a poet, hitherto reserved for sovereigns and conquerors. His last will contained these words :

"I give forty thousand francs to the poor
I wish to be taken to the cemetary in a
pauper's hearse
Since all existing religions have failed in
their duty to humanity and to God,
No priest shall have a part in my funeral.."

II

The bulk of the great novel Les Miserables was written in exile. Thirty years of hectic experiences—a period of gestation, as it were—are packed into this noble work; of which he said "Dante created a hell out of poetry, I have tried to create one out of reality." Though not exclusively realistic the book is great, because of the admirable portrayal of nineteenth century French society and the deep human sympathy it evokes in the breast of every thinking being. The description of some of the historical episodes add lustre to the story. Bishop Myriel and Jean Valjean symbolise some of the deepest convictions of Victor Hugo. The self-sacrificing, charitable good Christian is held up as an ideal, while the ultimate redemption of the galley slave through love is not a far-fetched possibility. The dialogue between the bishop and the revolutionary is a revealing commentary on the Hugo of 1862 compared to his apotheosis of Bonaparate in the twenties of his career.

Jean Valjean, though not a habitual criminal, steals a loaf of bread to feed the hungary children, and is sent to the galleys, by a monstrous criminal code ; he becomes bitter and indignant at the lawless laws that hound him out of society. He is no

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doubt impressed by the bisop's goodness, but is not converted ; he steals a piece of money from an urchin Gervaius but now he repents and weeps, remembering the words of the bishop :

"It is your soul I am redeeming. I withdraw it from black thoughts and from the spirit of perdition and I give it to God." Now he becomes Hugo's ideal of goodness and sacrifice. The epic grandeur of his character is revealed to us in the role of Father Madeleine, the benevolent philanthropist, and in the disclosure of his indentity to save Chanpmathien on his condemnation to the galleys. From now on his life is one long saga of self-sacrifice for the sake of Cosette, the daughter of the dead destitute Fantine. The discovery that Cosette and Marius are in love leads him to barricades where, identifying himself with the workers and intellectuals, he fights for the cause of democracy, and braves the hazards of the labyrinthine under-ground tunnels of Paris, with the wounded Marius on his shoulders, Javert dogging his heels, thus living upto his motto of self-sacrifice for the sake of the dear one he loves.

In the character of Marius, Hugo describes more or less his own intellectual evolution from Bonapartism to republicanism. When he says that destitution engenders greatness of soul and mind, he remembers his own youthful privations. Eponine, a helpless victim of heredity [illegible] unhappy environment, turns out to [illegible] flower growing on a dunghill, and her [illegible] sacrificing love for Marius [illegible] moments of tragic beauty. Who can [illegible] the pleasure of wading through the [illegible] of digressions, like the description of [illegible] battle of Waterloo, the convent and [illegible] environment, the insurrectoin of 1832 [illegible] the sewers of Paris ? Enjolras' role in [illegible] insurrection is the symbol of militancy [illegible] political idealism. Mabeuf, who dies at [illegible] barricades flag in hand, is a gentle soul [illegible] who is driven by poverty to dispose of [illegible] last book in his library.

Excepting for the fact that bishop Myr[illegible] is an officer of the church, he is an [illegible] bishop ; the man who kneels before [illegible] conventional of 1793 is the object of Hu[illegible] admiration. Hugo speaks of convents [illegible] homes of error but of innocence, of tor[illegible] but of martydom. No wonder he was [illegible] religion against religion. The portrai[illegible] Marius mirrors his early enthusiasm [illegible] Napoleon and later evolution to democ[illegible] Marius fights at the barricades, un[illegible] Hugo who braved risks but did not want [illegible] take sides—a typical characteristic of [illegible] poet's political outlook. He could see, h[illegible] ever, vaguely the malaise of economic an[illegible] chism in capitalist production and distri[illegible] tion. And hence his appeal: "Solve th[illegible] problems, encourage the rich and pr[illegible] the poor, abolish poverty."

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BINAY RANJAN SEN

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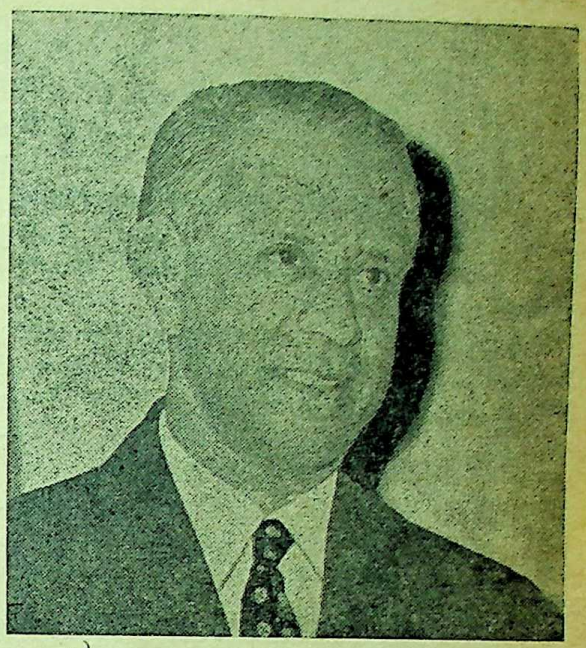
An Appreciation

(Contributed)

AMONGST the handful of men and women who have raised the stature of India in international diplomacy in the post-independence era, the name of Binay Ranjan Sen ranks high. For ten years he represented India in various capacities abroad. As Ambassador to the United States, Italy, Yugoslavia and Japan, he projected an image of India that was awakening, after centuries of stagnation, to her potential role in the conduct of international affairs in a world charged with fear, tension and insecurity. As India's representative in the United Nations General Assembly, Security Council and Economic and Social Council, Sen made India's voice heard with respect. It was a voice of humility and courage lit by moral fervour.

In November, 1956, B. R. Sen was elected Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and was thus the first Asian to head a United Nations organization. He knew how difficult and arduous the task was. At the time Sen took over, FAO badly needed a new sense of direction and a new vision of its role in a world that was being shaken to its roots by the impact of revolutionary social changes. Half of the world's population was underfed and mal-nourished, and population was increasing at an unprecedented rate. Sen realized that something more had to be done other than re-organizing the Secretariat and increasing the budget. He pondered. After a year and a half, in the summer of 1958, he first mooted the idea of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign at the Economic and Social Council then holding session in Geneva.

It would be incorrect to say that the idea of the Campaign immediately caught fire. It did not. There were critics and doubters, both within FAO and outside. Was it a publicity stunt? How could FAO conduct a campaign which had to deal with the public and not governments who are its members and its only source of support? A period of heart-searching followed. It took another eighteen months of discussions and preparations before the FAO Conference adopted the Campaign in November, 1959. The United Nations family endorsed the Campaign and offered their co-operation. Today the FAO Campaign has become a world movement.



Sri Benoy Ranjan Sen

Among the many germinal ideas of the Campaign that took root in Sen's mind, there are two which stand out. The first is a sense of mission which the shame and folly of the Bengal famine of 1943, inspired in him. He was connected then with the administration of relief and food distribution. The second is the danger posed by the widening gap between the rich and poor nations. "One Cold War is enough; let us not have a class war as well", Sen would say.

Sen has lifted FAO from near anonymity, and has made the problem of hunger a world issue. If he had done nothing else, he would have earned the gratitude of millions of underfed and underprivileged people in the world today. If the coming generations in Asia, Africa and Latin America feel the pangs of hunger and poverty a little less, it would be at least partly due to Sen's idealism and missionary zeal.

But idealism alone would not have been enough to achieve the miracle that has taken place. It was possible because Sen is not only a thinker but also a doer. His outstanding administrative ability was recognized early in his service in India, and he was given some of the most challenging tasks which he performed with distinction. This early experience gave him, in

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his maturer years, a supreme confidence in his ability to deal with the most intractable problems and baffling situations.

There is another thing. Beneath his aloof and taciturn exterior, Sen conceals a formidable inner strength and a storehouse of restless energy. His impatience with delay is well-known to his colleagues and subordinates. It is curious that these same people are the most loyal and most devoted to him. The reason is simple: he does not spare himself when the need arises, and the example is too compelling for others.

In the true Indian tradition, Sen would be described as a *Karmayogin*—one who seeks happiness and fulfilment through action. When Sen is on the go, he reminds one of the gurgling and swirling waters of the Brahmaputra which nourished his childhood fancies and dreams. His father was a Civil Surgeon in Assam, and Sen spent several years in Dibrugarh before he went to Calcutta and Oxford. A man of wide culture and deep sensitivity, Sen finds relaxation in music and reading.

At 64, Sen is greying a little and has a few lines on his forehead, but these have only added to the arresting dignity of his tall and handsome frame.

Sen has made his countrymen proud of his achievements for in serving the world community he is also serving India.

FREEDOM FROM HUNGER MANIFESTO

Rome, 14th March, 1963

MORE than half the human race is either undernourished or mal-nourished; yet about 150 billion dollars were spent on armaments in 1962, while the sum spent on development was an insignificant proportion of it. When we consider that in the twentieth century, one child out of three is born without any chance of living a normal life, we are forced to conclude that our civilization is mutilating its human resources and reducing its chances of progress. The situation is getting worse because the population is increasing rapidly and food production is not keeping pace with it. The means are, nevertheless, at hand to meet this challenge and if they are used properly, the hope of a world free from the miseries of hunger can now be realized. Is mankind alive to this danger and prepared to meet it?

It is intolerable that the vast reservoir of knowledge and wealth which exists in the world is hardly being used for improving the lot of the many who are desperately in need of it. Of the several wants of man, food is primary. Hunger and mal-nutrition can impede the progress of a nation in every other sphere.

No development can be lasting which is not based on a mobilization of national resources. But external aid is indispensable initially to guide and supplement these efforts. The impediments to improvement are social and economic rather than scientific and the supply of know-how and capital and the provision of facilities for education are the best means of ensuring an evolution towards a better life. The problems are complex, vast and urgent and can be solved only if national efforts are supported by international assistance and co-operation. In this connection, trade agreements should aim at preserving the dignity and independence of developing countries by enabling them to sell their products in the markets of the world. Co-operation by all economically advanced nations, both capitalist and communist, in the conquest of hunger and poverty, the common enemy of all mankind, may indeed breed sufficient mutual trust and confidence to assist progress towards that other of the fundamental freedoms, namely, freedom from the fear of war.

The Freedom from Hunger Campaign seeks to stimulate national and international effort. It aims to inform the Governments and educate the people so as to make the best use of the total resources of all nations.

We desire to state with all the emphasis at our command that freedom from hunger is man's first and fundamental right. In order to achieve this, we suggest urgent and adequate national and international effort in which the governments and

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the peoples are associated. More particularly, we desire to draw attention to the colossal waste of resources in the piling up of more and new forms of armaments and the immense assistance to the Campaign against Hunger that even a partial diversion of those funds could achieve. We feel that international action for abolishing hunger will reduce tension and improve human relationships by bringing out the best instead of the worst in man.

SIGNED

Sir Mark Oliphant, K.B.E., F.R.S.,—*Australia.*
Professor of Physical Sciences,
The Australian National University.

Prof. Hans Thirring, *Austria*
Member of the Australian Academy of Sciences.

Rev. Dominique Georges Pire *Belgium*
Nobel Laureate—Peace

Ambassador Josue de Castro *Brazil*
Head of the Permanent Delegation
of Brazil in Geneva.

Prof. Henri Laugier, *France*
Former Assistant Secretary-General of
Social Affairs, United Nations.

Abbe Pierre, *France*
Association Emmaus.

Mr. Pierre Mendes-France *France*
Ancien President du Conseil.

Mr. Halldor Kiljan Laxness, *Iceland*
Nobel Laureate—Literature.

Prof. Salvatore Quasimodo, *Italy*
Nobel Laureate—Literature.

Prof. Giorgio La Pira, *Italy*
Mayor of Florence.

Prof. G. U. Papi, *Italy*
Rector, University of Rome.

Mrs. Eva S. de Lopez Mateos, *Mexico*
The Consort of the President of Mexico,
President of the National Institute of
Child Welfare.

Mr. S. L. Mansholt, *Netherlands*
Vice-Chairman of the Commission,
European Economic Community.

Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, *Pakistan*
President of the U. N. General Assembly.

Mr. Felix Schnyder, *Switzerland*
High Commissioner Office of the
U.N. High Commissioner for Refugee,
Nobel Laureate—Peace.

Mr. Rudolf Suter, President, *Switzerland*
Federation des Cooperatives Migros.

Mr. L. Maire, Chairman of the *Switzerland*
Council, Food and Agriculture
Organization of the U.N.

Mr. Aldous Huxley, Author. *U.K.*

Lord Boyd Orr of Brechin, *U.K.*
Nobel Laureate—Peace.

The Rt. Hon. The Earl Attlee, *U.K.*
Prime Minister, 1945-51.

Prof. E. B. Chain, F.R.S., *U.K*
Nobel Laureate—Medicine.

Prof. C. F. Powell, F.R.S., *U.K.*
Nobel Laureate—Physics.

Mr. Denis Moriarty, Secretary, *U.K.*
Friends Service Council,
Nobel Laureate—Peace.

Dr. E. L. Tatum, *U.S.A.*
Nobel Laureate—Medicine.

Dr. Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, *U.S.A.*
Nobel Laureate—Medicine.

Mr. Robert Lyon, Representative, *U.S.A.*
The American Friends Service Committee,
Nobel Laureate—Peace.

Monsignor L. G. Likutti, *Vetican City*
Permanent Observer of the
Holy See to FAO.

Dr. Albert Sabin, *U.S.A.*
The Children's Hospital,
Research Foundation.

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THE DATE OF THE SUKRANITI

By LALLANJI GOPAL, M.A., D.Phil (Allahabad), Ph.D., F.R.A.S. (Lond.)
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Ever since the publication of the text, scholars have disagreed on the date of the composition of the Sukraniti. Oppert[1] placed it very early in the period of the Smritis and the early epic literature. V. S. Agrawala[2] and Syamlal Pandya[3] regard it as a work of the Gupta period. But generally the text is utilized as a source for the early medieval period, mostly the eleventh or the twelfth century.[4] Rajndra Lal Mitra[5] held that the work could not be older than the sixteenth century. Sanskritists, following the lead of Keith[6] and Kane,[7] dismiss the text as of quite a late date and hence not applicable to the Hindu period.

Of late the opinion has been gaining ground among scholars that the text was forged by a Pandit in the nineteenth century to please some Sahab enthusiastic about old texts.[8] The view originated with Professor V. Raghavan of Madras.[9] Deriving our inspiration from him we discuss here some grounds for regarding the text as a composition of the nineteenth century.

The original objection of R. L. Mitra and P. C. Ray against the early date proposed for the Sukraniti was that the text mentions guns and cannons. The earlier date has sometimes been supported on the basis of references to fire-arms in early Sanskrit works.[10] There is no doubt that incendiary arrows were used in ancient India.[11] But the fire weapons of earlier works were not real fire-arms in the sense that they did not contain anything of the nature of gunpowder.[12] The account of the small nalika and the large nalika, their construction and the method of their use, of the agni-curna with suvarci salt (nitre) as one of its principal ingredients, and of the balls made of iron, lead, or any other metal (IV, 7, 388-431), does not leave any doubt that the Sukraniti describes modern guns and cannons with gunpower and bullets. It has been quite fashionable with scholars accepting an early date for the Sukraniti to treat these lines as interpolations.[13] But references to guns are not confined to one or two sections of the text but occur incidentally in other contexts[14] also, which disproves the theory of interpolation and suggests that the passages about guns are intrinsic parts of the text.

Another indication which is utilized for determining the date of the text is the reference to the Yavanas and Mlecchas. The term Yavana, originally meaning a Greek, came to refer to any foreign people coming from the west. Mlecchha, meaning a barbarian, is also used for a foreigner and is often used specifically for a Muslim. According to the Sukraniti the Yavana philosophy recognizes God as the invisible creator of the universe, respects virtue and vice without reference to Sruti and Smriti, and believes that Sruti contains a separate religious system (IV, 3, 124-6). Later on it describes the Yavanas as containing all the four castes mixed together, recognizing authority other than that of the Vedas, living in the north-west, and having their own Sastras framed for their welfare by their own masters (IV, 4, 74-6). One can see from these descriptions that the Yavana of this text stand for a Muslim. We should suggest that the Mlecchha of the text also denotes a Muslim. There is no reference or indication in the Sukraniti, which uses Yavana and Mlecchha side by side, to preclude the identity of the two. The suggestion of their identity would receive support from the fact that in one place our text says that the rules of the Yavanas followed for ordinary purposes are the same as those of the Sastras (IV, 4, 77) and elsewhere it observes that the law of the Sastras always binds even the Mlecchas (IV, 5, 585-6). In one context the text speaks of the division of society into the four traditional castes and the Mlecchas (1,75-88) while in another it refers to the Yavanas beside the four castes (IV, 4, 69-77). It is clear from the text that it belongs to an age when the Muslims had spread over most parts of India in such large numbers as to be regarded as such an integral part of the social structure that the Mlecchas or Yavanas are added to the traditional fourfold division of society. The knowledge and interest in the Yavana philosophy reflected in its inclusion in the list of the thirty-two Vidyas enumerated in the text (IV, 3, 51-9, 124-6) best suits a period when the Muslims had settled permanently in India. The early centuries of the arrival of the Muslims would ill suit the passage

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which refers to the possibility of the king making people descended from Mlecchas his commanders and soldiers (II, 276-80).[15]

At one place the Sukraniti defines Mlecchas as those who have given up practising their own rites, who are unkind and troublesome to others and who are very excitable, envious, and foolish (II, 87-8). This looks like the contempt of an orthodox Brahmana for the Muslims, especially those converted from Hinduism and hence more fanatic. Incidentally it also points to a period when conversion to Islam had gone far ahead. Leaving this aside, the general impression of the passages referring to the Mlecchas and Yavanas indicates peaceful relations with them, with a sympathetic attitude towards their religion and social system and also a concern for their welfare. This state of affairs would not have been possible in the early centuries of the triumphant expansion of militant Islam. This account also suits the feelings of accord between the Hindus and Muslims which are known to have existed down to the nineteenth century, when for political reasons efforts were made to accentuate their differences and antagonism.

Another reference in the Sukraniti which may suggest the date of its composition is one, in which the cases created by killing of cows, women, and Brahmanas are mentioned as one of the most justifiable grounds of war, when the king should not bother himself about the proper time or opportune season for warfare (IV, 7,453). Obviously the killing of cows, or Brahmanas could not have been a cause of war in Hindu India. We feel that these causes for war were applicable to later times when the Muslims had settled in India and people had become well-acquainted with their depredations. In this respect J. K. Sarkar[16] seems to have been near to the truth when he incidentally pointed out the similarity between this reference and the war-cry of Shivaji in the seventeenth century.

The scheme of punishments envisaged in the Sukraniti[17] also gives a clue about the probable date of its composition. It gives a long list of characters and offenders (IV,1,192-214) whom it recommends in the first instance to be expelled from the territory and then, probably in case they returned, to be bound and transported to islands and forts, and employed in the work of repairing roads and made to live on insufficient and bad diet, (IV, 1, 215-18). It advises the king to bind in chains men who wander about after forsaking parents and wives, to put them to work repairing the roads, and to pay them half the standard wages (IV, 1, 229-31). It is clear that according to the Sukraniti, the work of repairing roads was a common method of punishing offenders and criminals. Elsewhere also it says that a king should have the roads repaired every year with gravel by men who have been sued or imprisoned (I, 536-7). In the entire range of the history of India, whether under Hindu or Muslim rule, we do not find any definite policy of employing prisoners in constructive work. It is under the East India Company and the British rule that we first find the practice of utilizing prisoners for constructive work and remunerating them. We have seen above that the Sukraniti makes it a definite policy of the state to use islands as convict settlements. There is no other evidence that such a practice was even thought of in the Hindu and Muslim periods of Indian history. Leaving aside a few kingdoms in South India we do not know of much effort to maintain control over coastal islands ; nor was this possible for many of the Indian kingdoms were landlocked. It was, however, the policy of the East India Company and the British, who controlled the coastal islands. We may cite here some of the sections in the Bombay Regulation III of 1802 which appears to be the prototype from which these regulations in the Sukraniti are derived. Section II of this Regulation provides for the expulsion from within the limits of the jurisdiction of a magistrate all vagrants, thieves, robbers and swindlers of noted evil repute. Section III provides that in case these persons return within the jurisdiction without the sanction of the Magistrate he is to apprehend their persons and commit or hold them to bail for trial at the next court of session, which may sentence any of the said parties to hard labour on the roads, or in cleaning the streets or repairing the fortifications, under custody of the Magistrate, and having light irons on their legs, for any period not exceeding two years. Section IV of the Regulation lays down that if any convict escapes from jail or other place of confinement, or from the roads, or from any other place where they may be employed, on being reapprehended he may also be declared liable to transportation to some place beyond the sea.[18] Section XXIV and XXVI of both Regulation V of

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1799 and Regulation III of 1802 of Bombay provide for the payment of customary daily subsistence money to all prisoners and also, on their release after a confinement of six months or upwards, of a sum sufficient for a month's subsistence if they stand in need of it.[19]

The Sukraniti gives a list of practices and professions for following which the subjects had to obtain the permission of the king, most likely in the form (I, 603-8) of a royal patent, charter, or licence. These are: gambling, drinking, hunting, the use of arms, the sale and purchase of cows, elephants, horses, camels, buffaloes, men, immovable property, silver, gold, jewels, intoxicants and poisons, the distillation of wines, the drawing up of deeds indicating a sale, the making of loans, and medical practice. It is really interesting to find that Article I under title 6 of the Bombay Rule, Ordinance and Regulation I of 1812 requires the Petty Sessions to cause exact lists to be taken and kept of all houses licensed to sell spirits, of all houses where *bhang* or opium is usually taken, of all houses of public gambling, of all shops and warehouses where goods are received in pawn; and of all goldsmiths and sellers or buyers of gold and silver. This covers most of the professions and activities in the Sukraniti. Those which appear to be additional in the Sukraniti list are hunting (mrigaya), the use of arms (sastradharana), the sale and purchase of poisons, and medical practice (cikitsam). In ancient times we do find some regulations for the protection of animal life in certain special forests, but otherwise there was no general restriction on hunting. The necessity for the promulgation of game laws and of sportsmen carrying licences reflects the modern concern for the preservation of game and forests. We do not know any evidence which may suggest that in ancient times the state prohibited unlicensed arms. On the contrary, the carrying of weapons in those times was viewed as necessary for self-defence and protection. Only after the establishment of British rule did it become the practice of the state to put an effective check on the use of arms by unauthorized persons. Title 7 of the Bombay Rule, Ordinance and Regulation I of 1812 prohibits people from arming themselves with guns, pistols, swords, daggers, creases, knives or other weapons by which mortal wounds are usually inflicted. As regards poisons we find that title 8 [illegible] of the Bombay Rule, Ordinance and Regulation [illegible] of 1812 and the Bombay Regulation V of [illegible] prohibit the selling of poisonous substances [illegible] out a licence. Likewise the system of the [illegible] registration of medical practitioners is not [illegible] fied for earlier times. It is a practice essen[illegible] modern in origin.

The Sukraniti provides for the establish[illegible] of inns (panthasala) between every two vil[illegible] and requires the innkeeper (saladhipa) to co[illegible] the travellers' arms in the evening before [illegible] went to sleep and was to give them back [illegible] the travellers left in the morning (I, 530-[illegible] The emphasis on preventing a misuse of weap[illegible] affords an interesting comparison with artic[illegible] under title 7 of the Bombay Rule, Ordinance [illegible] Regulation I of 1812 which declares punish[illegible] all masters and keepers of taverns, spirit bo[illegible] bhang or opium shops, or gaming houses, w[illegible] suffer any persons with dangerous weapons [illegible] enter their houses.

The Sukraniti includes in its list of [illegible] characters to be punished those who p[illegible] penance and learning without maintaining th[illegible] relatives and also those who live on alms th[illegible] capable of collecting wood and grasses (IV, [illegible] 209-10). No doubt even in some of the ea[illegible] legal texts the king is required to punish th[illegible] who accept the garb of an ascetic to escape [illegible] their social responsibilities.[20] It is, howe[illegible] interesting to compare the provision with [illegible] Bombay Rule, Ordinance and Regulation I [illegible] 1812 which aimed at preventing parents [illegible] others from deserting their children or [illegible] dependents and lays down punishment for [illegible] who, being able to labour, abandon their fam[illegible] without making any provision for them.

At one place the Sukraniti lays down [illegible] those who have let out bulls and other ani[illegible] after religious ceremonies must keep them w[illegible] proper control (I, 622). No legal text of ea[illegible] times imposes this responsibility on the man [illegible] ing out animals. It is not unlikely that [illegible] injunction in the Sukraniti was incorporated [illegible] appease the feeling of European masters [illegible] the annoyance and inconvenience caused by [illegible] sacred bulls roaming freely in the bazars. Bo[illegible] Rule, Ordinance and Regulation II of [illegible] provides for the erection of public pounds [illegible] animals straying or trespassing on the p[illegible] streets or roads or on the grounds of the [illegible] Article 10 lays down that in all cases w[illegible]

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it shall appear to the magistrates sitting in Petty Sessions that the owner or owners of any such vagrant animals has not used due diligence and care in confining them, or has willingly or repeatedly suffered them to remain at large, or that such vagrant animals have trespassed on or damaged the ground or premises of others, fines may be levied on the owners.

In connexion with the arrangements for the realization of land revenue the Sukraniti advises a king to give to each cultivator a deed of rent having his own mark (IV, 2, 47). We know that in ancient times Brahmanas, learned men, and religious institutions used to be given charters recording the grant of villages and pieces of land and that in later times the practice was extended to secular grants made to feudatories, officers, and military chiefs. But nowhere do we get any indication that the common cultivator received any charter recognizing his proprietorship over the land he farmed. The passage in the Sukraniti suggests the case of a new cultivator occupying the land or a new Government coming to power or a new arrangement being introduced. We learn from the Bombay Regulation I of 1808 (section XLI-XLIV) that the existing system of the collection of land revenue was highly unsatisfactory and caused much inconvenience to the Government and hardships to the cultivators. The cultivators had no title to the land and the system of realizing revenue in the form of a share of the grain did not work well and did not leave much incentive to the cultivator. In a proclamation issued by the Governor in Council on August 7, 1801, the policy of issuing deeds of property to peasants with a view to ameliorating their condition was given wide publicity. These deeds were in the English, Portuguese, and Marathi languages and were issued through the Collector, under the seal of the Company and the signature of the Secretary to the Government. They contained the stipulation that those of the present occupants of the soil who got the deed received thereby a fixed and permanent proprietory right in the soil.

In the Sukraniti, a grama (village) is defined as a piece of land, a krosa in area, and yielding 1,000 silver karsas (1,385). This definition would suit the theory of Pran Nath[21] that villages mentioned in the literary and epigraphic records of ancient India were survey villages or estates; but this has been convincingly criticized by K. A. N. Sastri[22] on the basis of references to grama in Sanskrit literature. We have not found any earlier definition such as that in the Sukraniti. It is not unlikely that the author of the Sukraniti was reflecting the practice in the early years of the nineteenth century. Thus, according to section XI of the Bombay Regulation II of 1814 a village yielding an annual revenues of not less than 1,000 rupees was regarded as a unit, requiring the exclusive attention of a village accountant (tullatie).

The Sukraniti advises that the king should train his salaried officers in the cultivation of all the arts and sciences, and, when they had finished their studies, should appoint them in their special fields (I, 738-9). We may cite here the rules and regulations framed by the Government of Bombay in 1828 relating to the junior members of the Civil Service.[23] These young civilians were required to pass two examinations in Hindustani and in Marathi or Gujarati before they were entitled respectively to hold public employment and to be promoted to the second step in any department of the service. The Sukraniti envisages a regular system of promotion of officers according to their seniority and their qualifications to successively higher posts including those of the immediate advisers of the king (II, 228-30, 232-3); this implies many grades of administrative officers and reveals a modern tendency.

The Sukraniti advises a king to mark those who are in his service with his own insignia according to the work in which they are employed. The badges are to be made of steel, copper, bronze (riti), silver, gold, or jewels according to their status. To distinguish them at a distance the king should indicate the various functions of his officials by differences in their clothing, crowns, musical instruments, and conveyances (II, 853-73). It is quite likely that there was in ancient times some form of uniform to distinguish Government servants. But the injunction in the Sukraniti for the insignia to differ according to the office or department looks modern. Clause 1 of section IX of the Bombay Regulation V of 1814 prohibits private servants appearing dressed like sepoys and lascars while clause 6 lays down that no person except a government officer should distinguish his servants with badges.[24] Restrictions on the use of uniforms and badges are to be found in the Bombay Regulation XXIII of 1827.[25]

1. Preface, P. vii; cf. Pradhan, 'Kingship

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in Sukraniti', *Modern Review*, February, 1916.

2. Harsacarita, eka samskrita adhyayana, p. 219.

3. Sukra ki rajaniti (Lucknow, V. S. 2009), ch. ix.

4. A. S. Altekar, State and government in ancient India, pp. 19 f.; U. N. Ghoshal, A history of Indian political ideas, pp. 494 f.; B. P. Mazumdar, Socio-economic history, preface, pp. x-xi; Jogesh Chandra Ray, IHQ, VIII, p. 585, Cf. R. C. Majumdar in The struggle for empire, p. 285, n. 9

5. See Panchanan Neogi, Iron in ancient India, pp. 32 f.; cf. S. N. Sen, The military system of the Marathas, p. 5 n. 2. J. D. M. Derret refers to the Sukraniti as a text of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries (International and Comparative Law Quarterly, xi, 1, 1962, p. 267, n. 3).

6. A history of Sanskrit literature, p. 464.

7. History of dharmasastra, 1, p. 116-He places the text about A.D. 1300, *ibid.*, III, p. 121, n. 162.

8. JIH, xxxix, p. 197.

9. The twenty-first All India Oriental Conference, Srinagar,..1961. Address by the General President, see pp. 15-16.

10. V. R. F. Dikshitar, War in Ancient India, pp. 102-5.

11. Cf., Medhatithi on Manu, VII, 90.

12. P. C. Ray, History of Hindu Chemistry, I, pp. 177 ff ; P. C. Chakravarti, Art of War in Ancient India, pp. 173 f.; J. C. Ray, IHQ, VII, 703-8; VIII, 267-71; VIII, 583-8. See also P. K. Gode, NIA, II, 169 ff.

13. B. K. Sarkar, Sukraniti (tr.), p 236, n. 1; B. P. Mazumdar, Socio-economic history, preface, p. xi; also p. 60.

14. I, 477; I, 506-12; II, 181-90; II, 393-6; IV, 2, 60-3; IV, 7, 41; IV 7, 47-52; IV 7, 53-8; IV, 7, 668-77. IV 7, 686-8. IV 7, 707-11.

15. It is to be noted that the army of Balaji Baji Rao was not based on nationality, enlisting mercenaris not only from the different parts of India but also Rohillas, Arabs, Abyssinians, and Portuguese, S. N. Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 62. It is well-known that the ... of the Maratha chiefs, Sultans of Hyderabad ... other Deccan kings often employed even ... and French commanders. What is significant ... that in the Maratha army of all the foreigners ... Arabs enjoyed the highest reputation for ... and intrepidity : S. N. Sen, loc. cit., pp. 6...

16. Positive Background of Hindu Soci... Vol. I, p. 259.

17. IV, 1, 155-8, 167-72, 181-3.

18. For transportation beyond the sea... Bengal Regulation LIII of 1803 (Sec. ... Cl. 2), IX of 1813 (Sec. II, Cl. 7), and XI... 1816 (Sec. XV), and Madras Regulation X... 1803 (Sec. VII, cl. 2). For the punishment... hard labour in irons, particularly in repa... public roads, see Bengal Regulations LIII of ... (Sec. VIII, cl. 3), II of 1834 (Sec. III, cl. ... and IV of 1823 (Sec. VII), and Madras Re... lations VI of 1827 (Sec. VI, Cl. 2), and ... 1832.

19. Sec. II, cl. 2, of the Bengal Regu... XIV of 1811 provides that persons sentenced ... imprisonment for life may be employed in ... manufacture of articles constantly in demand

20. Artha, II, 1. See Kane, History ... Dharmasastra, II, pp. 931 f.

21. *Economic conditions of ancient I...* pp. 33 ff.

22. Journal of Oriental Research, IV, 21...

23. A. C. Dass Gupta (ed.), The dra... John Company : selections from Calcutta Gaz... 1824-1832, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 318-21.

24. See also sec. IX of the Bengal Reg... tion XI of 1806.

25. Government of India Act XVIII of ... prohibits the wearing by any other person of ... chuprass or badge intended to resemble ... chuprass or badge worn by servants of ... Government and lays down that every ch... or badge worn by any person not being a ser... of the Government shall bear the name of ... party by whom the wearer is employed.

(To be Continued)

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INDIAN STUDIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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By RAJEEV SAXENA

Czechoslovak Indologists contributed a considerable number of works to better unlerstanding of India and her great heritage not only in their own country but also in Europe and even in India. Prague is the seat of one of the oldest universities in the West—the Charles University founded in 1348—and the scholars of this University could not but study the most ancient social systems of mankind as represented by Indian history, art, literature and culture.

Czech scholars were first attracted towards Indian studies through the work of a Czech Jesuit missionary Karel Prikryl (1718-1795) who arrived in Goa in the year 1748 as a member of the Jesuit Mission and Director of the Archbishop's seminary there. He spent fourteen years in India and was carried off to Lisbon and imprisoned when the Jesuit order was dissolved. He is supposed to have written many books in Latin. Unfortunately, only one of his manuscripts "Principia Linguae Brahmanicae" (The Principles of the Brahmanic Tongue), could be found, which was probably the first grammer of Konkani dialect to have been written.

Prikryl's works inspired Josef Dobrovsky to learn Sanskrit during the last part of the eighteenth century and he pointed out similarity between many Indian and slav words and forms. Another scholar Josef Jungmann wrote an article on Indian prosody and metre in 1812 and his brother Antonin Jungmann was the first to put Sanskrit grammer in Czech in the journal *Krok* in 1821. Other scholars August Schleicher (1822-1869) and Alois Vanicek (1825-87) were best known as comparative philologists. We would, however, find many valuable contributions to Sanskrit Philology and to the history of Vedic literature and classical Indian epic and dramatic literature in the work of Josef Zubaty (1855-1931), who published a study "Qualitative Changes in the Final Syllable in Vedic" in 1888-90 and remarkable contribution to the study of Indian metrics entitled "The Construction of Trishtabh and Jagati Verses in Mahabharat."

From Philology to Indology

Schleicher's two successors at the Prague University, Alfred Ludwig (1837-1912) and Moriz Winternitz, were the first scholars who advanced Indian studies from comparative philology to Indology proper. Ludwig's philological works such as "The Infinite in Vedic, with the Verb System of Lithuanian and the Slav Languages", 1871, were considered to be a big contribution, but he is better known for his German translation of the oldest Indian text, Rig-veda (Prague, 1876-88) and for his study of classical Indian literature. Ludwig was the first scholar in Czechoslovakia who studied Dravidian languages and its importance could be judged by the fact that upto that time indological studies were limited almost exclusively to studies of Sanskrit. Ludwig was a teacher of the great Czechoslovak linguist Professor Josef Zubaty, mentioned above, who was also author of the first translation of Kalidasa's works into Czech.

After Ludwig, Prof. Moriz Winternitz (1863-1937) held the chair of Indology at the Prague University for several decades and was a real giant of the science ranking amongst the leading scholars of his time, *e.g.*, W. D. Whitney, Karl Geldner, Karl Bohtlingk, Rudolf Roth, Bhandarkar, etc. Two volumes of his three-volume *History of Indian Literature* (1905-22) were published in Calcutta in 1927 and 1933 respectively, which are still supreme today. Winternitz published many shorter studies in Indian literature, some of which were published in book form in Calcutta in 1925 under the title "Some Problems of Indian Literature".

A new chair of Indology was founded at the Charles University of Prague after the First World War which was headed by Professor Vincenc Lesny (1882-1953). Professor Lesny got to know India in the course of his two visits in 1922-1923 and 1927-1928, when he lectured at Santiniketan. He was not so much known for his scientific works, because on the one hand some of his works, for example, analysis of Prakrit in the dramas of Bhasa were published only in Czech language, and, on the other hand, a considerable amount of his works were in the field of Iranian studies, especially philological studies in Avesta.

But his very good monograph on Rabindra Nath Tagore was published even in English in London at the beginning of the Second World War. Professor Lesny was popular in India as well as in Czechoslovakia as a great friend of this country and as a result of his Indian visits, he wrote three books, of which one *India and Indians : A Pilgrimage Through Ages*, Prague,

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1931, helped to bring India and her cultural traditions closer to the people of Czechoslovakia. Lesny published many translations from Indian literature, particularly from the works of Tagore which were translated by him directly from Bengali original.

Professor Lesny developed close friendship with Tagore and because of this friendship Tagore had written to him his famous letter on Munich, expressing his deep concern and sympathy towards Czechoslovakia at a time when that nation was in distress. Lesny also translated the story of Nala and Damayanti from Mahabharat. His remarkable monograph on Buddhism has unfortunately been published in Czech only. Very important was his activity as a teacher and he educated two generations of Indologists who carried forward his work.

Lesny was succeeded in the Chair of Indology by his pupil Oldrich Fris (1903-55), who died relatively young, but could do immense work in the field. Among his work of international importance, his publication of a huge *Sanskrit Reader*, published in Prague in Devnagari script and a *Sanskrit Dictionary* with Czech, English and Russian equivalents, deserve to be mentioned. His mastery over Sanskrit can be judged by his translation of many Sanskrit works, such as, *Amarushatakam*, *Meghduta* and *Ritusamhara* by Kalidas, *Vetalponchvimshati*, abridged translation of Ramayana, selection from Vedic Hymn, poems by Bhrartrihari and Jayadev's Gitagovindam.

Interest in Modern Languages

Indian studies in Czechoslovakia underwent a profound change after the Second World War. The liberation of India aroused a deeper interest in her living present than her past, *i.e.*, the study of modern Indian languages and their literatures came into the foreground. Since 1948, Hindi and Bengali have been introduced as main subjects of studies at the Charles University. The School of Oriental Languages in Prague has published either in book-form or in cyclostyled copies the grammars of almost all Indian languages and runs evening courses assisted sometimes by Indian lecturers also.

In Bengali language and literature, Prof. Dusan Zbavitel is working at the Oriental Institute. He had the opportunity to study in Calcutta and had come to India to participate in seminar on Tagore during centenary celebrations. Prof. Zbavitel is the author of a big and detailed monograph on Tagore and a Czech text-book of Bengali language. He has translated into Czech a vast selection from Tagore's works and a number of novels, stories and poems by modern Bengali authors, such as, 'Boatman on the Padma' by Manik Bandopadhyaya, poems by Sukanta Bhattacharya, etc. He has also translated some ballads from Bengali entitled Maimansingh Gitika.

In Hindi and Urdu, Prof. Vincenc Pech is working together with several young scholars. Premchand's *Godan* has been translated by Odolen Smekal, besides many other short stories and poems by leading Hindi authors.

In South Indian languages and literature especially in Tamil, Kamil Zvelebic, a member of the research staff of the Oriental Institute, has been working and has translated classical and modern Tamil poetry and also several poems of the Malayali poet Vallathol.

In the field of Sanskrit and Buddhist literature, Prof. Ivo Fiser is working and he is a specialist on the middle Indian languages.

For many years Oriental studies were centered in Charles University in Prague, but now an important place is also being held by the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences founded in 1922. The Institute at present employs 22 research workers carrying out independent studies in one or other branches. The study of the history of art and the aesthetic development of India and other countries of the East, centres round the Oriental Department of the National Gallery in Prague. Besides it, there is a valuable collection of Asian folk-lore in Naprstek Museum which has celebrated its centenary this year. The Czechoslovak Orientalists are publishing their own journal *New Orient* which is also available in English also.

The interest of the Czechoslovak people in Indian culture and literature was perhaps best demonstrated at the time of Tagore Centenary celebrations. In Czechoslovakia, it did not remain merely an affair of few scholars in the Capital, but was celebrated in every town and village and included readings from Tagore's works, staging of dramas, programmes of Rabindra Sangeet and lectures on the life and the works of the great poet.

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MODERN REVIEW FIFTY-ONE YEARS AGO

Honour to Rabindranath

In the current year of the Bengali era Rabindranath Tagore has completed the fiftieth year of his life. The occasion has been seized by Bengal to do honour to her greatest litterateur.

Rabindranath is our greatest poet and prose-writer. Son of a Maharshi and himself a seer, he belongs to a family, the most gifted in Bengal in the realms of religion, philosophy, literature and art. There is no department of Bengali literature that he has not touched, which he has not adorned, elevated, filled with inspiration or lighted up by the lusture of his genius. The music of his verse and prose that fills the outer ear is an echo of the inner harmony of humanity and the universe which exists in the heart of things and which he has caught and made manifest to us by his writings. How wonderfully full of real writing and colour and motion and variety they are! He has had access to the court of the King of kings, to His very presence, and has brought us the message from thence: "Be one with humanity, be one with all things that live, be one with the universe, be one with Me." Insight is his magic wand, by the power of which he himself roams where he wishes and leads the reader tither too. In his works Bengali literature has outgrown its provincial character and has become fit to fraternise with world literature. Word-currents of thought and spirituality have flowed into Bengal through his writings.

But he is simply not merely a literary man though his eminence as a literatteur is such that for foreigners the Bengali language would be worth learning for his writings alone.....

In his patriotism there is no narrowness, no chauvinism, no hatred or contempt for the foreigner.....He does not dismiss the West with a supercilious sneer, but wishes the East to take what it can from the West.....as a strong and healthy man takes food and assimilates it....His hands reach out to the West, to humanity, not as those of a suppliant, but for friendly grasp and embrace.....

The Modern Review, February, 1912

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

THE ESSENCE OF QURAN : *Compiled by Vinoba. Published by the Secretary, Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Rajghat, Varanasi (India). Price Rupees four only.*

AND THEY GAVE UP DACOITY : *By S. D. Bhatta. Published by the Secretary, Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Rajghat, Varanasi (India). Price Rupees four only.*

The Essence of Quran has an elevating significance for the strife-torn world of to-day. Passions rise high and strike a discordant note for the wrong apprehension by the intellect. Students of psychology know what the afferent and efferent nerves do and how our muscles work on the directions coming out of the brain-process. So one is tempted to believe that right type of intellectual approach would give us an emotional equilibrium and that, in its turn, would give us a social atmosphere unruffled by communalism and sectarianism. So a proper intellectual understanding and appraisal of problems relating to moral, religious and social justice would largely contribute to world peace and fraternal amity. And that is exactly what Vinobaji aims at in undertaking the compilation under review. To quote his own words :

"All my activities throughout my life have been motivated by the single objective of uniting hearts. The publication of this book has also been inspired by the same thought. I hope that by the grace of God this mission will succeed."

This great believer in God wanted to unite all men and this book has also been harnessed to that end. Islam has been popularly taken to be the religion of blood and sword and that this idea was born of ignorance will be evident from a perusal of the book under review. The main tenets of Islam, as have been embodied in the Holy Quran are as humanistic and benevolent as those of any other noted religion of the world.

Vinobaji has taken pains to arrange the book topic-wise and one is tempted to comment that such an arrangement has been very helpful for the common reader. It could be looked upon as a very handy volume of reference for the students of philosophy and theology. The exalted position of Quran is universally accepted and as such no special efforts were needed to write eloquent over its great qualities as a book revealed. What is needed was a systematic exposition of the main trends of thought as found in the Quran in modern terminology. The author presents the Quaranic principles in a language intelligible to the modern mind. He divides his book into nine parts. In Part I, the book has been introduced and the glory of the book has been brought out in a very rational way. When the devout turns a meta-physician, we get a type of appreciation not to be easily found elsewhere. Vinobaji after explaining the significanc of the holy *Quran* tells us how we should recite the book according to the traditional prescription. Appropriate verses have been selected. In Part II the nature of God has been fully brought out in the light of the holy scripture. God is one and indivisible. Islam stood for monotheism. Quran fought all forms of polytheistic beliefs. God was one and He was a beacon light to the created. He was omniscient. He was all merciful and full of bounties for His creation. He was omnipotent and His greatness was inexpressible. The traditional attributes of omnipotence and omniscience were given to God

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head and Allah was the Master of Supreme Will. In a word, He alone pervaded and dominated the whole creation being its divine creator. He supports all creation : "Have they not seen the birds above them spreading out their wings and closing them? Naught upholdeth them save the Beneficent. He is seer of all things." (p. 39). In Part III, the nature of devotion has been expounded in the light of the Quran. In Part IV, devotee has been described as patient, non-violent and a man of conviction. He has been sought to be distinguished from unbelievers. In Part V, the nature of religious faith has been explained. Part VI has offered very important ethical studies. Moral discipline, as we all know, is very much needed today. A believer in Islamic morality must distinguish between the real and the unreal. So it is easily understood that Islamic ethics is firmly embedded in the metaphysical tenets of the Quran. Quranic Ethics stands for purification of speech, non-violence in thought and action, non-co-operation with evil, control over the palate, chastity and an honest livelihood. In Part VII, we have an analysis of the nature of man and his uniqueness has been very clearly brought out. Part VIII talks of apostles as human beings who meant good of all. These God-intoxicated men were certainly unique, in a very exalted sense of the term and Quran records this uniqueness unequivocally. Part IX offers insights in such problems as the mystery of the Universe, the law of causation and for this purpose the English renderings have been posed and solution sought from the scripture and for this purpose the English renderings have been adopted from the Glorious Quran by Mr. Mohommad Marmaduke Pickthall. The selections have been made from the original Arabic References to the respective numbers of Suras and Ayatas (verses) and are shown in the tables included in the book. Vinobaji has taken immense care to properly group the Quranic Verses under appropriate captions to high light the message of the Quran. Considered from purely academic and utilitarian view-points the book meets a crying need of the hour.

This Maharshi is a miracle-man. That is what would transpire from Bhatto's book : 'And they gave up dacoity.' It is now a widely known fact that chambal ravines in Central India have been branded as a "dacoit-infested area. These dacoits committed atrocities, mercilessly plundered and ran-sacked many a home over nearly 8000 sq. miles in the Chambal Valley. They were creatures of circumstances. Once they commit an offence, they are doomed to the life of an outcast. Society there as elsewhere is a vicious circle. They are often wronged by one or other of the privileged class and when they take revenge, e.g., take the law in their own hands, they are immediately doomed to the life of a reckless dacoit. Our social set-up, our government and their agents do not allow them to stage a come back to the society and thus they are perpetually doomed to a life of violence, hatred and lawlessness. Vinobaji saw the problem in its true perspective and inspired these anti-socials with his message of love and non-violence. The saint could turn the hearts of many a dacoit and ultimately led to their surrender. The Maharshi showed us once again that the misguided could be reformed through a moral approach and the best in man could be brought out through a message of love.

The author gives us a refreshng account of this great episode of surrender and a socio-economical background of this chronic problem that has been plaguing the northern part of India since long. It is a good book and it would have been even better if the printing mistakes were absent. Get-up of the book is presentable. One should go through the book in order to know how in India miracles do happen even to-day.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

CHRONICLERS OF LIFE : *by Amalendu Bose* (*Orient Longmans Ltd.*, 1962—*Rs.* 12.00 *pp*, 313)

The title—an adaptation of a line from Browning's Pauline—is a fair guide to the intention of the author. The five 'studies' grouped 'aim at examining the poetry of the thirties and forties of the last century as at once a chronicle and poetry'. Incidentally, Browning's definition of a 'bard' as a chronicler of 'the stages of all life' was a plea for a new kind of poetry which very few Victorian poets heeded.

'Growing Pains' is a detailed study of Pauline —a poem about which Browning never felt happy. The author puts the autobiographical element of the poem—it was overstated by the poet's contemporaries—in its place. A confused and bizarre poem, Pauline is neverheless a valuable record of the poet's seething, adolescent mind and it ranks with Queen Mab and Endymion. It is also the poet's first experience of practising the craft of verse writing—a point rightly underlined by the author. He critically examines Browning's use of adjectives, compounds, verb-formations—he cites, for instance new-shapes—and key symbols. This is a valuable guide to a study of Browning's later diction.

The value of the Annuals—the subject of the second study—(do they deserve any notice ?) whether as chronicle or poetry-is trifling. There is something maudlin about the early Victorian taste for domestic pieties and it has little relevance

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to the image of the age which the author is attempting to build up—that of sensitive and earnest-souled poets grappling with current problems and writing significant poetry.

'New Mould' is a study of a new poetic form —that of verse-novel—perfected by Clough and Mr. Browning. The author regrets that this new form which almost all major poets of the age handled to advantage has not received adequate critical attention. Distinct from the romantic verse-tales, it suited the growing concern with contemporary problems which weighed so heavily on the poets of the new generation.

'Fermenting Yeast' is no doubt the most acutely argued study made by Prof. Bose. And his conclusions are difficult to disprove. 'It is a curious fact', he says, 'that the social unrest constitutes in only a very small measure the substance of the worthy poetry of the age'. It is not surprising that the social ferment should affect different minds differently. What is of special interest to a literary critic is the rather paradoxical fact that while the minor poets went straight to the problems of the age and gave us second rate poetry, the major poets either temporized or went to 'deeper problems'—and euphemism for personal problems—and gave us genuine poetry.

In 'Lays of Sorrow Born' the author examines the 'conceptual content' of In Memorian. A poem which gladdened the hearts of Tennyson's contemporaries as an affirmation of faith has been described in the present age as a 'poem of despair'. Prof. Bose has restored the balance.

By his easy familiarity with both the highways and by ways of English literature. Prof. Bose unmistakably shows his sure command of the subject and flair for significant details.

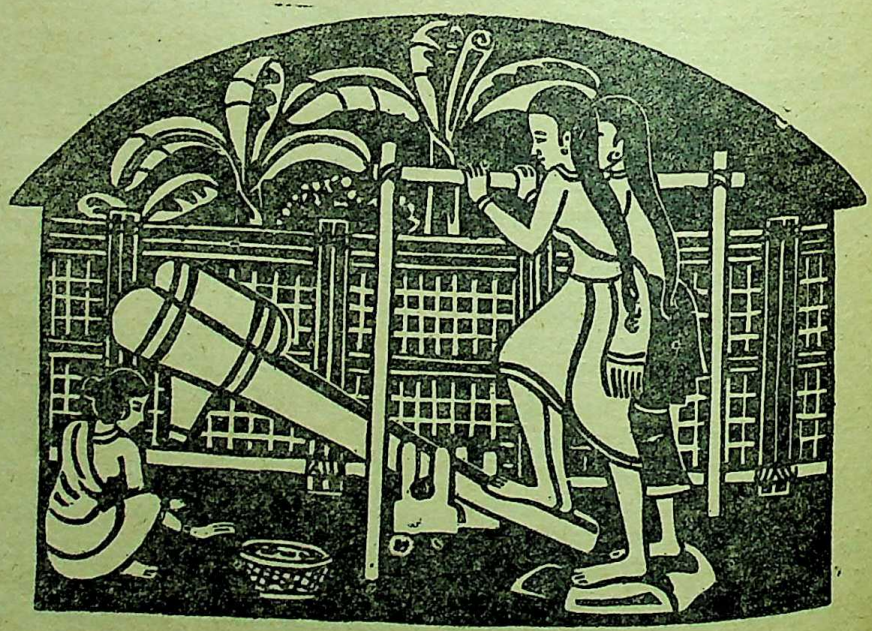
SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

SURVEY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

By C. Kunhan Raja. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

This survey of Sanskrit literature in its different branches is prompted by the laudable aim of 'interpreting their spirit, drawing attention to their artistic values and bringing out their relation to modern life.' It is not so much concerned with lists of authors and works, bibliographical details and chronogical discussions as histories of literatures usually are. As such it is meant not for scholars engaged in specialised studies but for the inquisitive and interested general reader. But even the latter might occasionally feel tempted to enquire about the authority for certain statements and conclusions like the manner of recitation of Vedic hymns and the conferment of the title (?) of rishi (p. 16). The treatment is generally too brief to satisfy him, especially in the last chapter dealing with miscellaneous literature, and Shri K. M. Munshi in his foreword has rightly drawn attention to this fact. The learned author has indicated the lines along which Sanskrit Studies should proceed and it would be a good thing if scholars came forward to follow it and succeeded in bringing home at least to the educated people the unique value and importance of the varied and extensive literature produced in Sanskrit during the course of long centuries.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI



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Indian Periodicals
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Some Social Tensions in India

Writing in the January-March, 1963 issue of the *Man in India*, Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, Director, Anthropological Survey of India, analyses certain wide-spread social tensions of rather deep significance that continue to overlay Indian political and economic activity today and which may be regarded to have very important bearings upon the vital problems of national integration :

....Almost every one is aware of the historical fact that the productive organization has been affected unequally in different parts of the country in modern times. Portions of Bengal and Bihar show a larger measure of change than, say, Madhya Pradesh or Assam; although the latter have also not remained static. Secondly, those who have been drawn into the vortex of this change have sometimes been recruited not from among local residents but from other States. Thus, the tea-gardens of Assam are manned by residents from Bihar, while the industries of Bihar have drawn labourers and technicians from almost all parts of India.

The influence of such economic change on society has been unequal (i) in different States, and (ii) among different classes and communities living within each State.

After independence, a desire of modernizing themselves has grown among residents of all language-States. And this has set in motion an unequal movement among distinguishable classes or communities. There is now not merely a *competition for jobs* between one local community and another, between inhabitants of one State and another, but there is evident a more important *competition for power*. It is of great interest that, with the advent of aduilt franchise, every distinguishable community is anxious somehow to step into a position of power; or become, at least, identified with a power-group.

To take one example from the Anthropological Survey's invesigation, *Telis* in Orissa were formerly divided into several endogamous sections, some high and some low. Now there is an attempt at sweeping aside these differences in order to build up a united front. Formerly, *Teli* panchayets were limited to small regions. Now there is a dream of forming a *Teli* union on an all-India level, strengthened by the recommendation of intermarriage across State and linguistic boundaries.

The observation which I wish to make here is that *under adult franchise when power is likely to come by virtue of numbers*, there is an attempt among many communities of consolidating their position by emphasizing the unity of caste. Let us suppose our democracy was based not upon adult franchise, but upon trade-unions, or something like municipal organizations. If it were broad-based at the bottom, and if it depended on indirect election higher-up, my guess is, there would have been less of caste consciousness spilling over into the political field than is in evidence today. Let us not forget that separate electorate granted to Muslims was instrumental in widening the cleavage between Hindu and Muslim ; and it was designed to be so.

There can be a democracy in which the benefits of adult franchise are assured, and it is not allowed to stimulate casteism as it does in our present backward, unreformed social state. It is not beyond the genius of our political leaders to devise constitutional means which would promote democracy and suppress separatism.....

Location of Antipathy

Let me now describe some of the results of the Anthropological Survey's second line of inquiry. S. Panchbhai, who is a senior Research Fellow in Psychology in the Survey, has lately tried to locate the distribution of antipathy among various social classes in the State of Assam. This was done by analysing stereotypes of speakers of non-Assamese languages prevalent among speakers of Assamese and vice versa. The investigation covered more than a thousand subjects including educated and uneducated, students and professional men, peasants and the Panda community of the Kamakshya temple of Gauhati.

It is very interesting that although the peasantry of Assam is threatened by competition of immigrant Bengali-speaking Muslims from East Pakistan, the feeling of hostility is not very acute. It appears that, prior to independence, such Bengali peasants were considered welcome, as they worked hard and helped in developing the land. By and large, the commerce and trade of Assam, as well as her tea-plantations, are mostly in the possession of non-Assamese speaking Marwaris, and in former times, of the British. Feeling against them does not seem to be either acute or widespread.

On the other hand the feeling of antipathy appeared to be strongest against speakers of the Bengali language among one section of educated men and one section of the upper leadership. It

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is highly interesting that none of these particular groups is threatened by actual or potential competition by those whom they denounce. For provincial autonomy has protected 'sons of the soil' from open competition for nearly twenty years. Antipathy is thus not directly capable of correlation with competitiveness, but other socio-cultural causes.

I wish to make an observation based on personal experience, namely, that those among whom antipathy is sharply focussed show some very interesting characteristics. This is also the class which :

(i) takes an intense pride in the ancient glories of Assam;
(ii) tries to promote a revival of Assamese culture;
(iii) is interested earnestly in social reform;
(iv) is eager to make concessions to tribal or other minority groups in Assam, provided they owe allegiance exclusively to Assam. Thus they hope to weld the Assamese into one strong 'national' community speaking one common 'national' language.

In other words, the desire for forging a nationhood in Assam seems to be coupled with an antipathy against those who seem to deny the right of Assam to be treated as a separate nationality. The Bengalis of Sylhet, or those who insist that the fourteen languages enumerated in the Constitution have an equal right to exist in any State in India, are an actual or potential threat to the growth of this Assamese 'nationalism.'

RECOMMENDATIONS, THERAPEUTIC & ACADEMICAL

Personally I am in favour of overcoming social tensions such as Hindu-Muslim, Bihari-Bengali, Gujarati-Maharashtrian, by a comprehensive scheme of economic and political development in which India is treated as one single unit and in which the aim is to establsh both economic and social equality. This can be coupled with the promotion of regional, cultural proliferation, each of which should be encouraged to extend its influence all over India. Kerala's dances have now become part of India's tradition. So can Tulsidas's *Ramayana* if its beauty can be spread by Hindi scholars through translataions in all other major languages of India.

But my purpose at the moment is not to recommend therapeutic measures. I am just now interested in observing the fate of caste and similar tensions under *other conditions* of economic, political and educational reconstruction than those in operation now.

The hopeful sign in the growing consciousness of caste or language is that everywhere there is an urgency of *sinking* internal differencs so that a particular caste or a particular [illegible] State may eventually become more reformed [illegible] unified in power. In so far as this is so, [illegible] far as this new loyalty leads to a necessary [illegible] ing out of smaller differences within [illegible] welcome. It can be regarded as a 'progress' measure.

But the point is, if the growth is unrestrained, then the feeling of separate nationality may prove a peril to the growth of Indian nationhood. Personally, I have felt that one need not work directly against provincialism or casteism. It is much more important to allow them to grow and grow until they achieve their limited constructive purpose, and are then reduced to useless and unnecessary ideals. It is much more important, at the same time, to allow unities to develop in wider spheres in a constructive manner, so that these smaller loyalties may progressively wither away.

There is a unity which grows under the threat of aggression. But a better one perhaps is attainable in the pursuit of a common constructive purpose.

Here, I would end with a recommendation to fellow-sociologists . . . Let us all engage, either directly or indirectly, in actively building up small unities at the village or municipal level. They should emphasize in action commonness of civic or economic interest which cut across caste or language barriers. Let us all, at the same time, try to destroy the hierarchy of occupations which forms one of the pillars of the caste system. Gandhi once tried to uplift the status of the *Chamar* (leather worker) and the *Bhangi* (sweeper) by recruiting volunteers from the so-called 'high-castes' to these noble and necessary occupations. He also recommended that wages should be the same for the doctor, lawyer and the sweeper. His hope was that once we succeeded in breaking the superstition and myth of 'high' and 'low' occupations, and in weakening its hereditary character, caste was bound to melt away. During the last stages of the 'pilgrimage' in Noakhali, he also recommended that inter-caste and inter-religious marriages should be regarded as necessary pieces of social reform.

If those who are pragmatically interested in social research engage in constructive social experiments, as part of their scientific investigation, we may begin to gather new data on how social tensions operate under other conditions of occupation or the influence of new social and educational ideals. . . Caste tensions have been accentuated by adult franchise just as Hindu-Muslim tensions were accentuated as a result of separate electorate. I am, therefore, hopeful that the tensions are likely to manifest themselves differently under other experimental conditions

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Foreign Periodicals

A CASE OF UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

Writing in the *New Leader* under the above caption Irving Kristol analyses some of the causes why in the U.S. good magazines of comparatively small circulation are faced with problems of survival which would seem to have especial significance in the context of conditions in India at present :

The "Welfare State" in America is a curious construction. In the field of economics, it is if anything overblown, and already shows signs of elephantiasis. In the realm of the spirit, it refuses to be born, and **laissez-faire** and a purely formal "equality" reign supreme. If ever there was a case of uneven development that calls for correction, this is it.

For instance : It is a favorite complaint that America will not support good (**i.e.,** highbrow") magazines of relatively small circulation. True, many such magazines obtain subsidies that allow them to survive; but no one can believe that is a truly healthy state of affairs. If these periodicals are to play their part in the nation's cultural life, they ought to be able to stand on their own feet, to pay their editors decent salaries and their contributors reasonable fees. When quality must beg to live, there is something amiss in the affairs of the state.

Now the reason that small magazines have such a tough time of it is not that too few Americans are interested in reading them. To begin with, the fact that their readership is not larger is itself only the end-product of a longer chain of events—of the fact, for instance, that they are comparatively high-priced, that they have no money for promotion, and not enough money to be able to ask important writers to take the time to explore and write about important subjects. Besides, even now their circulations are not always so low by historical standards.

It is only possible to say that "too few" Americans wish to read a quality periodical if by "too few" one means under, say 250,000 —which is approximately the "break-even" point under present conditions. That is an utterly ridiculous figure to insist upon; it is tantamount to a sentence of death. In no nation, at no time, have quality periodicals achieved circulations of that dimension. Nevertheless, that is the figure that American society now does insist upon—not for any good reason, but simply because that is the figure the marketplace comes up with.

The free market in culture works this way : In the United States today, every "little magazine" is forced to compete with **Life**—even though it has no such intention. The economies of large-scale printing allow **Life** to pay its printers a quite handsome wage. There are no such economies in small-scale printing, which is actually (and considerably) more expensive than it was 50 years ago. Yet, in our industrial order, the little magazine must pay the printers on the same wage-scale that **Life** does. The advertisements in **Life** allow it to be sold far below the cost of production; a little magazine must compete with **Life** for advertising, and naturally failing to get any, must therefore sell far above the cost of production. In addition, a little magazine must pay, per copy, exactly the same mailing costs as **Life,** exactly the same promotion costs, exactly the same distribution costs, and it pays considerably more for its paper. To call such forced combat "fair competition" is to indulge in a bad joke. It would be more accurate to say that **the American economy—and especially its advertising sector—subsidizes Life at the expense of the small magazine.**

Life, of course, is not responsible for this crazy situation; it is simply going about its business in the ordinary way. The printers are not responsible either; one can hardly expect them to decide that some of their members must make a financial sacrifice for the greater benefit of Culture. The advertisers are not responsible; their job is to sell products, and **Life** does that better than **Partisan Review.** In the same way, the paper merchants are not responsible, nor are the distributors. No one seems to be responsible—and so we accept it as inevitable.

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As that great journalist, E. L. Godkin, observed many decades ago: "Men soon get accustomed to the evils of their condition, particularly if there is nobody in particular to blame. The inactions or negligence or shortcomings of great numbers assume the appearance of a law of nature....."

But it is not a law of nature, only a law of our own witless contrivance. If we should ever decide that quality mattered, and that this democrcay has obligations to the life of mind, there are all sorts of things we can do to translate this decision into a cultural reality. There is no reason why the little magazines, including all the academic journals, should not be exempt from postal charges of any kind. There is no reason why authors' fees for contributions to these journals should not be tax exempt; ditto for subscription fees. There is no reason why printing establishments and paper suppliers should not get a tax rebate for cutting their costs to these magazines. There is no reason why advertisers with a budget of over $100,000 should not be required to direct 5 per cent of everything over this figure to these magazines. There is no reason—well, there is no reason why these and many other things are not done except that there are bugaboos abroad in the land that frighten us away from doing them.

One such bugaboo is the notion that such indirect sponsorship of the arts and of learning by the state must lead to a neo-totalitarian form of control, and eventually to censorship, brainwashing and all the rest. After all, who is going to decide whether any particular journal is worthy of being classified as "cultural" or "educational?" Would we not be establishing a class of cultural commissars whose reign would mean the death of the spirit rather than its invigoration?

The answer to such questions is, quite simply, that this process of decision-making is already at work, with no such calamitous consequences. The Internal Revenue Service even now decides which publications can be called "educational" as against "commercial," in order to determine whether their subsidies are "charitable" (and tax-exempt) contributions. This "privileged" class has already been quite adequately defined, and without any great commotion; what is now needed is legislation that would make society the patron, rather than relying exclusively on the good will of a few high-minded individuals. And, in truth, if it were indeed the case that a democracy is incapable of ever making such official valuations and distinctions, then we should be asserting that, in order for popular government to be compatible with liberty, it must be inimical to civilization.

Another bugabbo is the cry of "special privilege" that is bound to go up. Of course there is a sense in which I am demanding a special privilege for a minority. Nor do I see anything wrong with it. All societies, even those that are proudly committed to "equality," are a network of special and discriminatory privileges; for human beings are never equal in all respects. Indeed, we are well aware that formal equality itself may in reality create special privileges—and that, conversely, the creation of special privileges is often a precondition of true equality. "Equality" and "special privileges" are not antithetical terms.

For example, if the government should declare that everyone, rich and poor alike, will contribute the same proportion of his income to the tax-collector, it would technically be treating people as equals; but I should say it nevertheless constituted a special privilege for the rich to pay the identical rates as the poor. In the same way, I believe that **Life** (or **Look** or **Esquire** or Playboy or the **Reader's Digest**) at the moment is the recipient of a special privilege in that the laws make no distinction between those periodicals which are, in the nature of 20th century things, more affluent and those which are not. These latter need special privileges to become equal.

Moreover, this country today, for all its egalitarian rhetoric and pretensions, is not exactly alien to the idea of special privileges for reasons of national purpose that have nothing to do with equality. I should not like to have to defend all the privileges that are now conceded. I would, however, certainly defend the principle behind them. I have the impression that the special privileges which have been accorded to the farmers are not working out very well. But it seems to me perfectly sensible that a society, having decided that it is a good thing to have a proportion of its population living and working on the soil, should actively encourage this population to do so.

The root of our confusion is that, while

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we are willing to use the powers of government to try to assure economic prosperity to everyone, we are loath to use even a shadow of these powers to assure moral or intellectual prosperity to anyone. We worry over every decimal point of economic growth, and expend due compassion on every man who is rendered unemployable by technological innovation; we pay no heed to intellectual growth and turn a blind eye to the cultural casualities of modern technology and of the affluent society. Of all the distortions of our welfare state, this must surely be the most striking—and the most pernicious.

,IRTH OF E.E.C.

The *German News Weekly* summarises Prof. Hallstein's pronouncements on the E.E.C. during his recent tour of India thus :

For Profesor Hallstein May 9, 1950 marked the beginning of E.E.C. with the declaration by the French Foreign Ministr Mr. Robert Schuman proposing the unheard-of step of pooling French and German coal and steel. Later it was followed by Euratom, the European Automatic Energy Community and the Common Market or more precisely, the European Economic Community.

Referring to the details of the economic integration of the Member States of the Community Prof. Hallstein said "The Common Market Treaty sets the date of 1970 as the target for full economic integration, and although in case of necessity this date might be postponed for up to three years, the fact that we have already launched on the second stage of the transition period together with the accelerated progress we have already made, means that it is extermely unlikely that the target date will be put off."

Posing a question as to what sort of Government did they see in the embryo in the European Economic Community and answering in himself, Prof. Hallstein proceeded to say "The European Community is not just a new power bloc or a new coalition. Although it has its pride, it is not a swollen version of 19th century nationalism, trying a continent rather than a country as its aims. In fact, it is the concrete embodiment of a new approach to the relations between States. It is not merely international : it is not yet fully federal. But it is an attempt to build on the federal pattern a democratically constituted Europe—what I have described a federation in the making."

Constitutional Set Up

On the constitutional mechanism of the E.E.C. Prof. Hallstein did not claim that this was perfect but he said that it did introduce into the relations between Member States several new elements. While the Community, life India, was 'a Union of States,' it was also, in many respects already, a 'Sovereign Democratic Republic.' He added "I do not claim that the Community is a kind of collective stylist but it has a life and a momentum of its own." He gave figures to show the performance of E.E.C. in the economic field. Since 1957 its gross national product had increased by 28 per cent, and industrial production by about 40 per cent. Between 1958 and 1962, the trade between the six Member States had risen by 85 per cent.

The change, Prof. Hallstein said, could not be brought about merely by statistics. The impact of E.E.C. on everyday life in Europe was to be seen to be believed.

But Prof. Hallstein had a warning to give. He said Europe found itself in a new world. Atomic energy had found warlike as well as peaceful uses. This had made it more than ever vital not only to bring our strategic thinking up to date but more especially o find ways of making the unthinkable—impossible.

Poverty, according to Professor Hallstein, posed a challenge alongside liberty. In the world of today nearly 2,000 million people lived in the so-called developing countries—1,250 millions of them outside the Communist bloc, living in many cases, as their ancestors lived : as our ancestors lived. Their average income was one-tenth of that of the average European : and with a population increasing by nearly 2 per cent a year, that average income had remained stationary for the last 40 years.

Second Largest Exporter

"And we do bear responsibilities," affirmed Prof. Hallstein. "The European Community may be small in area, but it is potentially one of the world's giants. Within its borders live some 170 million people—nearly as many as in the United States of America : and its working population is even greater than theirs. The Community is the world's largest trader, its largest importer and its second largest exporter. Economically, it is the fastest growing major unit in the western world. In particular, it is one of the world's biggest markets for basic commodities—raw materials and farm produce."

He continued: "Its policies, therefore, have a direct bearing upon developing countries and upon the rest of the world in general. Politi-

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cally, the Community was not devised to be against anyone or anything. Despite what some have said of it, it is neither a tool of imperialism nor an instrument of capitalist hegemony. If one of its aims is to ensure that Europe's voice be heard in the affairs of the world, rather than be drowned in the cacophony of intra-European squabbles this is not because Europe wishes to return to a situation in which one part of the world dominated another—a situation which is irrevocably put behind us. One of the purposes of having a voice, and a part to play, in the new world that I described is to be able to make a positive contribution to matters of joint concern."

New Opportunities

That the Community was more than just a source of apprehension for its trading partners was emphatically supported by Prof. Hallstein. Quoting from the latest report of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East that the "European Economic Community presents the developing countries not only with new problems of trade with developed countries but also with new opportunities" he said that the questions of common tariff, the association of African States and the common agricultural policy "are not so much the questions raised by the Community's existence as the questions which its existence throws into sharper relief."

Giving the specific instances of India, Prof. Hallstein said "Already Europe's record vis-a-vis your great country is not negligible. For the combined years 1961 to 1962 and 1962 to 1963, the contributions of the European Community countries to the so-called Aid-India Club total 498 million dollars—just over half the [U]States' contribution, and a good deal more [t]that of the World Bank. As far as trade is [c]cerned, 64 per cent of the Community's [i]from India already come in duty-free; and in [t]Dillon negotiations, although ultimately we [d]not negotiate directly with India, the Commu[n]nity was able to offer concessions amounting [t]8.5 million dollars worth of goods. On [c]textiles and jute, it is true, we have more [t]answer for but on the former under the [l]term agreement which came into force in Oct[o]1962, the Community countries will by 1967 [h]enlarged their import quotas to 12,000 tons [a]against just over 6,000 tons in 1962."

India Making Up

He added "When one looks at the ove[r]trade balance, it is true that the Community [d]has an export surplus vis-a-vis India: but [t]now stands—in 1962—at just over 143 mil[l]dollars as against just over 327 million dollars [i]1958. Community exports to India over the sa[m]period have dropped from nearly 430 mil[l]dollars to just over 298 millions; while Indi[a]exports to the Community have been climbi[n]steadily from nearly 103 million dollars worth [i]1958 to over 155 millions in 1962."

Expressing confidence that the Communi[t]existence and the greater prosperity of Eur[o]should ease some of the other relevant proble[m]Prof. Hallstein said "A richer Europe should [b]able to increase its financial aid. A united Eur[o]should be able *ipso facto* to promote gre[a]stability in world markets and, by acting co[n]structively, to promote greater liberalism [i]better market organization throughout the wor[l]

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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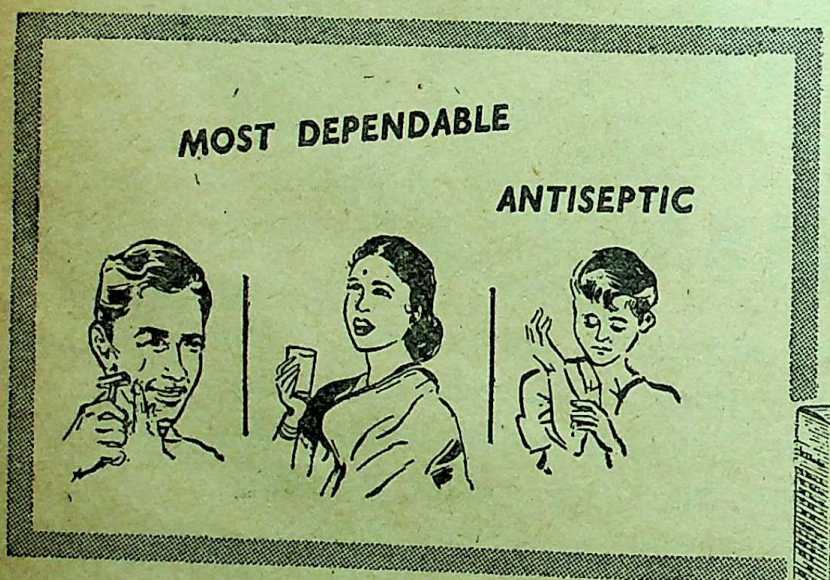

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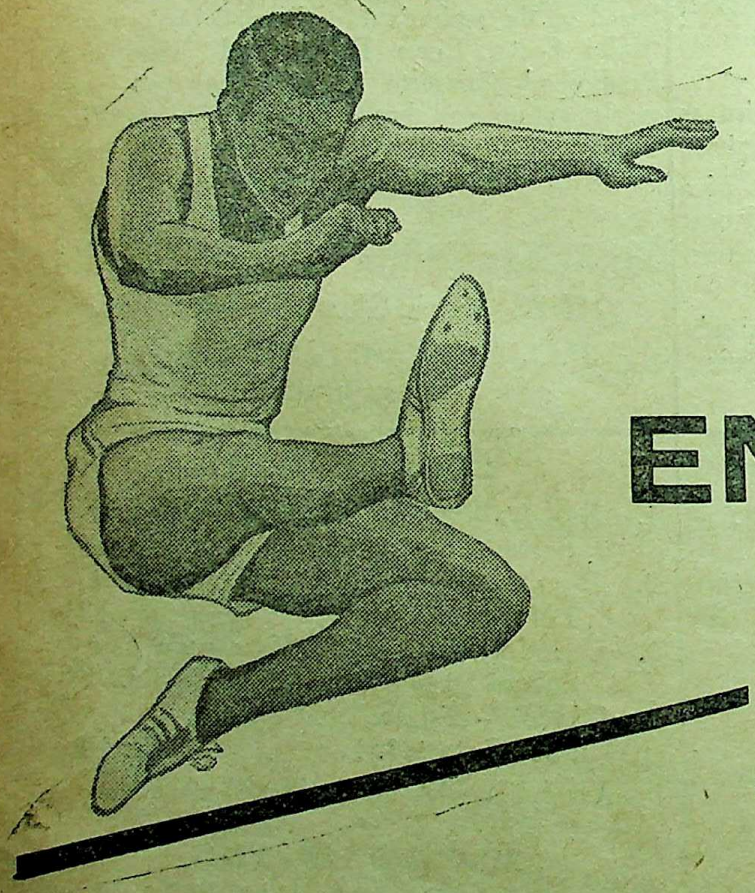

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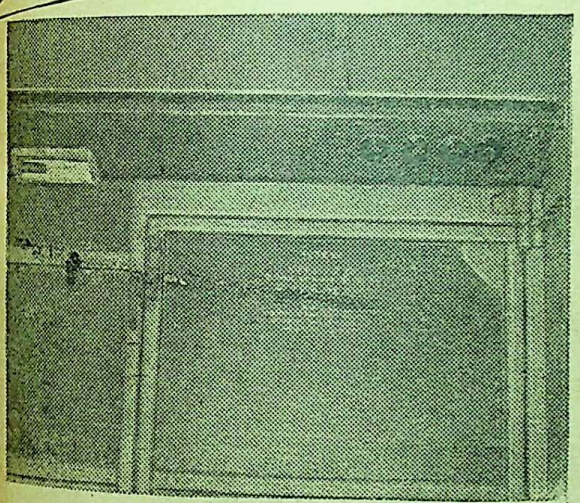

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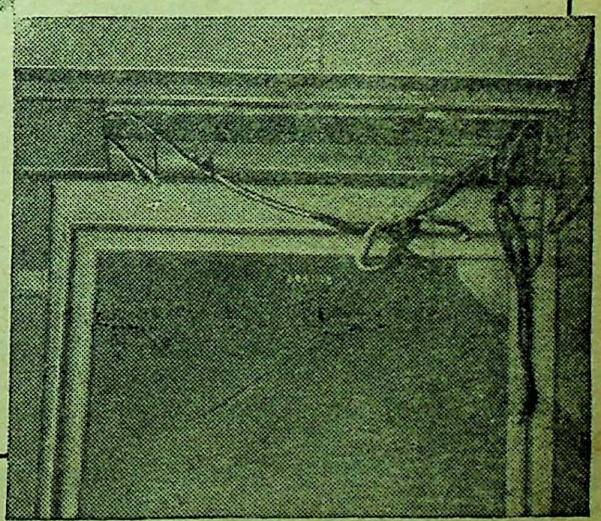

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KAJRI—DANCE OF THE RAINY SEASON

—Abanindranath Tagore

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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Founded by — RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE 1963

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NOTES

The World

The "Winds of Change" mentioned by the British Premier MacMillan while on a tour in South Africa some time back, have assumed more volume and a definite direction after the summit meeting of thirty-two independent African States at Addis Ababa. This four-day conference of the heads of the 32 States ended on May 26, with the unanimous adoption and signing of an African Charter. The Charter was regarded by the Afican Heads of State as the first step towards the pooling of the continent's human and material resources and eventual unity.

The African leaders stated that they were "inspired by a common determination to promote understanding and collaboration among our States in response to the aspiration of our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences."

Fuller details about this summit meeting of 32 African States have to be got before the potentialities of the Charter can be examined at length. The newspaper reports available at the time of writing are extremely cursory. All that can be gathered has been summarized by the **Statesman** in the following paragraphs :—

In the euphoria which followed the unanimous adoption of the Charter, it was difficult to ascertain whether it would remain a strong and binding force or a mere document, like many others on the emerging continent.

But the will to work towards unity was evident when the Chiefs of State emerged after a gruelling seven-hour session in glittering Africa Hall. They had come to Addis Ababa determined to turn the summit into a success despite the difficulties encountered by their Foreign Ministers in a preparatory conference.

The Charter sets up a conference of the Chiefs of State each year, a permanent secretariat, a Council of Ministers to meet more often and a commission to mediate or arbitrate disputes among the States of Africa.

The leaders of Africa's nations agreed in principle to seek reinforcement of unity, co-ordinate their efforts to raise the standard of living, defend their sovereignty, eliminate the remnants of colonialism in Africa and promote co-operation within the U.N.

The Charter did not call for the dissolution of the existing African power blocs, but it was understood that the various groupings will eventually give way to one organization. However, many of the men who approved the Charter also emphasized their determination to seek regional groupings within African unity.

The adoption of the charter was an uncontestable success. It bore out the words of an Ethiopian prophet of one century ago who wrote of Addis Ababa : "This very spot will flourish by great and signi-

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ficant deeds....and the sound of a proclamation drum will emerge."

Significantly, Addis Ababa was chosen as the site of the Charter secretariat.

South Africa at the Addis Ababa Conference [illegible] be taken as hot air although they [illegible]t be over or underestimated." In an interview to a South African paper, Mr. Luouw said "Exaggerated interest must not be attached to these latest threats. The speeches and conclusions of the African leaders must not be over or underestimated. As I have got to know non-Europeans at the U.N., the outbursts expressed at Addis Ababa must not be taken too seriously."

The test of the Charter will of course, lie in the implementation thereof. It is too early to say what will come out of the Conference, but the fact that the 32 Heads of State, belonging to different ethnic groups and widely variant degrees of importance in World politics, is in itself significant. The Charter of the Organization of African Unity may not contain the magic formulae that will weld overnight all these States into an integrated and powerful confederation of African peoples, but it certainly does contain the germs of such an understanding that would lead, eventually, to African solidarity. All Africa may not be on the march against those who are still holding some of its children in slavery and helotage, but the call to action is in clear terms and the forces that are arrayed against African freedom have been clearly identified.

Thousands of miles away from Africa a whole group of people, fully or partially of African origin, are pressing forward to break and pull down the barriers that deny the coloured people of the United States of America their full rights as citizens of an Union which they have loved and served as their fatherland. The U.S. Constitution guarantees their birthright and the U.S. Supreme Court has clearly pronounced its condemnation of the colour bar. And yet there are some atavistic groups of U.S. nationals, of so-called Caucasian origin, who would deny the American Negro his birth-right. These groups that are trying to perpetuate segregation with all its abominable practices, do not seem to re[illegible]lize the stigma they are branding there on the face of all U.S. citizens. Be it s[illegible] here that these antidiluvians are a locali[illegible] minority in the U.S.A., but at the same t[illegible] it has to be said that their prejudiced o[illegible] look and bias against the Negro is [illegible] very wide-spread all over the U.S., thou[illegible] it is not so openly exhibited as in t[illegible] "Deep South." The U.S. Government h[illegible] taken action in the matter as is indicat[illegible] in the latest reports. The stages leadi[illegible] to the sending of 3000 U.S. Federal troo[illegible] to army bases near Birmingham in Alaba[illegible] in the Deep South of the U.S.A., were de[illegible] neated in an editorial of the New Yo[illegible] **Times** of May 12, in which issue is also repr[illegible] duced a number of cartoons bitterly denou[illegible] cing the bestial measures of the segreg[illegible] tionist forces of "law and order" let loo[illegible] on the unarmed Negro demonstrator[illegible] largely women and children. The relevan[illegible] paragraphs in the editorial are as follows

In Birmingham itself, five weeks o[illegible] demonstrations against discrimination ha[illegible] won for the Negroes at least the promis[illegible] of concessions. Their leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, called this their "most signi[illegible] ficant victory" in the Deep South.

Still there is no assurance that diehar[illegible] segregationists will allow the promises t[illegible] be carried out peacefully. If not, race relations will surely take a turn for the worse, not only in Birmingham but elsewhere, North as well as South. Negro unrest was evident last week even in cities where opposition to integration is relatively moderate—Nashville, Tenn., Raleigh, N. C., and Atlanta, Ga.

It is apparent that Negro bitterness over the slow pace of the drive against discrimination is rising. Negro militancy is growing, and some Negroes are turning to racist extremits for leadership.

As a result, some hard decisions may be ahead for the Kennedy Administration. It has counseled moderation for integrationists—reliance on the courts, the ballot box, persuasion—and the Federal Government has brought its own power fully to bear only as a last resort, as it did at the Univer-

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sity of Mississippi last year. Now crises of that kind may occur more frequently, as Negro militancy runs up against the rock of segregationist resistance in the Deep South.

It was nine years ago this Friday—on May 17, 1954—that the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously outlawed segregation in public schools. To the American Negro that ruling was long enough in the coming. Lincoln freed the slave, and gave him some hope of equality, a century ago this year.

Since 1954 substantial progress—but far from enough progress to satisfy Negro expectations—has been made. In border areas—Washington and St. Louis, for example —the walls of school segregation came down swiftly. But as the struggle reached deeper and deeper into the South, white resistance was stiffer and stiffer. In 17 states with a history of segregation, fewer than 8 per cent of the Negroes in public schools in the 17 states sit side by side with whites. "Tokenism" has become anathema to many Negroes.

The Negro resentment extends beyond discrimination in education. Jobs also are involved, and not only in the South. The rate of unemployment among Negroes has been more than double that among whites.

There is trouble in the Tiny Republic of Haiti, where the population is mainly of Negroes and Mulattos of Negro origin. Haiti is in the Western one-third part of the island of Hispaniola where Columbus landed in 1492 at the end of that voyage in search of a New World. The island of Hispaniola is the second largest island of the Greater Antilles group, situated between Cuba on the West—which is the largest of the greater Antilles islands—and Puerto Rico on the East. These islands are in the Caribbean Sea off the West coast of the U.S.A.

Haiti has an area of 10714 square miles and a population of over 3500000 peoples. It is the only French speaking republic in the Americas, the dominant section of the population being mainly mulattos descended from the former French settlers.

The other (two-thirds) part of the island is occupied by the Spanish speaking Dominican Republic which has an area of 19333 sq. miles and a population of little over 3100000. The Dominican Republic had a long period of dictatorship, virtually from 1930 to 1961, with a short hiatus of four years between 1938-1942. The dictator was Rafael Trujillo who was assassinated in 1961.

The Republic of Haiti is now virtually under the dictatorship of its President Dr. Francois Duvalier who is trying to perpetuate his Presidentship by organizing a body of gun-men as palace guards and a body of irregulars known as the "Tonton Macoute."

Trouble has broken out between these two Republics. The present President, Juan Bosch, of the Dominican Republic has accused President Duvalier of Haiti of plotting with the displaced Trujillo clan to assassinate him. As a result of these troubles the Dominicans are up in arms. The Organization of American States is trying to bring back normal conditions but the peace moves and talks are badly hampered by Duvalier.

Cuba has not figured much in World news of late but its President Dr. Fidel Castro has been in the news for quite a while since he appeared with Premier Khrushchev and Marshal Malinovsky, Minister of Defence, on his left and right respectively, at the reviewing stand on Lenin's tomb on Moscows Red Square at the May Day Parade. He had landed in Moscow three days before, on Sunday the 28th of April and had been met with a kiss and a hug by Premier Khrushchev who drove with him straight from the airport to the Red Square where he was presented to an assemblage of 40000 people.

There was a State luncheon, a day at the **dacha** belonging to Khrushchev's family, 25 miles away from Mascow, a visit to the Bolshoi Ballet presentation of Swan Lake, a long weekend with Khrushchev, etc. As Castro was being speculatively prospected by the Chinese, this visit to Moscow on the suggestion of Khrushchev means that the Soviets are one-up in the stages leading to an ideological show-down that is imminent between the Russians and the Red Chinese. For the present, at least, Castro is linked with the Soviets.

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The newly reorganized and expanded United Arab Republic is going through some intricate coups and counter-coups which are the results of internal power politics and intrigues as between the Baath Party leadership and the out-and-out pro-Nasserites. The outcome is not quite clear as yet but it is apparent that the integration of Syria and Iraq into a close-knit union with Egypt is as yet far from complete. But at the same time it should be noted that no clear breach in the Cairo agreement is indicated anywhere. On the other hand quite a substantial degree of understanding seems to have been achieved as between President Nasser and President Bourguiba of Tunis and Ben Bella of Algeria, indicating some moderate degree of progress in the moves leading to Arab solidarity ranging from the Mediterranean coast to the borders of the Persian Gulf.

There are dissidents of course, who disagree with Nasser's scheme. But even those dissidents, Hussain of Jordan and Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia are no longer so truculently antagonistic as before.

In Laos the position is still critical with the Pathet Lao still actively disrupting all the peace moves. The latest reports show that the demand for the withdrawal of the members of the International Commission from the area of disturbances is still being pressed. In view of the unstable and fluid conditions prevailing in Laos the SEATO group are on the alert in Thailand.

In South Vietnam the drive against the Communist Viet Cong Guerrillas was intensified. The U.S. is actively aiding and guiding the drive. Some 170 U.S.-piloted helicopter transports have been provided and the U.S. military advisers are in close touch with the South Vietnam Government forces. The position is complicated because of the political twists introduced in all military decisions. All military plans and decisions have to be approved by President Ngo Dinh Diem, whose autocratic rule is resented by most of the peasantry, because of the oppression and corruption that has been let loose on them by that regime.

In contrast to be conditions prevailing in the area known formerly as French Indo-China, there is every possibility of the Federation of Malayasia, which is in formative stage, materializing as a viable unit. The formal ceremony announcing the birth of Malayasia is imminent despite some disapproval from Indonesia there does not seem to be any bar or hindrance on the way. The consolidation of Federated Malay States, Singapore, Sarawak and Brunei into one solid unit, would do a lot to strengthen the forces of peace and stability in South-East Asia and as such would run contra to the plans of Red China in the Malay Archipelago and Indonesia.

Red China would prefer to keep South-East Asia in a ferment so as to enable it to move downwards to the same in gradual steps as favourable conditions and circumstances develop. The recent anti-Chinese riots in Indonesia have been interpreted in some quarters as being covert Chinese moves to create internal tensions in Indonesia which would tend to bring instability to the Indonesian Government. Of course at present the primary sufferer is the Chinese settler in Indonesia, but that is of no material consideration to the rulers of Red China to whom the individual Chinese is a mere straw to build bricks with.

There is nothing worthy of mention in the condition now prevailing on the Himalayan fronts.

The Bye-Elections

The "Winds of Change" seems to be blowing—though in fitful gusts—over India as well. At least that seems to be the reading of what the recent bye-elections to the Lok Sabha indicated, by most thoughtful people. Of course, attempts are being made by Congress spokesmen and the official publicity agents of the Congress Government, like the All India Raido, to explain away the reverses, but these declarations sound more than a little half-hearted.

The reverse at Rajkot in particular seems to be difficult of explanation even by the most adroit of Congress spokesmen. The usual reasons that are advanced for a Congress defeat, namely split in the ranks of the workers, "indiscipline" amongst

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Congressmen have been put forward. Indeed, it is reported that a meeting of the Disciplinary Action Committee is likely to be held in the near future to consider the case of defaulting members of the Congress. It is further learnt that some members of the Working Committee have requested the Congress President to convene a meeting of the Committee soon to discuss the reverses.

Mr. K. K. Shah, the General Secretary, has said that the Congress High Command did not foresee the defeat of the Congress candidate Mr. Joshi by such a large margin of votes, reports **The Hindusthan Standard.** Mr. Shah further stated that the large margin "showed that some local rulers had their way". Mr. Shah did not think that the Central Budget had anything to do with the defeat. If the people were displeased with that then Mr. Balwantrai Mehta, a former Congress General Secretary, would not have been returned to the Gujrat Assembly with such a large margin of votes, Mr. Shah added.

The Congress Socialist Forum has in the meanwhile urged the Congress President to convene a special session of the A.I.C.C., to discuss ways of refashioning the organisation in the light of the recent by election set-backs, according to latest reports.

Discussing the bye-elections at Amroha, Farrukhabad and Rajkot, the "Forum" has issued a statement declaring that they had uncovered,

"our shortcoming and, therefore, may be considered as welcome warning for the future."

"In fact a drastic reorganisation of the Congress is overdue and what the Prime Minister has been saying of late on this subject has to be followed up with all seriousness. If the basis of Congress membership does not change we do not see any hope of the party facing up to the increasing challenge in the future."

Emphasising the need for a proper programme of education and training of Congress workers, the forum said that the party had been depending more or less on seasonal recruits and ill-equipped workers during the elections. "Moreover, the attitude we generally bring to bear on present day elections is either characterised by an out-of-date approach and technique or is generally soft and patronising or typically middle class."

The forum suggested the immediate implementation of the Education and Training Programme Committee's report and felt that the A.-I.C.C. must decide upon a three-day plan to give the organisation a new look so that "when we face the next general election, we find ourselves in a much better shape."

"The pattern of opposition to the Congress," it said, "is set and in all probability it is going to be the rule rather than exception in the future; the entire non-Communist opposition is going to combine against us.

"This does not, however, mean that we have allies in the Communists who know how to play their game tactfully and create conditions to suit their 'national and international strategy. Nor should it be taken for granted that this solid phalanx of the opposition to the Congress cannot be broken'."

The Forum said : "Perhaps we needed an Amroha or a Farrukabad or a Rajkot to realise our organisational deficiencies and to understand the alignment of forces that is taking place in the political land scape. But we are yet to convince ourselves that they will inject the required sense of urgency in our leadership and call forth the necessary effort and drive on their part.

"For even, after disastrous fall in our strength in some States, which we reconsidered to be the strongholds of the Congress, during the last general elections, we continued our masterly inactivity.

"Forward looking Congressmen would, however, like to make it plain that they would not excuse any further slackness and those who cannot do the job must allow others to do it."

The Congress Socialist Forum has only looked at its internal, that is organisational defects. There is undoubtedly a considerable amount of reform and re-organisation needed to make it work efficiently in the face of a new pattern of Opposition. But the best organisation in the world cannot force the electorate to return candidates of a political party that is rapidly veering away from its professed ideals and objectives. The Congress Socialist Forum,—if it be really of a Socialist persuasion and if it really and honestly believes in the Socialist order of democracy—could gain a lot of insight in the real state of affairs if it con-

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ducted an impartial and independent survey of the Congress Administration and the Congress way of handling Public Affairs, to see how far in actual practice the Congress Government has strayed from its professed ideals, under the guidance of the political adventurers that now control the Congress party, primarily for their own benefit.

The Congress Forum has, however, stated that it would be futile to attribute the Congress reverses to sabotage by disgruntled Congressmen or to the indifferences of local Congress committees. The Congress organisation, it stated, is "ill-equipped to face up to the growing and more strenuous tasks of the present day". What it fails to define or discover, however, are the reasons that have made the tasks increasingly strenuous. The Forum does not admit that the Opposition's victories amount to an affirmation or rejection of any basic policies. The general tenor of opinion in the Congress Secretariat is that the budget had nothing to do with the Opposition gains. Indeed, Mr. K. K. Shah, the General Secretary declared, that the big majority by which Mr. Balwantrai Mehta, a Congress candidate and a former General Secretary of the A.I.C.C., won at Sibora in the bye-election for the Gujrat Assembly, proved the contrary.

In the reports of the election campaign at Rajkot, however, we find that the election campaign was fairly free from personal attacks and the main issues were the government's policy, the China affair and, above all, the gold policy.

The Swatantra Party leaders are very clear about the factors conducive to the Swatantra victory at Rajkot, as the following reports indicate :

Mr. M. R. Masani, General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, told newsmen here today that the all-India implications of the Swatantra victory in Rajkot might be to foster the growth of what might be called a national democratic front of all patriotic opposition parties.

When asked what factors changed public opinion in favour of the Swatantra Party, Mr. Masani said the factors included the 'neglect of the country's defence including reverses and humiliation', gold control and excessive taxes embodied in the budget.

When asked about the possible effect Saurashtra of his victory in Rajkot, Masani said that as a result of the bye-elec tion the Swatantra Party might have a foothold in Saurashtra. If the present tre continued, the party might play a decis part in the 1967 general elections.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Swata Party leader, said in an interview at Ma ras that "Mr. Masani's success in the face all that was organised at Rajkot is a distin proof that the people have roused them selves from the hypnosis of Congress in vincibility."

Mr. Rajagopalachari said that everyo realised the meaning of these three bye-el tion results, Amroha, Farrukhabad and Ra kot. The Congress defeats by large majori ties within one week were a clear demon tration of the people's disapproval of sum of the policies of the Congress Governmen he said.

"People thirst for good Government" he added.

These opinions, coming as they do fro leaders of fairly established repute seem t refute the Congress executives' analysis o the causes leading to Congress defeat.

The gold policy in particular, seems to ha played a fairly upsetting factor in these elections.

The gold policy is still a puzzle to al persons who have cared to study the impli cations of this latest bit of oppressive legis lation. It should be noted in passing that all the imposts and taxes that have been progressively imposed on the peoples o India during the tenure of the presen Finance Ministry, are in the nature of op pressive measures on all law-abiding, honest persons in India. Such of them as are deemed necessary for either defence or for the execution of proper governmental mea sures for the administrative or welfare work in India, have to be borne with pati ence by the citizens of India. But it must be reasonably apparent to the people that the additional burdens imposed in the form of such taxes, imposts and control

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sures are really and truly for the benefit of the honest citizens, that the actual levy will not be in excess of what the Government will collect, either from the tax-payer or from the consumer, and that the funds thus collected will be fully adequate for the purpose, it is earmarked for and, lastly, that the Government will deliver the goods after exacting the price thereof in advance. All these conditions are inherent in all democratic administrations, and, it is being increasingly apparent to all intelligent observers that they are being observed by the present Finance Ministry in the breach thereof, with singular disregard for the welfare of the nationals of India.

Of all these measures, the recent Gold Control Order seems to be the most outrageous. What were the objectives? We were told that it were necessary to bring down the price of gold, so that the smuggling of gold would no longer be lucrative and so that the gold hoarded in India may be made available to the Government of India, which needs gold badly for the purchase of defence equipment. The common citizen who values his hard-won freedom —however, depreciated and riddled with control measures it right have become through the agency of our inept Higher Executive—agreed that the cause was worth the sacrifice, however grievous the inroad be on the savings of the family through the depreciation of the few gold ornaments that he had provided for the women and the daughters of the household. But he expected that the Government would adopt measures that would ensure an equitable and efficient distribution of the burden and that the measure would not cause undue hardship or suffering on honest and innocent people, in excess of what is to be borne by all others.

What has been the result? The actual price of 14 carat gold is Rs. 94|- per tola (about 11.6 gms) in Calcutta at the time of writing these Notes, which works out to about Rs. 161|- per tola of 24 carat gold, that is about Rs. 400|- or £30 per ounce of pure gold. And the price of gold in the outside world being much less than half of that, he would indeed be a simpleton who would believe that this price would serve as a deterrent to the smuggler, or that it would force the hoarder to disgorge his ill-gotten gold for the defence of his country and its people.

And the distress and suffering of the gold-craftsmen? Used as the common citizen is to the blatant disregard of the Higher Executive to the welfare of the public, his feelings were outraged and exacerbated by the brazen indifference displayed by the Central Ministry in response to the appeals for relief by the innocent sufferers.

There is more than a likelihood that the gold policy of the Government of India played a major part in the defeat of the Congress candidate at the Rajkot bye-election, as claimed by the successful Swatantra nominee. The Sibora bye-election may have been fought on less well-determined issues.

THE EDITOR

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

The Bokaro Steel Project

A large integrated steel plant at Bokaro has long been regarded as an integral component in the process of expansion of India's steel capacity. With the three one-million ton public sector plants at Rourkella, Bhilai and Durgapur and expansion of the capacities of the two major private sector plants at Jamshedpur and Burnpur raising their production potentials to two and one million tons respectively, the gross laid-down steel capacity in the country stood at just over 6 million tons on the eve of the Third Five-Year Plan period. Third Plan projects envisaged or already taken in hand included expansion of the Durgapur and Rourkella capacity by .6 million tons each and of Bhilai by .8 million tons. In addition, it was envisaged that it would be possible, with expected American collaboration or assistance to lay down an initial 1.4 million ton plant at Bokaro, its erection, as initially envisaged, to be completed within the Third Plan period, and its capacity to be eventually raised by gradual stages to 4 million tons within the following two Plan periods. Further, it was also proposed to explore possibilities for laying down an additional lignite-based one-million ton plant in South India and, probably, to complete its erection also within the Third Plan period. With these new projects and with the completion of the expansion programmes in respect of the existing three public sector plants, the gross steel capacity in the country at the beginning of the Fourth Plan period was visualized at some 10.4 million tons. This was in addition to the Alloy and Special Steels projects already under implementation at Durgapur under the aegis of the Hindusthan Steel's organization and management, which is expected to have an initial capacity of 80,000 tons, to be gradually raised in due course to some 200,000 tons. The Tatas were also programmed for laying down new capacity for Alloy and Special steels within their own Works in Jamshedpur for which they were expected to find their own necessary resources both in rupee currency and foreign exchange.

The Bokaro project would, accordingly, seem to have a vital bearing upon the [illegible] of the country's expansion programmes of [illegible] capacity and, as already observed, its [illegible] mentation, it was visualized, would be [illegible] through American collaboration or assistance. [illegible] accordance with the negotiations being carr[illegible] on in this respect, the U.S. Government's In[illegible] national Development Aid Agency (I.D.A.) [illegible] appointed a study team consisting of U.S. [illegible] Corporation's experts, to report on the feasibi[illegible] of the project and to recommend measures [illegible] would be calculated to advance its success[illegible] completion and operation. The report of the st[illegible] team recently submitted, a condensed summary [illegible] which has been released through the U.S.I.S. [illegible] has already attracted some notice in the countr[illegible] The report seems to make the following pri[illegible] cipal points :

That Bokaro can fill a part of India's needs for increasing steel capacity by a 3-step phased programme of development comprising first-step 1.4 million ton capacity to be com[illegible] pleted for start of operation by 1971 (that is, by the end of 4th Plan period), which is to be raised to 2.5 million tonnes by 1975 (that is, within the Fifth Plan period) and, ultimately to 4 million tonnes by 1980 (end of Sixth Plan period).

That the following ancillories and services must be provided for as an essential precondition to the successful laying down and operation of the projected plant :

(a) Supply of qualified operating personnel, Indian and American, be assured ;

(b) Supplies of several important raw materials be available in requisite quality and quantity and placed under the ownership control of the steel plant management ;

(c) Provision be made for :

(i) Adequate rail transport;

(ii) Adequate supplies of power and water;

(iii) Expansion of necessary coal mining washing facilities;

(iv) Adequate area highways; and

(v) Townsite and housing facilities for labour and managerial personnel.

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Total investment envisaged for completion of the first 1.4 million tonne stage of the project has been estimated at $919,428,000, or roughly Rs. 460 crores of which the foreign exchange or dollar component has been calculated at $512,588,000, or approximately Rs. 256 crores. The gross estimates of investment upto the final 4-million tonne stage of the plant have been placed at $1,504,766,000 or, roughly, Rs. 755 crores with a foreign exchange content of $891,522,010 or, approximately Rs. 446 crores. In addition, the requisite investment for ancillory facilities and services to be undertaken by other agencies like the railways, etc., has been envisaged at $133,857,000 or, roughly, Rs. 67 crores, of which the foreign exchange component is yet to be determined.

The report definitely states that the projected plant at Bokaro would not be profitable (presumably meaning that it would lack economic viability) in the first step, but asserts that it would "become and remain so with full production in step II."

An analysis of India's steel capacity, production yield and the pattern of developing demand included in the report shows that while present capacity aggregates 6 million tonnes (already observed by us in our prefatory statement in this analysis), the average rate of production still does not exceed 4.8 million tonnes per annum. Gross capacity in the country is expected to be raised to 11 million tonnes by 1971. Supply, demand and deficit have been estimated respectively as :

Year	Demand	Supply	Deficit
1966	6.9 m.t	5.6 m.t	1.3 m.t
1971	11.2 ,,	8.7 ,,	2.5 ,,
1976	17.0 ,,	11.1 ,,	5.9 ,,

It is envisaged that Bokaro would make flat steel products and the effect of the plant's operation on the demand and supply pattern is envisagd to be :

1966 : (Step I) : deficit before Bokaro 1.42 m-tonnes ; supply from Bokaro—1.1 m-t.; balance deficit—.38 m.t.

1971 : (Step II) : deficit before Bokaro—2.34 m.t ; supply from Bokaro—1.8 m.t.; balance deficit .54 m.t.

1976 : (Step III) : deficit before Bokaro—4.91; supply from Bokaro—2.91 m.t.; balance deficit—2.0 m.t.

The report lays especial emphasis on the problem of "Man-Power" which, it asserts, are of "special importance" to Bokaro. Without fully qualified personnel, whether Indian or American, available from the very start of implementation of the project, there would be grave risk, that costly plant and equipment would be unproductively used or even damaged. On the other hand American personnel employed during the early stages of the plant's operation should be capable of rapid replacement by Indians in the interest of "operating economy." Discussing the improbability of the existing plants in India being able to train and equip the necessary additional personnel for Bokaro in the context of their own increasing requirements in conformity with their respective expansion programmes, the report envisages the employment of a large team of American operating personnel to ensure proper operation until Indian personnel, who would be initially untrained, had been properly trained under their direction and were fully qualified.

The report suggests an eight-point closely co-ordinated programme for dealing with this essential problem of "man-power" which includes recruitment, training, personnel placement, utilization of personnel resources, compensation, employee-union relations, safety and employee communications. The implementation of this programme, the report emphasizes, has direct relation on conclusions about the profitability of the plant.

A very crucial suggestion in the report in this connection is the assumption of a ten-year American management contract, although some technical personnel would have to be retained for a longer period. 20 Americans would have to be employed immediately which would increase to 670 by 1968, progressively falling off to some 40 by 1977. They would include 270 management and supervisory personnel and 400 production and maintenance workers. The Indian complement of the work force is estimated at 8,200 for Step I, but it is emphasized that American Management contract must be regarded as an essential pre-requisite to attaining 100 per cent capacity four years after start up and for maintaining what is regarded in the report as the comparatively "small and efficient" work force. The number of men estimated to be required for the construction period would be 20,000 men.

The report lists problems of raw materials,

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transportation, availability of water and power, township and service facilities, etc., some of which are of vital moment. For instance the report expresses a great deal of doubt about the raw materials position, especially in view of the concentration of steel-making capacity within a comparatively narrow belt where four out of the five major steel plants are already located and in which Bokaro is intended to be sited. It says that its investigations revealed that "wholly insufficient consideration was being given to the raw materials aspect of the Bokaro project" and that this "deficiency appears to be due primarily to the fact that plans are for three principal raw materials to be supplied by three separate Government entities", and that no individual or group with "overall steel-making responsibility has been made responsible for co-ordinating Bokaro's raw materials programme." Besides, work in respect of raw materials is considered to have lagged behind planning of other aspects of the project; "iron ore and coal sources are still undergoing important changes and exploration work on the proposed source of limestone is only just beginning." The study lists certain major assumptions in regard to the raw materials supply position which, together with the problems of transport, power and water and other essential services, would constitute a major item of consideration in this regard and emphasizes the importance of verifying their reasonableness or of developing alternatives adequate to the requirements of the undertaking which will, in point of personnel, time and funds, be itself a considerable undertaking and is expected to take two years or even longer to find satisfactory long-term solutions to the basic raw materials problems.

In addition, the report also envisages probable lags and difficulties that might arise in completing the arrangements relating to the necessary supplies of such essential services as power and water, availability of adequate transport facilities, etc., to conform to the requirements of the undertaking at the appropriate times, as some of these are themselves dependent upon supplies and implementation by various foreign agencies. The Government of India, the report acknowledges, have assured that they are properly seized of these problems to which adequate solutions would be found with necessary expedition to enable the services concerned to be made available at the appropriate time, but grave doubts are expressed as regards the absolute reliability of such assumption. It is emphasized, for instance, [illegible] having regard to the load imposed upon [illegible] resources in the area already by reason of [illegible] of the five principal steel plants having been [illegible] within comparatively close contiguity of [illegible] another which have so far proved quite inade[illegible] quate to requirements in respect of the move[illegible] of raw materials and shipping of finished [illegible] ducts, the additional load that Bokaro would [illegible] bound to impose upon these resources would [illegible] bound to constitute a major problem on the a[illegible] quate and timely solution of which will be h[illegible] to depend, in large measure, the operating ef[illegible] ciency of the projected Bokaro plant.

The U.S. Study Team's report, we appreci[illegible] is a valuable document which [illegible] merit the closest scrutiny and consideration [illegible] appropriate Indian authorities before furth[illegible] fruitful negotiations relating to the project m[illegible] be pursued with the U.S. Government. But so[illegible] of the assumptions made in the study, we fe[illegible] would be bound to cause considerable misapp[illegible] hension. The estimates as regards the envisa[illegible] investments for the project, for instance, wo[illegible] appear to be extraordinarily high. In spite of th[illegible] fact that investments requisite for a steel plant d[illegible] signed to produce mostly flats are stated to b[illegible] comparatively higher than for other kinds of pr[illegible] ducts, the report itself admits that the presc[illegible] estimates are very high even compared to wo[illegible] standards for such products but are sought to b[illegible] justified on the grounds of the additional capi[illegible] investment that would be called for to cover su[illegible] items as shipping costs of plant and equipme[illegible] to the project site from the U.S., customs a[illegible] other dues and a variety of other expenses. [illegible] these items, however, had equally to be provid[illegible] for in respect of the other three public sect[illegible] steel plants that have been laid down in In[illegible] during the last few years with other foreign co[illegible] boration or assistance and why any substant[illegible] difference in the capital estimates of this proj[illegible] should be occasioned in the present instance [illegible] something which it is not easy to understand o[illegible] appreciate. For instance, the gross investment [illegible] the three one-million tonnes public sector pla[illegible] at Rourkella, Bhilai and Durgapur are stated t[illegible] have aggregated under Rs. 500 crores, whereas [illegible] the investment envisaged for the first step of [illegible] projected Bokaro Plant comprising a laid do[illegible] capacity of 1.4 million ingot-tonnes, has [illegible]

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placed at approximately Rs. 460 crores. True, a part of this investment is projected to provide for its eventual expansion, in two successive stages, to an ultimate 4-million tonnes and does not represent merely a 1.4 million tonne capacity, but the total investment for upto the 4 million tonne stage, which has been envisaged at approximately Rs. 755 crores in all, would itself be considered to be extraordinarily high.

An analysis of the load of capital investment on the per tonne production of steel on account of depreciation of plant and interest on capital, assuming working capital at approximately 25 per cent of fixed capital, and assuming interest on capital together with any service charges that may have to be provided for at an average of 6 per cent, would seem to work out at the three existing public sector plants at Rourkella, Bhilai and Durgapur at approximately Rs. 71.6 per tonne, whereas at the projected Bokaro Plant on the basis of the investment envisaged in th U.S. Study Team's report, it would seem to work out to the extraordinarily high figure of some Rs. 105.4 per tonne. This alone should be taken as ample evidence of the extremely high investment content of the plant assumed by the U.S. team, and the fact as to whether a steel plant at such high cost would at all conduce to development progress is a consideration which should constitute a problem of major dimensions. India was one of the cheapest producers of steel in the world not so very long ago, an advantage she would seem to have been progressively loosing over the years since the process of expansion of steel capacity in the country had been induced. According to an estimate provided by Sir Biren Mookherjee, one of the outstanding captains of the steel industry in the country in the private sector, some two three years ago, India has been fast loosing this position of advantage compared to other world producers and has already arrived at a stage when possible export advantages of steel or other steel-based products from India would seem to have been considerably eliminated. With the Bokaro project investments assumed at the level they have been in the U.S. Study team's calculations, any residual advantage that might still have been obtaining in this rgard, weould seem to be completely eliminated. Assuming, further, that the estimated Bokaro investments would also set the level for investments on further steel capacity expansion in the country,—and development needs in the years ahead would certainly seem to make it imperative that further substantial expansion in this field must be provided for in eventual stages —the overwhelming importance of giving this matter the closest possible scrutiny and attention would seem to be obvious.

In this connection some consideration to the recent controversy arising out of the Clay Committee's report as to whether the American assisted Bokaro Steel Project should be under public sector or private sector management, would also seem to be merited. The Clay recommendations are reported to have suggested that the feasibility of the project would be better ensured if it were to be placed under private sector ownership and management. Acceptance of such a recommendation would be, patently, at variance with the basic policies of the Government of India in regard to the steel industry as formulated in their Industrial Policy Resolution. The fact, however, that public sector management has not, so far, conduced to competitive efficiency of performance—and having regard to the further fact that already more than fifty per cent of the country's steel capacity is under public sector management,—performances in this sector would be bound to set a limit to the over-all efficincy in the industry in the country as a whole and that further expansion of the public sector capacity in this behalf would be normally assumed to correspondingly load the efficiency factor in the future, is a major item for the most careful consideration in this regard. For, despite the process of development progress under a "mixed-economy" aegis, competitive efficiency in industrial management as a whole, and efficiency in key sectors of industrialization in particular would seem to be of overwhelming importance in this regard. For, however large the industrial base that may be sought to be laid down in the country, corresponding acceleration in the gross national product on which alone can depend the sinews of continuing progress, would be bound to be conditioned by the efficiency factor in industrial output. What should be considered to be of the greatest essential moment in this connection is that if the present basis of the country's industrial policies cannot or should not be changed or amended in any way, due consideration at least must be bestowed upon the efficiency factor in performanance. The Clay recommendations, even if they are found to be wholly unacceptable, should provide a needed stimulus for the over-

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whelming need for a great deal of rethinking and, possibly, also of reorganization in this regard.

The recent statements by the Union Steel Minister of the Government of India in this regard that a separate company in the public sector would be incorporated to own and manage the Bokaro project and that the entire share capital of the project would be provided by the Government with no participation in its contents being offered to either individuals or the corporate sector would, however, seem to have put a quietus to public speculation. This would seem to assume an importance in view of the recommendations of the Public Accounts and the Krishna Menon Committees to the contrary, as an indicant of the Government's views on the matter. The fact that the Bokaro project would not fall within the management control of the existing Hindusthan Steel Ltd., in view of the already heavy pressure upon its management resources in respect of the three public sector plants and the additional alloy steel plant under its control, would seem to be both reasonable and wise. The fact, further, as stated by the Steel Minister, that American participation in the share capital of the new company is not envisaged which should, presumably, come in the shape of credits repayable over a period of time is, additionally, deserving of support. But the matter of the management of the plant during the initial period of its gestation spread over the period between now and 1980 as postulated in the U.S. Steel report does not appear to have been cleared of its present rather ambiguous contents. The report assumes an initial period of ten-year American management contract and envisages the employment of a large American personnel during this period. The report seems to assume that such a contract would be considered essential for operating efficiency to be carried upto capacity level within four years from the start-up of the first step of the project when it should have overall management control over not merely plant operations, but also over the sources of raw materials supplies and their needed pre-processing. This is an assumption which would seem to raise questions of fundamental importance in the field of public sector-owned Indian industries.

In the first instance, although technologically specialised skills for the operation of a steel plant such as the Bokaro plant is projected to be, may be at present scarce within the country, it should not be difficult, certainly not impo... to procure adequate administrative and ... management skills within the country even ... Secondly, we do not consider it a sound ... policy to import administrative skills at any le... especially as such skills will have to operate ... conformity with the human, economic and ... and emotional resources of the country with ... only an Indian of necessary attainments may be ... pected to be fully familiar. Finally, although it ... be both necessary and wise to employ impo... technological skills for new industries where ... skills are not already adequately available ... in the country for such limited periods as ... cannot be filled in by indigenous material, ... employment of such skills should invariably ... conditioned under bona fide Indian control ... management in the public interest.

While on the subject, one of the most imp... tant factors discussed in the report has to ... taken seriously into consideration, that is, re... ing to the recruitment and training of adequ... numbers of Indian operating personnel for t... plant. It has been said that "unless fully quali... personnel, whether Indian or American, could ... supplied right from the start of the project ... implementation, there would be grave risk ... that very costly equipment would be unprodu... tively used or even damaged." No one wo... repudiate the reasonablemess of such a postula... but that is no reason why adequate provisio... cannot be made, if necessary measures are tak... forthith for the purpose, to recruit and tr... necessary personnel in this behalf in the alread... operating five major steel plants in the count... in both the public and the private sectors. Th... the three public sector plants will themselves ... faced with the need for additional skilled person... in view of their current expansion programme... But that should be no reason why personnel ... addition to those that may be required for t... existing plants could not be recruited and tra... in advance to handle the operating requirement... of the Bokaro project. The practice, hitherto, ... sending out large numbers of raw recruits ... training in the countries which would collabora... in setting up a new steel plant in the country ... not, demonstrably, proved an outstanding succ... so far. We fully endorse Sir Biren Mookerje... criticism that this practice has proved a sour... of advoidable waste in the past and should ... discontinued and that it should, instead, be ...

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placed by a system of preliminary training at existing steel plants within the country followed by actual work on the erection of the plant concerned which, according to Sir Biren, should give these recruits all the necessary essential groundwork in the work they would have to eventually handle during the operation of the project. Sir Biren Mookerjee's experience and knowledge of the steel industry in India gives him an especial right to speak on the subject with incontrovertible logic and authority and the Government of India would do well to pay adequate heed to his warnings and suggestions alike in this respect.

But it would be necessary, if this aspect of the matter has to be adequately provided for, to take immediate measures for formulation of a necessary over-all training scheme under direct Government aegis. For the purpose, we feel, it would be conducive to greater expedition and effeciency of performance if such a measure were to be directly handled by the Steel Ministry instead of being left to the Minister of Labour as is usual in such cases. In this connection we are reminded of the long-standing scheme of the Union Labour Ministry for undertaking necessary legislation for formulating and controlling a uniform scheme of apprenticeship training in Indian industry which appears to have been indefinitely shelved. In the matter of the Bokaro steel project, we feel, it should be possible under appropriate Government of India aegis, and with the advice of expert opinion within the country, to formulate a wholesome scheme of recruitment, training and necessary tuition of different categories of apprentices to be detailed in appropriate numbers to the existing steel plants and whose training course should be under constant and expert central vigillance. Formulation of a properly integrated scheme in this behalf would, of course, be an advance necessity, but should not prove intractable in view of our present resources in this behalf. If this were done without any loss of time and if most such recruits were to be placed under a scheme of intensive training with due expedition, there should be already available a sizeable number of atleast partially skilled Indian operatives, who may be ready to be placed on the erection of the Bokaro plant as suggested by Sir Biren Mookerjee, and who would thus have the opportunity of acquiring further necessary skills in the process. This would eliminate, in a corresponding degree, the need to import American operatives in the numbers envisaged in the report under discussion and which would, in turn, be bound to have corresponding reflection on the operating expenses of the plant and eventually on the cost of production of the plant's yield in saleable commodities. The possible need to still import a considerable number of American personnel for a period is not entirely ruled out, but such a process would at least, set in motion a more expeditious move towards the desirable direction of complete Indianization of the plant's operational base than would be otherwise possible. The Steel Minister's recent press conference in this connection, does not appear to have taken into consideration this very vital aspect of the matter. This, we feel, is crucial not merely in respect of the projected Bokaro plant alone, but also in respect of further steel capacity expansion in the country that would inevitably have to be progressively taken in hand by the Government in the years ahead.

A word about the raw materials position on which such insistent emphasis has been laid in the U.S. Steel's report. The matter of both adequacy of supplies of raw materials and their requisite quality has, again and again, been emphatically underlined by Sir Biren Mookerjee in his annual reports to the shareholders of his Company every year for the past several years without much improvment having been evinced in the matter. It is essential that any new major steel plant must be assured of these supplies in adequate quantities, with regularity, and of minimum specifications as regards quality, if it has to successfully and economically operate. It is only reasonable therefore, that the American report should have laid such great emphasis on this aspect of the projected Bokaro steel plant. Its contention that raw materials sources in adequate measure, as well as processing facilities such as coal washeries, for instance, should be placed under the steel plant's own management and ownership control to enable the plant to operate efficiently and with due regard to economy of performance, would seem to be backed by incontrovertible logic. The present system of making available these supplies to the steel plants through different and, apparently independent agencies and sources, has already proved to be a major lag in the operating efficiencies of existing steel plants in the country. It is essential in the circumstances, that due consideration

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should be given to the recommendations in this behalf not merely in respect of the Bokaro project, but also, we feel, in respect of all the steel plants in the public and private sectors,—and it appears that the private sector is being unfavourably treated in this respect compared to the public sector already operating within the country.

We have discussed here the report and subsequent pronouncements by the Government of India in this connection, at some considerable length because we have felt that it does not seem to have attracted the necessary measure of public consideration that its importance made it necessary that it should have. Even then, we have been able to touch upon only a few of the more salient points germane to the issue here, and feel that a more thorough and detailed study should be immediately undertaken to enable further negotations between our Government and the U.S. to be held under realistic conditions. There is no doubt that further steel capacity in the country is essential for our fast growing developmental needs, but the essentiality of such new plants as we may lay down in the process, whether it be with U.S. aid or by collaboration with other more advanced countries, would naturally have to depend upon the economic feasibility of the project and upon its operating potentials, which would inevitably include such matters as raw materials, transport, operating personnel, essential services like power and water and a host of other items. It is essential that all necessary aspects of the scheme are given the closest scrutiny and their appropriate measures and justifications punctiliously weighed before rushing down into contracts which may prove a greater burden than help in the future. This should not, we feel, be allowed to happen in any case.

KARUNA K. NANDI

Compulsory Savings and Consumer Prices

Inspite of its stormy passage through the Lok Sabha, the Compulsory Savings Deposit Act is now to come into effect on the first July next unless someone may choose to take the matter to the Supreme Court, and the Court may declare the measure null and void. Instructions have now been issued by the Finance Ministry secretariat as to the methods and manner in which the deposit has to be made or collected and it appears that apart from

branches of the Reserve and the State Bank of India, only post offices of the rank of not less than a sub post office shall be authorized to accept deposit. So far as salary earners are concerned, the employers shall be responsible for collecting the deposit from such empoyees whose salary is over Rs. 1,500/- per annum, but whose income tax are below the minimum income tax paying limit, while the latter category of employees shall be responsible for making their own deposits. Why the employers should not have been entrusted with the responsibility of collecting the compulsory deposit from their income-tax paying employees is more than can be easily understood, unless the Finance Minister may have been looking to cash in on the negligence of those who belong to this category for a bit of extra revenue by way of penalties on delayed deposits.

And, yet, such compulsion to savings among those whose incomes are below the minimum assessable level of income taxation might have been regarded as quite a welcome measure if the consumer price factor in the market, especially in the essential consumer sector, were to be held at a level of steadiness. Even before the Compulsory Savings scheme was conceived by the Union Finance Ministry, the Union Planning Ministry and other Ministries directly concerned in Plan progress were reported to have been having sleepless nights over the tempo of rising prices which it was being freely questioned, may be regarded to have correspondingly attenuated Second Plan achievements in proportionate measure and to threatening Third Plan prospects. In fact, it was whispered about that high-level of taxation measures already envisaged was conditioned also to operate as a disincentive to price and it was claimed that with consumer cooperatives, fair price shops and other mechanical price control devices set up by Government the Compulsory Savings scheme should provide just the additional measure needed to absolutely ensure that the price line would be held at an even keel, especially in the essential consumer sector.

In fact even a cursory analysis of the views of the Government of India on the question of the price level would seem to reveal a most confusing array of different and conflicting points of view between different Ministries of the Union Government. Thus, while Mr. Nanda is in a state of constant and unrelieved apprehension

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the matter of prices, the Food and Agriculture Minister Patil would put himself out as an apostle of rising primary prices as being both welcome and desirable, while the Finance Minister would seem to be oscillating between the two views. It was only to be expected that Government's administrative measures would not, in the circumstances, be very effective in holding the price line. The twin fiscal measures of an unprecedented level of additional taxation together with the compulsory savings measure, it was claimed, would be bound to prove such a price-deterrant that the price line would be bound to be held at a more or less constant level in consequence. What, however, would appear to have been either unwittingly or, perhaps, even deliberately ignored was, first, the obvious inflationary potential of our over-all taxation structure as well as those of the administrative measures for exercising control over prices, especially in the primary consumer sectors.

Thus, the promulgation of the order for collection of dues under the Compulsory Savings Deposit scheme coincided also with such a rise in primary commodities, that assessees to this deposit, especially in the low-income-tax-level categories would be hard put to even keep body-and-life together, let alone have the necessary surplus for making any savings at all. Rice prices, for instance, between the last harvest and now have risen on an average by nothing less than 25 to 30 per cent in the medium and finer varieties and even higher for coarser rice. There has been an over-all 20 to 25 per cent rise in the prices of pulses, grammes and other essential items of grocery with only mustard oil, most unaccountably, maintaining a steady rate, and even greens and common low-calory vegetables appear to have been following a corresponding trend. So far as sugar is concerned, it has, as usual, become a pawn in racketeering and despite the Government's notification announcing its legitimate retail price at between 1.22 and 1.26 nP per kg, depending upon the grade of sugar, the actual price at below which procurement of any quantity is not at all possible, appears to have been varying between 1.44 and 1.60. There are, of course, the Fair Price Shops, through which 8,000 out of the gross 14,000 tons allocated per mouth for distribution in the Calcutta metropolitan area, where sugar should be available at legitimate prices on production of ration cards, but those who, in sheer desparation, faced the sacrifice of time and convenience to try to obtain ration cards for the purpose, now know at their own cost that the issue of ration cards itself has now developed into a lucrative racket. In respect of rice also the Government have been claiming that prices have slumped somewhat from the skyrocketting level they had attained to, but the retail buyer has never yet had any indication of such a slump in the price he has been paying for his essential consumption. Altogether, it is not merely a most sorry spectacle, the manner in which Government have been literally flaying the poorer salary-earners both through rising prices of essential commodities and, at the same time, compulsory additional levies on their slender and hopelessly inadequate resources. Lessons of history, they say, indicate that it is such circumstances that revolutions usually spurt from. The complete and wholly heartlessly callous attitude of the Government on the peoples' miseries and essential wants so long as their own fads and fancies can be satisfied, would seem to point to a gradual ripening of circumstances towards a consummation which would not auger well for the present Government if only they had the vision to be able to read the writing on the wall.

Karuna K. Nandi

Power Planning For West Bengal

Planning for power for West Bengal has, all along, been following a most unsatisfactory course. It was at the vehement personal insistence of the late Dr. B. C. Roy that necessary Central sanctions were wrested out for the Bandel power project and the Durgapur project's thermal power plant. With the latter, however, West Bengal had been having difficulties with the Centre, it may be reacalled, when pressure was sought to be put upon the State Government to hand over the Durgapur plant to the DVC authorities and, when this was curtly refused, to at least entrust distribution of the power produced at this plant to the DVC.

Then, again, the Central Power Survey Committee sought to attenuate the needs of West Bengal by lumping together the estimated demand and production potential of the entire zone comprising South Bihar—DVC—Lower Bengal which has been estimated by this Committee for upto the Fourth Plan period at 2,000 mW. against the West Bengal Government's estimates for the State alone of 2,300 mW. Even for the immediate present, the Committee has been estimating Calcutta

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Electric Supply Corporation's demand factor at about 400 mW whereas the actual demand, taking into account refusals uptodate on account of insufficiency of power, would be actually found to be well over 500 mW. The actual net demand that is being catered to by the CESC aggregate 465 mW. which excludes refusals aggregating 164.7 mW. The present 465 mW. load is being maintained by the supply company through the expedient of load shedding to the tune of 60 mW. Such lumping together of estimated demand on a zonal basis has its obvious misleading connotations and the State Government have been insisting that West Bengal's needs must be separately assessed. The State Government have also been insisting upon the development of interlinking grids among contiguous State Governments (this, it may be noted, has already been effected in the South in very learge meassure between the Governments of Madras, Mysore, Kerala etc.) to enable the insufficiency of single-grid capacity to be compensated for. At present, it may be recalled, West Bengal suffers from this insufficiency and even on occasions when the DVC is in a position to enhance its supplies to West Bengal, the latter is unable to take advantage of the situation because of this factor.

Third Plan additions to the State's power supply resources, it may be recalled, consists of a new 50 mW unit of the CESC, Bandel 150 mW and Durgapur 150 mW. This last, however, on account of the earlier difficulties created by the Central Government, is not likely to be completed within the Third Plan period. As already mentioned, the estimates for the Fourth Plan have been envisaged at 2,300 mW for the State, of which the requirements of the Calcutta and Greater Calcutta area have been estimated at 1,150 mW. Of the latter, the C.M.P.O.'s requirements for the Greater Calcutta and the Haldia Port areas respectively have been estimated at a gross 130 mW, 80 mW for the former and 50 mW for the latter areas. The estimated investment for this order of power development in the State would have to aggregate approximately Rs. 200 crores which is approximately Rs. 130 crores higher than Third Plan allocations in this behalf for the State.

It is, however, essential, as carefully analyzed by both the West Bengal State Electricity Board as well as by the State's Directorate of Industries, to enable this envisaged order of power development to be implemented as the very basic minimum requirement of the State. The Directorate of Industries has estimated [illegible] it is the very essential minimum to keep [illegible] rties at their present proportion of growth [illegible] performance with a view to maintaining [illegible] ment at a correspondingly minimum level [illegible] significant that the estimates do not envisage [illegible] progress in either industrial growth or [illegible] ment incidences, they have been carried out [illegible] a more static concept that of merely [illegible] unemployment to its present level and for [illegible] alone such an order of power development [illegible] be essentially basic. The Central authorities [illegible] to have been continuing to view West Be[illegible] requirements with their usually prejudiced [illegible] and, already, they have been trying to [illegible] down estimates by at least 300 mW. If any[illegible] the State has been erring, it must be correct[illegible] on the side of moderation in its demands in [illegible] behalf. What the State could and should [illegible] provided for, is to draw up estimates on a [illegible] of growth. According to the celebrated W. [illegible] Rostow, the very minimum requirement of [illegible] mic growth is to provide for national income [illegible] growth which would not merely cover the growth [illegible] rate of population but also provide for [illegible] able surpluses for new investments which, if the [illegible] population growth rate is assumed at not more than [illegible] 1.5 per cent per aanum, should aggregate at least [illegible] to 15 per cent and more if the population growth [illegible] rate is higher. West Bengal, patently, has [illegible] been estimating for growth while envisaging [illegible] minimum power requirements during the current [illegible] and the next Plan period ; she has, indeed, been [illegible] merely estimating for sheer survival and [illegible] Central Government owes it to the State and [illegible] the country as a whole that the necessary [illegible] tions for this very modest requirement must be [illegible] granted. Inspite of the sufferings of the West [illegible] Bengal State, especially that of the Calcutta [illegible] industrial and suburban areas, on account of [illegible] power shortage and consequent load shedding [illegible] sufficient awareness of the problems and [illegible] State's minimum justifiable claims to consideration [illegible] tion in this behalf, does not seem to exist. It is [illegible] vital to our existetnce that the State's basic [illegible] minimum requirements for power must be provided [illegible] vided at any cost ; it has already been said that [illegible] the estimates drawn ip in this behalf by the State [illegible] official agencies, instead of erring on the side [illegible] of extravagance in this behalf, really err on the [illegible] opposite side and would seem to be almost [illegible] monious in their contents.

Karuna K. Nan[illegible]

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IMPACT OF PLANNING ON UNION-STATE RELATIONSHIP

By Prof. SANT LAL SINGH,
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India has a quasi-federal constitution with a single constitutional document providing for Government at the Union as also in the States, a single citizenship and an unified judiciary, but with legislative powers clearly laid down and demarcated between the Union and the States, with, however, a large concurrent list. The largeness of the Government list with over-riding powers for the Union, the appointment of the Governors of States by the Union President and the enjoyment of residuary powers by the Union, besides the provision for a virtual conversion of the administration to the unitary pattern in times of *emergency* are well-known features of the Constitution that till the scales heavily in favour of the Union.

An important aspect of the Constitution which is not always emphasised is the relation between the two sets of executives even when there is no emergency. This relates to the giving of directions by the Union Government to the State Governments in the sphere of executive work in subjects occuring within the federal or concurrent list (See Articles 256-258 of the Constitution).

Relations between the Union and the States, fall broadly into three categories; (i) Legislative (ii) Executive and (iii) Financial. In several respects the financial relations between the two sets of authorities go beyond the legislative demarcation of spheres. Besides the three major groups of resources, *viz.*, Union, State and shared heads, comparable to the three legislative lists—the Union, the State and the concurrent, the classification of financial resources contains two other heads of considerable significance from the standpoint of Union State relationship, viz., (i) Taxes levied and collected by the Union, but assigned to the States (Article-269) and (ii) Duties levied by the Union, but collected and appropriated by the States (Article 268).

The justification for these two heads is maintenance of uniformity in financial-*cum*-economic matters, particularly in respect of incidence of taxes on transactions extending beyond the limits of a particular State. It is, of course, true that differential taxation may affect the natural distribution of economic activity in the country to the extent that the items taxed are of mobile nature which can be shifted from the highly taxed to low taxed areas. The basic idea that is revealed, however, is the concept of an integrated economy transcending the territorial boundaries of the various States. It is in the context of this concept of an integrated national economy that the political significance of the federation has to be appreciated. The modern State with ever increasing functions is a welfare State whose activities involve a large degree of participation in economic life. Through its Directive Principles the Union Constitution virtually inspires this interpretation of the role of the Government. The result has been the Government's decision to plan. The resolution of the Govrnment of India appointing the Planning Commission stated, after referring to the fundamental (economic) Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy laid down in the Constitution, the functions of the Planning Commission in the following terms : The Planning Commission will : (i) make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country....and investigate the possibilities of augmenting such resources....in relation to the nation's requirements; (ii) formulate a plan for the most effective and balanced utilisation of the nation's resouces etc.[1]

Over the last twelve years the country has seen the gradual development and unfolding of the processes of economic planning as contemplated in the Government of India Resolution. In course of this economic process significant developments have taken place in constitutional and administrative relations between the component units of the federal Governmental structure of the country. These relations may be studied, in the context of planning, under two broad heads : (i) The Machinery of Planning (ii) The financing of Planning.

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The Machinery of Planning in the Context of Union State Relations

The Planning machinery of India is headed by the Planning Commission. The Commission is an extra constitutional body created by a resolution of the Government of India in March 1950. It was a body created by the Union Government which also appointed its members. Right from the beginning the Prime Minister has been the Chairman of the Commission,[2] the Finance Minister and the Minister incharge of Planning almost ex-officio members, with one or two other important Union Ministers also featuring as members occasionally. In the beginning the Minister for Planning functioned as the Deputy Chairman. After sometime a wholetime member, regarded as an expert in administration and Planning, Sri V. T. Krishnamachari, took over as the Deputy Chairman. Since his retirement the Planning Minister has once again taken over the Deputy Chairmanship. From the constitutional point of view, thus, the Plannnig Commission is entirely a matter for the Union Government, functioning in an advisory capacity to the Government as a body created by it for the purpose. No Act of Parliament has ever sought to regulate its composition, powers or functions. The number of members has varied, with a steady upward trend. While all this has added to the flexibility of the entire arrangement, the Commission has become a constitutional curiosity. With the Prime Minister as the Chairman and some of the most important Ministers in-charge of vital departments as its members, the Commission has become, in matters within its sphere of work, almost synonymous with the Government. Its decisions (technically recommendations to the Union Government) have invariably found acceptance at the Union cabinet. It is not sure that all its decisions even pass through the Cabinet before they are implemented or circulated among the Ministries or executive agencies concerned for implementation. Yet this role of the Planning Commission is not only being tolerated, but it is progressively getting more important. From the constitutional point of view this is an extremely important development. "Legally," it has neither constitutional nor even statutory authority. It is only when the plan formulated by the Commission is approved by the Cabinet that it receives the necessary sanction."[3]

The Secretaryship of the Planning Commission is held, ex-officio, by the senior member of the Civil Service, a fact that adds to the informal authority of the body.

Technically the Commission is a planning and deliberative body, discussing broad policies and only *planning out* the details for execution of such a policy; the *execution* of these decisions is a matter entirely for the normal machinery of the executive branches of the Union and State Governments. In reality, however, the two functions must necessarily be close to each other. A body that draws up a scheme of long term economic development of which the individual Five Year Plans are only separate stages, cannot but get interested in watching the progress of the schemes already in a process of execution. Hence, in due course, the Commission came to have not only an evaluational function, but also some supervisory ones, over not only the Union ministries, but the related departments of the State Governments as well.

It is in this latter context that the composition of the Planning Commission comes to have added significance from the standpoint of the States. The Planning Commission has thus strengthened the executive authority of the Centre over the States for which, as noted already, the Constitution had already made certain provisions. What is important is that this growingly important body, which functions legally as an advisor to the Union Government but on matters that vitally affect the States as well, has no organic link wih the latter, whether under the Constitution or as an informal arrangement.

The National Development Council

Theoretically, even in the technical realm of planning the Planning Commission is not quite the supreme body. All important and policy decisions, before their presentation to seek approval by the Union Cabinet are placed before the National Development Council for its consideration and approval. Like the Planning Commission, the National Development Council has no constitutional or statutory authority. Being composed of all members of the Planning Commission and the Chief Ministers of all the States, however, this is the only body that brings the States into contact with the processes of

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formulation.[4] The National Development Council was formally set up only in August 1952.[5] The Draft Outline of the First Plan, referring to this body, the establishment of which must have been decided upon by then, remarked "In a country of the size of India where the States have under the Constitution full autonomy within their own sphere of duties, it is necessary to have a forum, such as a National Development Council, at which *from time to time* the Prime Minister of India and the Chief Ministers of States can review the working of the Plan and of its various aspects."[6] Thus a National Development Council, apparently, was initially conceived of as *a forum* for reviewing the working of the Plan from time to time. Though, as remarked earlier, it has subsequently been the practice to submit the Plans to this body before final presentation to Parliament, it is doubtful if the body has acquired characteristics significantly different from those of an academic forum. It is, of course, true that the Council passes resolutions both on guiding principles or approaches to particular plans as also on plan documents as a whole, but usually its duties would seem to consist of approving of decisions arrived at by the Commission earlier.

Meeting only occasionally, and under the auspices of the Planning Commission, and without a secretariat of its own, the Council can do little more than function as a conference where, at best, some individual States's grievance can be aired suitably in an atmosphere of general eulogisation and elucidation of decisions already taken. The National Development Council can thus be regarded as a token concession to the federal political structure of the country and can probably serve best the aims of planning, as it appears to have been doing, by rubber-stamping decisions of the really important body, *viz.*, the Planning Commission. Even the formal functions of this body indicate its limited role. The main functions are listed as follows :

(i) to review the working of the national plan from time to time ;

(ii) to consider important questions of social and economic policy affecting national development; and

(iii) to recommend measures for the achievement of the aims and targets set out in the National Plan, including measures to secure the active participation and co-operation of the people, improve the efficiency of the administrative services, ensure the fullest development of the less advanced regions and sections of the community, and, through sacrifice borne equally by all citizens, build up resources for national development."[7]

The first and the third of these functions give to the Council a role that is supplementary or complementary to the implementation of the Plan. The second function, if broadly interpreted, may lead to *de novo* considerations of the aims and contents of planning, but the Council is hardly equipped for the task. The fact that all the members of the Commission are also members of the Council, is bound to impart to them an organic unity and cohesiveness in the deliberations of this body, that Chief Ministers, coming from different states, situated far apart, cannot be expected to possess.

The conclusion is inevitable that even at the informal and advisory level that the National Development Council functions, its duties, composition and manner of functioning is hardly such as to bring to the formulation of the national plan the impact of opinion of the constituent units of the federation of India.

The influence of the centre on the processes of planning is supreme, firstly because the really important body, the Planning Commission, is a creation of the Union Govrnment through its executive decision albeit as an advisory body, and, secondly, because the other advisory body, also set up by the Union Government in its executive capacity, has too weak a composition so far as the States are concerned and too limited a role to influence effectively the decisions concerning plan formulation. If these two top bodies in the planning machinery were statutory in complexion, probably the influence of the Union Government, in its routine executive capacity, might have been a little lesser. Their non-statutory character certainly adds to the flexibility of the whole mechanism, but at the same time offers greater susceptibility to the imfluence of the Union Government.[8]

There is an additional factor of importance that accounts for the relatively low impact of the States on the processes of planning, and that is the inadequate development of a planning machinery at the level of the States. We would, therefore, turn now to a brief review of the planning machinery in the States.

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The Machinery of Planning in the States

The decision to introduce economic planning in the country has been that of the Government of India. The States have been rather passive partners. Naturally, therefore, the State Governments have been slow both in realising the full implications and importance of planning, as also in taking suitable steps, administrative or otherwise, for a vigorous fulfilment of the role that planning in a federal country involves for the Governments of the constituent States. Whatever administrative machinery for planning the State Governments possess have largely been set up under the direction and advice of the Union or the Planning Commission itself. Thus the leadership of the Union is evident even in the formation and functioning of the planning machinery in the States. There is, of course, even today, no perfect uniformity in this respect between the States and in some States the machinery is still in the process of evolution. The general pattern, however, is that under the State cabinet, most States have either a Planning Department, or a still older office of the Deveopment Commissioner. The post of the Development Commissioner is usually occupied by one of the seniormost officers of the State administration (comparable to relative status of the Secretary to the Planning Commission).

The office of the Development Commissioner, or the Planning Department where it exists, is supposed to play, in relation to the various departments concerned of the State Governments, a role similar to that played by the Planning Commission in relation to the different Union Ministries. Normally all communications on matters pertaining to planning from the Planning Commission or the Union Government intended for the State Government is dealt with by the Development Commissioner's office or the State Department of Planning.

The one important thing, however, that distinguishes the State planning authorities in general from the planning machinery in the Centre is the structural and functional weakness of the former. Most State Governments have little more than a skeleton staff to man the planning or development departments, and the staff that exists is poorly equipped from the technical standpoint of planning. The process of plan formulation, resource evaluation, implementation and evaluation of economic plans are today largely tec... cal in nature, requiring a certain amount... economic expertise. The Planning Commis... is known to maintain a large band of econo... and statisticians—experts in planning techni... —who alone can formulate plans—both lo... term as well as short—that will stand the te... economic scrutiny. Lacking such staff as m... State planning departments do, State Gov... ments necessarily lack initiative and have... await guidance from the Centre, or submit to... severest modifications of plans put up by the... selves at the hands of the Planning Commissi... As the history of the formulation of the... three Five Year Plans of the country, particu... the State plans, provide ample evidence, ... majority of State Governments have little aw... ness of the implications of economic planni... cannot make very reasonable estimates of th... resources and formulate a scientific order... priority of their needs, far less possess an ... of the proper relationship between planning... and by the State Governments and planning... the national level. In short, the technical co... petence of the State Govrnments in relation t... planning is of such an inferior order wh... compared to the growing size and competence... the planning machinery at the Union Governm... level, that it is not surprising that the St... Governments make little impact on the proces... plan formulation.

The Processes of Consultation and Co-ordination

To compensate for the lack of a constitu... or statutory machinery allowing for an adeq... representation of the needs and wishes of ... State Governments, reliance has had to be pl... on the method of consultation. "In the spe... constitutional, political and economic situa... that obtains in India, it is as well that ... Planning Commission should rely more on ... sultation and agreement than on sanction. ... perhaps, gives its recommendations a hig... measure of acceptance than could otherwise h... been the case and also induces all part... concerned to seek agreed solutions and a... taking rigid or extreme positions. . . . Plan... notable achievement of the Indian Plan... Commission is that it has developed the pr... of planning into *a great co-operative enter...*

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and in this process conventions and informal understanding play no less an important role than formal legislation and orders."[9] So far as the State Governments are concerned, the process of consultation takes largely the form of summoning of representatives of the State Governments to New Delhi, though recently the practice of senior officers of the Planning Commission visiting the various States has also been growing.

The Indian Planning process involves formulation of a series of Five-Year Plans, consistent with and promoting the long-term objectives as laid down in what is known as the Perspective. The Five-Year Plans, again, are broken up into Annual Plans. The original document for every Five-Year Plan has a two-fold break-up of the Plan outlay, firstly, showing the division of the proposed Plan expenditure between the 'Central' and the 'State' Plans, and secondly, a break up year-wise, showing the 'phasing' of the Plan. Consultations with the State Governments, thus, are undertaken by the Planning Commission (*i*) every year for the fixing up of the level of expenditure to be undertaken by the State Governments for the year under discussion and (*ii*) quinquennially for the formulation of every Five-Year Plan. It is reported that usually in the months of November-December every year the process of consultations with representatives of the State Governments is started by the Planning Commission. As the State Plans represent expenditure that is incurred through, but not entirely by the State Governments, involving considerable amounts of Central assistance, it is necessary that the plan outlay for every financial year be decided upon well ahead to allow for provision of the relevant amounts in the budgets both of the State Governments and the Central Government.

Consultations on the size and degree of participation of the Central Government in the annual State Plans have, of course, significance only of a marginal degree. Adjustments and allocations between years have all to take place within the totals indicated in the Plan for the State concerned for the Five-Year period as a whole.[10] More important from the stand point of economic development, therefore, is the determination of the level of developmental expenditure for the State for the entire Plan period. As the experience of the 2nd and the 3rd Five-Year Plans has shown, the process begins from the fourth year of the preceding Plan. It is a time of crucial importance for the States, and the hegemony of the Planning Commission and, through the Planning Commission, of the Union Government over the level of economic-*cum*-developmental activity of the States concerned, is most in evidence in this period. Not only the machinery of planning, but the entire constitution as also extra-constitutional political structure that constitutes federal India, is put to severe stresses and strains. Quite naturally parochialism has its full play, the aim of every State Government being to have the largest possible Plan for itself for the next Plan period, not unoften quite unrelated to its resources—whether in terms of finance or administration, for implementing the Plan. Various contending principles are evolved and referred to by different State Governments to suit their own ambitions. In this atmosphere and in the absence of acknowledged objective criteria in this regard, the power of the Planning Commission to act as the arbiter of the economic destiny of a State increases enormously and the Commission gets virtually converted into the position of an authority distributing patronage, its prestige enhanced to the degree that the contending State Governments exhibit mutual jealousies and recriminations.

Over the last three Five-Year Plans, the relative importance of the State Plans in the total plan has been increasing.[11] The issues of State are thus getting even more important, with a consequent increasingly favourable reaction on the powers and prestige of the Planning Commission.

'Consultations' between the States and the Planning Commission are thus, in reality, a series of bargainings between the parties, and as these consultations take place only individually for every State, the States as a body have next to no voice in influencing either the total size of the national plan, or the share of the States in it.

Compared to the bargainings and pressures involved in the formulation of the Five-Year Plan, the consultations that take place annually over the size of the State plan for the next financial year are, of course, quite tame. They involve, nevertheless, a substantial inroad into the financial autonomy of the States, a right that is

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normally valued quite highly in all federations. Indeed, "The annual plan has now become a very important part of the planning procedure in India and has, in fact, evolved into *a very important instrument of federal and State financial relationship.*"[12]

The net position, then, is that the enormous powers that economic planning represents, affecting the destiny of not only the nation as a whole but the relative position of States, is largely concentrated in the hands of the Planning Commission whose legal status is that of an advisory body of experts created by the Union Executive. The decisions of the Commission, technically in the nature of 'recommendations' to the Union Government, are subject to only a formal review by the National Development Council, a body in which the States have also representation. Real power of planning, including planning in the States, vests in the Planning Commission, which only informally consults the State Governments in the formulation of State plans, the National Plan being entirely its own exclusive concern. The rather ineffective organisational equipment for planning that the State Governments generally possess results in the initiative even in State plans lying largely in the hands of the technically much better equipped Planning Commission, and the natural parochialism of State Governments makes a stand for greater autonomy in matters of plan formulation for the States even more difficult to achieve.

Planning and Union—State Financial Relations

The process of planning has not only tilted the balance of political and administrative powers in favour of the Union ; as a concomittant to the concentration of economic power that planning involves, the structure of federal finance laid down in the Constitution has also come to be substantially modified. Political or administrative autonomy that federalism implies for States, stands for financial autonomy and viability for the federating units. Financial autonomy involves that the incomes of the State Governments must be independent of Central decisions and should be guaranteed by the Constitution. The Constitution lays down twenty heads of resources meant exclusively for the States,[13] seven heads of taxes levied and collected by the Union but assigned to the States and certain excise and stamp duties, etc., levied by the Union but collected and appropriated by the States[15] and, lastly, taxes levied and collected by the Union but which may be distributed between the Union and the States.[16]

The pattern of federal finance laid down in the Constitution, thus, is not such as to make the States completely independent of the Centre. The last three heads of tax-resources indicated above But in so far as the rights of the States to the taxes levied and/or collected by the Union and guaranteed by and originate from the Constitution, the States need not occupy a position that is subservient to the Union. Apart from the taxes, some of the States are also given grants-in-aid under Article 275 of the Constitution. With regard to this and the sharing of taxes levied and collected by the Union, the Constitution provides for a Finance Commission, to be constituted at quinquennial intervals, to recommend to the President on two specific matters[17] and on such other matters referred to the Commission by the President in the interests of sound finance.

The First Finance Commission was appointed in 1951 and reported in 1952. The second and the third Commissions reported in 1957 and 1962 respectively. Under the Constitution, the Finance Commissions continue to be appointed by the President to recommend on the adjustments of financial resources between the Union on the one hand and the States on the other, and also between the States *inter se*. With the progress of planning, however, particularly with the rapidly increasing size of plan finances being disposed of by the Planning Commission, it is being increasingly felt that the Finance Commission is an unnecessary appendage—a legacy of the concept of financial autonomy for States that is becoming increasingly unrealistic in the face of current trends in planning. The comments of the second Finance Commission are noteworthy in this respect : "Some anomalies," the Finance Commission wrote, "arise where the functions of the two Commissions, the Finance Commission and the Planning Commission, overlap. The former is a statutory body with limited functions, while the latter has to deal comprehensively with the finances of the Union and the States in the widest sense of the terms. . . ." Thus bemoaning its feeling of loss of the

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ance of its role in this age of ambitious plann-
ing.

Indeed, planning has changed fundamentally the whole context of federal state financial relations. The amount of funds that are being transferred between the Union and the States as result of the recommendations of the Finance Commission, are now quantitatively less important than the funds allocated from out of Union resources between the States by the Planning Commission. During 1951-52 to 1955-56 (1st Plan period) the total of shared taxes and grants advanced by the Central Government to the States under the Constitution came to Rs. 609.2 Crores while loans, largely under Plan Schemes came to Rs. 722.2 Crores.

The 2nd Finance Commission's recommendations were intended to make net transfers of resources from the Union to the States amounting, for the quinquennium beginning with April 1, 1957, an average of Rs. 140 crores per year. As against this, Central Assistance to States amounted, in the 2nd Plan period, to Rs. 1128 crores. A Finance Commission while examining the problems of distribution of tax resources between the Union and the States or determining grants-in-aid from the former to the latter, has necessarily to take account of the needs and local resources of the parties concerned. Precisely this function is performed by the Planning Commission also while formulating the State Plan. One of the principles being followed by the Planning Commission in determining the size of a State Plan is the amount of resources that the State can raise and another important intention is the potentiality of development that the State is adjudged to possess by the Planning Commission. The Finance Commission, in turn, has to take note of both these items. Hence the two bodies are largely working in the same field. The 2nd Finance Commission voiced this feeling by saying that "so long as both these Commissions have to function, there appears to be a real need for effectively co-ordinating their work."[19] The fact that a Finance Commission is a temporary though constitutional body with a life not exceeding two years as a gneral rule, while the Planning Commission is a more powerful permanent body dispensing much greater resources and planning on a much beigger scale, has made the former largely to accept the lead given by the latter. Thus while discussing the needs of the States, the Finance Commission refused to alter the provisions for Plan expenditure made by the Planning Commission and virtually stated that any revision in the assessment of needs could be made only by the Planning Commission.[20]

The existence and functioning of the Planning Commission have actually made the Finance Commission redundant and its working more difficult.[21] Uncertainties in the estimates of revenue resources and expenses of State Governments arise before the Finance Commission, on account of the uncertainties of "matching grants", sanctioned by the Planning Commission.

The 2nd Finance Commission reported "We had a further difficulty in making a reasonable forecast of expenditure for the next five years. Apart from the burden of recurring expenditure thrown on the States' budgets by Schemes contemplated under the First Five Year Plan, there were many schemes for which Central Assistance was on a matching basis, sometimes tapering off over a short period. This inevitably left a recurring burden on the States of which no adequate indication could be had from figures of past actuals."[22]

The growing dependence of States on the Union in Financing Plans

It has been stated above that a limit to the scope of work of the Finance Commission is now being largely set by the Planning Commission. It may as well be pointed out that the relative importance of the recommendations of the Finance Commission in State budgets is also going down in view of the growing magnitude of Central assistance in State Planning. As a matter of fact, the expression 'State Plans' indicates only that the projects included in them will be executed by the State Governments. The bulk of the State Plans is financed by Central assistance in the form of loans and grants[23] which lie outside the purview of the Finance Commission. The availability of these, many of which are, of course, on a 'matching basis', has greatly undermined financial self-reliance and autonomy in the States and undoubtedly amounts to a considerable increase in the power of the Union to influence administration in the states. The size and contents of the annual State budgets are directly influenced by these means.

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The Inherent weaknessess of State finances

To a great extent the financial dependence of States on the centre arises from the constitution, which allots most of the elastic sources of revenue like Customs, Commodity Excises, Corporation tax, etc., to the Union. But another elastic revenue head, *viz.*, the personal Income Tax has been divisible and the proportion going to the States has been steadily increasing.[24] More of the excise revenue is also going to the States under the recommendations of successive Finance Commissions.[25] State Governments will have to show more enterprise and efficiency in imposing and collecting taxes unless in due course their financial dependence on the Centre becomes compete.

The impact of Plan implementation on the State Executive

Planning has brought about a great increase in the influence of the Union on the States not only in the sphere of economic policy and financial relations, but has also given rise to another significant development in the field of executive relations, not contemplated by the Constitution. Articles 256-258 of the Constitution empower the Union to issue administrative directives to State Government in relation to subjects on which Parliament has enacted any law and to secure within the territory of any State unhindered operation of the Union executive in any of the latter's legitimate sphere. Parliament is also empowered to confer powers or impose duties on State Officers for securing the implementation its laws.[26]

These constitutional provisions themselves are relatively foreign to the spirit of a true federation. The processes of Planning have, however, added to the weight of Central directives to States. The Planning commission is not only engaged in formulating plans to be executed by the State Governments, but quite logically gets interested in their execution. From the constitutional point of view what is significant is that many of these directives come straight from the Commission to the State Government and not through the respective Union Ministries. Thus we come across the spectacle of a body unknown to the Constitution legally just an advisory one to the Government, issuing direct instructions to administrations. From the technical stand of Planning probably this is inevitable. Planning is known to have three essential formulation, execution or implementation evaluation. Naturally enough, the supreme ing authority that formulates the plan but take pains to see that the plan formulated by it is implemented in the right manner. is significant from the constitutional stand is the way in which the State Gdvernments come to accept as binding the directives from body that has no constitutional or statutory basis.

So far as evaluation is concerned, the Planning Commission itself has yet to develop this function in a fully satisfactory manner. There are quarterly and annual reviews of progress of the Plan and doubtless the progress in States that is reported to the centre comes in for comment that the work deserves. Except for the work done by the Programme Evaluation Organisation, which is largely engaged in the field of rural development, there is no separate wing in the Planning Commission specialising in evaluation. There is a committee on Plan Projects composed almost entirely of Union Ministers and some members of the Planning Commission which is supposed generally to review the progress of individual projects. From the stand point of planning techniques, however, the present arrangements do not provide for a systematic evaluation of what progress has been taking place. From the stand point of the State, however, what is significant is that inadequate are the present arrangements for evaluation are. The States have no share in them. The Programme Evaluation Organisation, functioning under a Programme Evaluation Board with a non-Official Chairman, works as a wing of the Planning Commission and the States have no hand in its composition. The Committee on Plan Projects, again, is a body entirely nominated by the Centre. Further, to the extent that all expenditure, developmental or otherwise, incurred out of the Consolidated Fund of India, is subject to review by the two Parliamentary Committees, viz., the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee, the latter being known to have developed the otherwise healthy practice

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making overall evaluation of the working of many official schemes, the sphere of the State Executive to the extent that it receives moneys from the Union as matching grants or other forms of assistance, becomes liable to review by these Parliamentary Committees.

Federalism & the Problem of Inter-State Disparities in Economic Levels

One of the avowed objectives of Indian Planning is said to be balanced regional development[27] through a progressive reduction in regional economic disparities. In the absence of well defined concepts of economic regions on the basis of objective criteria, the existing States are being used synonymously with regions. Due to various factors, partly economic and partly political and historical, there is considerable admitted disparity in their economic levels the removal or reduction of which, right from the time of the Draft Outline of the 1st Plan, the Planning Commission has listed as among its main objectives. Even apart from the instrument of economic planning, the modern notion of federal finance[28] includes a similar aim. Hence the system of grants-in-aid and sharing of taxes levied by the Union by States on the basis of population. Through a policy of differential Central assistance, *i.e.*, subsidising developmental budgets of States in different degrees and developmental grants-in-aid (which subject is partly included in the scope of the Finance Commissions) the Union may and does try to correct imbalances in comparative regional development. The Planning Commission carries a step further the same process, which involves a transference of resources from the more advanced to the less advanced States. To the extent that such transfers take place through the agency of the Finance Commission under appropriate Articles of the Constitution, the resources of States get strengthened without any loss of their financial independence. To the extent that the transfer of resources takes place through the Planning Commission, the method is extra-constitutional with corresponding loss of financial autonomy for the States. The conclusion is that developmental planning is bound to come into conflict with the traditional notions of State autonomy in more senses than one.

Conclusion

The conclusion would thus be clear that the last decade or a little more of economic planning has seen a considerable growth in the influence of the Centre on State policy making and administration. The above survey has largely been concerned with how Central influence is overwhelming in all the three stages of planning in the State sphere, *viz.*, formulation, implementation and evaluation of Plan projects. There is another, and in a sense, a more vital aspect, *viz.*, economic policy making in the widest sense of the term, in which the Planning Commission in particular and the Union Government in general have been imposing their decisions on all concerned. The vitally important economic decisions in favour of a Socialist Pattern of Society, the expansion of the Public Sector, including public sector enterprises under management and control of State Governments, policy towards land ownership and tenurial rights,—to name only a few, are decisions in the making of which the State Governments appear to have had little share. Many of these, *e.g.*, in relation to land revenue and tenures, are subjects in the State list.

The Planning Commission has a set of Working Groups and Panels that recommend policy, *e.g.*, the Panel on Land Reforms, on Education, on Agriculture, etc., and keep track of progress (mainly the Working Groups) relating to different subjects which occur in the State list. The recommendations of these Panels, after their acceptance by the Planning Commission, virtually become binding on the State Governments. All this is a good enough example of the virtues of flexibility and adaptation in a federal constitution which normally tends to be rigid. It has to be borne in mind, however, that all this is extra-constitutional, rendered possible by the fact of a single political party, the Indian National Congress, running the Governments in all the States as also in the Centre, and the fact of the towering personality of the present Prime Minister who is the god-father of economic planning in this country. Things may not be working so smoothly under a different set up with important States under control of parties with different programmes and ideologies. It is, therefore, important that thought be given to regularising and formalising the relations that

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have to exist between constituent units and the Union in an era of rapid developmental planning.

A federal constitution is so made as to strike a harmonious balance between centrifugal and centripetal forces working in a country of the size of India and with a population of its complexity and diversity. As is too well-known and deeply regretted, fissiparous tendencies are too strong even now and raise their ugly heads quite too often. Economic planning, by its very nature, promotes integration and succeeds best with a strong central direction. As this survey has shown, the relations that have developed between the Union and the States in this era of Planning have outgrown the traditional notions of federal relations. This may very well promote the much desired goal of national integration, at any rate in the economic sphere. But care has to be taken to see that there is not too great a gap between the relations as provided for in the Constitution and the relations that emerge under the stress of planning. The gap, unless filled up, may also lead to an opposite reaction and a consequent collapse of the constitutional structure, the more so if the extra-constitutional unity in the form of a single political party in power in all the seats of Government is broken up by the rise of parties with ideologies sharply different, or at any rate with entirely different entities. Organisational changes are, thus, called for in the planning machinery both at the Centre and in the States to provide for a more equitable distribution of powers and responsibilities, as also a re-examination of the adequacy of the entire constitutional position in the sphere of Union-State relationships.

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1. The resolution of the Government of India setting up the Planning Commission listed seven functions for this body; (i) assessment of resources and investigating possibilities of augmenting them; (ii) formulating a plan for the most effective and balanced utilisation of the country's resources; (iii) determination of priorities and stages of the plan; (iv) indicating factors retarding development and indicating conditions for the Plan's success; (v) determining the nature of the machinery for successful implementation of the Plan; (vi) appraise the progress achieved in the execution of each stage of the Plan and to recommend adjustments of policy and measures that such appraisal may show to be necessary; (vii) make interim or ancillary recommendations connected with its functions above or on any issue that may be referred to it for advice by the Central or State Governments.

The 5th & the 6th of the above duties assigned to the Commission have a direct impact on the executive branches of the administration, including the administration of the State Governments while the last function assigned is that of an advisor to the Union and the State Governments. Thus from the stand point of constitutional powers of the States, we find an advisory body being set up by the Union for advising the States.

2. "The Prime Minister, however, attends only the most important meetings of the Commission and maintains a certain amount of detachment from its day to day work." *The Machinery of Planning*—By Dr. S. R. Sen (The Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. VII, No. 3).

3. *Ibid.*

4. "The National Development Council has been largely responsible for giving the Plan a truly national character and for ensuring unanimity of approach and uniformity in its working." Dr. S. R. Sen, *Ibid.*

5. *First Five Year Plan*, page 5.

6. Draft Outline—*First Five Year Plan*, page 253.

7. Dr. S. R. Sen's paper on 'Planning Machinery in India' page 18.

8. This is a remark that does not take account of the other important question of the relationship between the Government of India represented by the various Ministries of the Union Government and the Planning Commission.

9. *Planning Machinery in India*—Dr. S. R. Sen.

10. Substantial departures of 'actuals' from Planned expenditure targets are, of course, by no means unknown.

11. Ratio of 'State Plans' to the total Five Year Plans :

	1st Plan Rs.	2nd Plan Rs.	3rd Plan Rs.
State	796 Crores (39%)	2240 Crores (46.6%)	3850 Crores (51.3%)
Centre	1240 Crores	2559 Crores	3600 Crores

(Figures taken from the *Five-Year Plans*).

12. Dr. S. R. Sen's paper.

13. Prominent being Land Revenue, Agricultural Income Tax, Stamp Duties, Terminal Taxes, Sales Taxes, Motor Vehicles Tax, Taxes on Professions, Trades & callings, Estate and Succession Duty on Agricutural Land (vide the schedule to the Constitution).

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14. Chief among which are Succession & Estate Duty on non-agricultural property, Railway Terminal Taxes & Taxes on Railway Freights and Fares and Stamp duties on stock exchange transactions. (vide Article 269).

15. On medicinal and toilet preparations included in the Union list (vide Article 268).

16. Being the non-agricultural personal income tax and general excises (vide Article 272).

17. The two specific matters are: (i) the distribution between the Union and the States of the net proceeds of taxes which are to be, or may be, divided between them, and the allocation between the States of the respective shares of such proceeds; (ii) the principles which should govern the grant-in-aid of the resources of States out of Union Funds.

18. Report of the Second Finance Commission, p. 13.

19. *Ibid.*

20. "We accordingly made it clear that while it was open to the States to move the Planning Commission for modification of the Plan or for increase in the provison made in it for any scheme, we would accept the allocation as finally made by the Planning Commission"—2nd Finance Commission Report, p. 11.

21. Also "For our scheme of devolution, we have accepted the plan as assuring an equitable development in the field of Social Services." *Ibid*, p. 25. and "the perspective changed as a result of independence and the new conception of close financial collaboration between the Union and the States on the basis of a national plan of economic development." *Ibid*, p. 23.

22. 2nd Finance Commission Report, p. 12.

23.

	1st Plan	2nd Plan	3rd Plan
i. Outlay by State Govt.	898.0*	1981.0*	3847.0*
ii. Resources derived from States	548.3†	852.7‡	1462.0*
iii. Central assistance	349.7†	1128.3‡	2375.0*

Figures derived from :
*—Five-Year Plans.
†—R. N. Tripathy: *Federal Finance In A Developing Economy*, p. 158.
‡—Plan Resources & Outlay, p. 31. Planning Commission.

24. The 1st Finance Commission allotted 55% of the net proceeds of the income tax to the States, the 2nd Commission raised it to 60%.

25. The 1st Finance Commission allotted 40% of the shared excises (three in number) to the States. The 2nd Finance Commission increased the no. of 'shared excises,' though the proportion going to the States was reduced to 25%.

26. It may be noted that while every Five Year Plan is presented to Parliament for discussion and approval, it never acquires the character of a law. Thus the constitutional provisions regarding issue of directives by the Union to the States are not relevant in this context.

27. (i) Draft Outline of the First Five Year Plan page 42, 43. (ii) 2nd Five Year Plan, p. 416. (iii) Industrial Policy Resolution 1956. (iv). Third Five-Year Plan, p. 60 and Chap. IX.

28. R. N. Tripathy's *Federal Finance in a developing Economy*. World Press, Calcutta, 1960, particularly Chap. VII.

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THE "MODERN REVIEW" ON THE SITUATION*

By BEPIN CHANDRA PAL

Like the **Indian World**, which is a very pronounced representative of so-called "moderate" political opinion in Bengal, the **Modern Review**, which may perhaps be said to have some leaning towards what is usually characterised as "extreme" political views, also has discussed the bomb plot with great candour and freedom. And that there is a general agreement between the views, of two such papers, representing two, more or less different, schools of political thought in the counrty, seems to us to be extremely significant, and deserves to be very carefully considered by all those who are seeking to guide and instruct official opinion on this subject. The **Indian World** in spite of its generous appreciation of the courage and character of the misguided youths who are now on their trial for their alleged complicity with the bomb incidents, which in itself is supremely significant on account of the temper and traditions,—is not, however, so clear and incisive in its analysis of the causes of this distemper, as the **Modern Review.** This is partly accounted for, no doubt, by the difference in the culture and intellectual standing of the two papers, but largely by the difference of their political faith. The **Modern Review** has almost absolute faith in freedom. It has as strong a faith in humanity to work out its own destiny as it has in the power and Providence of God to shape the evolution of the universe to His own eternal ends. The **Modern Review** believes in democracy, not only in England or Europe, but even in India and Asia, and its faith in democracy is so universal because it is another name for its faith in man, which, again, is only another name for its faith in God who is at once both the esse and posse of every form of human activity and evolution. Consequently, truth cannot hide its face from the **Modern Review** even when it chooses to appear before him in the guise of what is regarded as evil. The Editor, like all of us, condemns the method of secret assassination as both futile and suicidal. He points out its outlandish character and indicates the danger that India runs in imitating these European revolutionary methods, as calculated to vitiate, if not to destroy, her special race consciousness and her peculiarly spiritual civilisation. But he frankly recognises the spirit of the misguided young men who are said to have started this campaign of secret revenge of public wrongs. And he asks his countrymen not "to indulge in cowardly and insincere exaggeration in condemning the misguided young men under trial. It is not for us to judge. God will judge. It may be easy for arm-chair critics who are incapable of risking or sacrificing anything for humanity to inveigh in unmeasured terms against persons who have made a terrible mistake, but who, nevertheless, were prepared to lose all that men hold dear, for their race and country;—person whose fall has been great because perhaps, equally great was their capacity for rising to the heights of being; but for ourselves we pause awe struck in the presence of this mysterious tragedy of mingled crime and stern devotion."

And even this extremist estimate of the act and the men would seem to be perhaps a bit soberer, because measured by truth and weighed by righteousness, than the bold and generous appreciation of the "Moderate" **Indian World.** And this fact deserves to be noticed as marking the essential difference in the mental and moral constitution of these two schools of thought. For no one who has any acquaintance with the repress-

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* Received through the courtesy of Profs. Uma and Haridas Mukherjee who have rescued from oblivion this important article which Bepin Chandra Pal editorially contributed to the columns of the daily *Bande Mataram* more than fifty years ago. It was originally published on June 6, 1908 when the country was passing through a terrible crisis.

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tive literature of this so-called "extremism" in India, could have failed, we think, to bserve that its violence has consisted more in the uncompromising logic of its tterances and the irresistible strength and ility of its thought than in its expression language. Indeed even those whose so-alled practical and strong common sense has found it impossible to accept the "ex-tremist" programme, have been forced to accept its logic. And reason is always cir-cumspect, and unless clouded by passion or prejudice, it refuses to lend itself to any sort of exaggeration of untruth. The measured words of the **Modern Review** compare, thus, very favourably with the somewhat exuberant utterance of the **Indian World** on this subject. But while taking this absolutely impartial measure of the un-fortunate incidents of Mozafferpur and Calcutta the **Modern Review** does not hesitate to say :

"We scorn to associate ourselves, even in our condolence and condemnation, with those Anglo-Indian Editors and others who have not even a word of regret to express when brutal Anglo-Indians kill inoffensive and defenceless Indians or assault helpless Indian women. Whatever feelings we ex-press, we must do independently and in measured terms."

In a small article on the present situation, the **Modern Review** discusses, what may be called the etiology of the bomb movement in Bengal. The writer attributes these under ground activities to the sense of wrong bred in the hearts of the people by their long outstanding grievances. Indeed, with the almost solitary exception of the celebrated biographer of Maharaja Nobokrishna, no Indian publicist of any note has, we think, taken any other view of the genesis of these activities. The Modern Review says :

"If we are to believe the theory of the British officials and Anglo-Indian papers, the terrorists are not such a handful of men as have been captured; on the contray their secret society numbers very many thousands of men who have been supplying them with the sinews of war. If the allegation of these Anglo-Indians be true, if the terrorists have thousands of supporters behind them, have those Indians who have constituted them-selves into this secret society risen up "for a mere shadow"? Do not they know that by con-stituting themselves as members of an insur-gent society they make themselves liable to lose everything in this world, as well as their lives ? Anglo-Indian Editors assert that terrorism by bomb throwing is due to the bitter writings of the vernacular Press and the bitter speeches of agitators. Granted. But what embittered their mind? Undoub-tedly the treatment our people have received in speech, writings and action at the hands of official and non-official Anglo-Indians. But supposing the bitterness of mind of Indian Editors and agitators was something uncaused, how could they lead some people to desperate acts if the people had no grieva-nces ? You cannot kindle fire by simply blowing with the mouth. There must be a spark at least and there must be fuel. Does it not necessarily follow then that there must be somehting rotten in the Government of India which has goaded the terrorists to desparation ? From the time of Macaulay down to Curzon, Bengalis have been taunted with cowardice; very "charitable" and even pious Christians have abused them to their heart's content. It has been asserted over and over again with contempt that the Bengalis could only talk, but could not act. What wonder if some reckless and desperate boys among them took to foolish and unrighteous acts to falsify this libel on their national character? There must be something very extraordinary in the situation of India which has given courage and strength to the nerves of the "cowardly and talkative" Bengalis and has induced them to commit bomb out-rages."

And the writer justly holds that "There can be only one remedy for this misgovern-ment of India. It is to give her 'Swarj' or Home Rule. Unless that is done there is no hope for a contented, happy, and prospe-rous India."

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CURRENT TRENDS OF INDUSTRIAL FINANCE

By R. N. BANERJEE, M.A.,

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In a developing economy, as India is, the problems of industrial finance are bound to assume an increasingly acute character with successive Five Year Plans. While the responsibiities of financing the public sector are those of the Government, financing of the private sector is largely the function of private enterprise. But in a planned economy financing of the private sector must also come under the guidance and assistance of the State. In such a context, current trends of industrial finance are worth examining.

From a practical view point it would be convenient to analyse such trends with reference to three major institutional sources, *viz.*, (1) Industrial Finance Corporation of India, (2) Industrial Credt and Investment Corporation of India, (3) Refinance Corporation of India.

Assuming that prospects of industrial finance are shy from Banking sources, particularly with regard to long-term and medium-term loans, the Industrial Finance Corporation of India was established in 1948 with the object of "making medium and longterm credits more readily available to industrial concerns in India."

The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India 1962, indicates some instructive trends of industrial finance in our country. The loans and advances granted by the Corporation to different industries would be evident from the Table given below :

Type of Industry	Amount upto June 30, 1962. (Rs. Crores)	Percentage of total loans and advances.
1. Sugar Industry	37.79	29.01
2. Chemicals	17.35	13.32
3. Cotton textiles	13.70	10.52
4. Paper Industry	13.39	10.28
5. Cement	7.62	5.85
6. Electrical Engineering	5.65	4.34
7. Ceramics and Glass	5.42	4.16
8. Rayon Industry	4.80	3.
9. Mechanical Engineering	4.80	3.
10. Iron & Steel	4.47	3.
11. Hotel Industry	1.89	1.
12. Automobile & Tractor Industry	1.88	1.
13. Metallurgical Industry (Non-ferrous metals)	1.52	1.
14. Aluminium	1.60	1.
15. Plywood	1.11	0.
Total :	130.27	100.

It will be seen from the Table that Sugar industry occupies the most prominent place in respect of loans and advances amounting to Rs. 37.79 crores. It may be asked why the Sugar Industry received such prominent attention in respect of finance ?

According to Mr. Mathrani, Chairman of the IFC, the bulk of the advances were provided to the industrial Co-operatives of sugar, which sincerely upheld the spirit of Co-operative Tradition of the Planned economy.

Of late, the Corporation also has been steadily extending its sphere of finance with a view to maximising industrial production in the country. For the first time since its inception, the Corporation granted credit to a concern engaged in the production of industrial and medical gases. The Corporation also approved loans to a concern in Mahe in Pondicherry for setting up a textile mill of the order of Rs. 35 lakhs in addition to a guarantee for deferred payments to the extent of Rs. 5.62 lakhs. In order to accelerate the process of modernisation and expansion of the mining industry in the private sector, the Corporation is also supplementing the World Bank Credit with the rupee finance amounting in total Rs. 82 lakhs to three concerns.

From the standpoint of the economy of West Bengal, manufacture of paper and paper products, Rubber products, Chemicals, Glass and glass

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products, pottery, etc., would assume considerable importance in future because of their employment potentitalities and medium-sized finance. During the year 1961 production of paper and paper products increased to 3.54 lakh tons as against 3.45 lakh tons during 1960. A further capacity of nearly 8.56 lakh tons was licensed bringing the total licensed capacity to 12.60 lakh tons. The Corporation has sanctioned total loans amounting to Rs. 13.39 crores for 5 units of this industry which include 2 dollar loans equivalent to Rs. 1.54 crores. The rubber goods manufacturing industry covers the manufacture of over 130 diverse items. There are at present 89 organised units engaged in the manufacture of a wide range of rubber goods such as automobile tyres, rubber footwear, rubber goods, rubber aprons, coats, etc. The Corporation has sanctioned total loans amounting to Rs. 222.50 lakhs for five units of the industry. The Corporation also has guaranteed deferred payments relating to import of capital goods from outside India by one of the units and has also underwritten preference shares to the extent of Rs. 20 lakhs. In respect of Chemical industries, production recorded upward trends in the case of sulphuric acid, caustic soda, soda ash, calcium carbide, and bleaching power. The most complex impediments in the way of the chemical industry is complete dependence for the manufacture of drugs and other organic chemicals on imported materials. While the bottleneck should be done away with gradually, the financing of this industry is largely financing in foreign exchange. In the field of manufacture of glass and glass products, the utilisation of installed capacity has been progressively increasing from 50 to 65 per cent. Considerable improvement in the manufacture of sheet glass, bottleware, thermosflasks, etc., is clearly discernible. The Corporation has sanctioned credits amounting to Rs. 2.60 crores for nine units during 1962 including dollar loans for import of machinery from abroad. The factory of one of these units was sold by the Corporation in part realisation of its dues, and two units have repaid their dues. The importance of pottery is also discernible especially in the context of quick-investment type financing. The Corporation has approved total loans amounting to Rs. 2.82 crores for nine units of the industry. In case of four units the Corporation agreed to underwrite preference shares to the extent of Rs. 16.00 lakhs and equity shares to the extent of Rs. 20.00 lakhs.

Apart from what has been noted in the foregoing paragraphs, a few more important trends of industrial finance are noticeable during the period under review. The Corporation's approach to underwriting, though has been hitherto a cautious one, some liberlisation is considered necessary for speedier growth of industries. During the year under review, the Corporation approved 11 proposals for underwriting facilities to the extent of Rs. 62 lakhs in equity shares and Rs. 10.5 lakhs in preference shares covering a diverse range of industries such as pottery, earthenware, chemicals, textiles, metal products, elecrtical machinery, paper and mining. Consequent on the amendments to the I.F.C. Act 1960, the Corporation is now authorised to subscribe directly to the stocks and shares of various firms. Because of a restrictive import policy, there now seems to be some slackening of deferred payment arrangements, which is also an important current trend of industrial finance.

During the last five years, the rate of interest charged by the Corporation remained stationery at 6½% per annum. But a steady upward trend in the rates of interest charged by scheduled banks necessitated an upward revision to 7% during 1962 in order to maintain the balance in the Indian money market.

Another important trend is noticeable in respect of international collaboration in financing Indian industries. With a view to easing foreign exchange crisis the Corporation has been successful in providing 15 million Dollars (Rs. 1.79 crores) from the West German Bank of reconstruction. The Government of India has allocated yen credit of the value of $2 mill. for facilitating financing operations of the Corporation. It is also imperative to note in this connection that the International Finance Corporation is recently evincing keen interest in financing the private sector through the Corporation. And in this regard, activities of the Corporation are shortly to be extended to Goa where industrialists will have ample opportunities for investment.

The Corporation approved 41 applications covering 16 industries in 13 States including the Union Territory of Pondicherry during the period under review. The Corporation has been trying to provide finance to various industrial units all over the country with special consideration to the

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specific needs of the different States. A Statewise statistical distribution of loans all over the country is given in the following table whih will give us a clearer idea about the trends of industrial finance :

States	Total Loans and Advances (Rs. crores)
Andhra Pradesh	7.50
Assam	5.83
Bihar	8.68
Gujrat	9.05
Kerala	9.77
Madhya Pradesh	1.03
Madras	14.48
Maharashtra	24.30
Mysore	8.13
Orissa	3.34
Punjab	6.43
Rajasthan	4.25
Uttar Pradesh	9.69
West Bengal	14.46
Delhi	0.95
Andaman & Nicobar ..	0.03
Pondicherry	0.35
Total : ..	130.27

It will be seen from the table that out of a total amount of Rs. 130.27 crores in loans during the period under report, Maharashtra has been provided with the largest amount of finance, while West Bengal and Madras come next. It is important to note in this connection that alongside of geographical distribution of finances, the Corporation also is taking interest in spreading out enterpreneurship beyond the traditional groups to new comers with imagination and courage.

Beside the IFC of India, there are other State Industrial Finance Corporations which are entrusted with the task of providing regional finance. Recently the Reserve Bank has appointed a Study Group to review the working of these Corporations. So far as West Bengal is concerned, it must be noted with regret that this State Corporation has not been of much assistance to small and medium sized industries as the Corporation demands heavy security from the borrowers.

In this context, trends of industrial finance are also to be considered briefly with reference to two more institutions, viz., Industrial and Investment Corporation of India as finance Corporation of India, as already The Industrial Credit and Investment Corp of India was established in 1955 with national collaboration with authorised cap Rs. 25 crores, in order to lend assistance various means in providing finance and p ing development in the private sector. This poration is particularly interested in fi larger industries. This Corporation also more consideration to establishment of new tries, and modernisation and expansion of ex ones. Thus compared to Industrial Finance poration of India and State Corporations institution stands on a separate footing, in as trends of industrial finance are concerned cause, it regards itself more in the nature financial partner irrespective of the form assistance. The Corporation also examines estimates of capital expenditure and the of working capital so that the cost of the is not underestimated.

The general policy of the institution advance assistance to industries all over through a large number of companies in small amounts rather than provide larger assistance limited number. The latest reports of ICICI that the Corporation has undertaken a wide of financial assistance operations including granting of loans, the underwriting of and preference shares and direct subscri to such shares, to various industries throug the country. Broadly speaking, the applica financial assistance from this Corporation to furnish following information : (1) project, (2) cost of project, (3) capital ture, (4) manufacturing process, (5) esse services, (6) labour, (7) production (8) sales and market data, (9) profit estim

Re-finance Corporation came into being 1958 with the object of providing mediu finance to private secter industries through medium of selected banks and other finan institutions. For this purpose, the Corpo provides re-financing facilities to certain sch banks and other institutions against m term loans given by them to concerns under category. The Corporation generally pro applications in respect of industrial units w paid-up capital and reserves aggregate Rs crores and below. The maximum amount

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to a single borrower which will be refinanced by the Corporation is Rs. 50 lakhs. Eligibility of loans would depend on acquisition of fixed assets like plant, machinery, replacement or renovation of equipment, etc. But the fact that a portion of the loan requirements includes also working capital needs will not be considered as a bar to eligibility under the re-financing scheme, provided that such working capital is also required by the concern for a medium-term.

Recently, the Union Government is understood to have decided to extend the benefit of the PL-480 counterpart funds to the State financial Corporations. As a result of this, the Re-finance Corporation will be permitted to lend to the State Financial Corporations. The resources of the Refinance Corporation, comprising mainly PL480 funds, were hitherto available only to scheduled banks to facilitate medium-term industrial loans. The reason for this decision is that the utilisation of these funds by commercial banks has not been very satisfactory. But it has been pointedly referred that out of Rs. 65 crores available with the Re-finance Corporation only one-fourth has been actually drawn. Official circles are of opinion that the funds will be more rapidly utilised by the provision of another outlet through the State Finance Corporations. It has also been decided to authorise the State Finance Corporations to act as the agents of the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation. The State Finance Corporations act as agents of State Governments mainly and to a smaller extent of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India for processing industrial projects and chanelling loans. The purpose of extending the scope of borrowing to the ICIC is to enable the State Finance Corporations to get the benefit of the foreign exchange funds available with the ICIC.

It might be concluded from this general analysis that some of those current trends that highlight the present structure of industrial finance are capable of widening and deepening our industrial base with a fair amount of success. But it must be pointed out that various Financial Corporations should provide more funds on much easier terms to the private sector hereafter, so that industrial growth is accelerated with far greater *tempo*.

RABINDRANATH AND THE INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES IN U.S.A.

By R. C. MAZUMDAR

It is now a well-known fact that during the First World War a large number of Indian revolutionaries in U.S.A. made an attempt, with the active help of the German Government, to import arms and ammunitions into India as a preliminary to an armed rebellion. As soon as U.S.A. declared war against Germany, these revolutionaries were rounded up from different parts of U.S.A., and 105 of them were put on trial at San Francisco in July, 1917. Many secret German documents were produced during the trial and one of them referred to Rabindranath. It was a letter written to the authorities in Germany from Rye, in New York, at one time the Summer headquarters of the German Embassy in U.S.A. It contained the following message in cipher:

"Sir Rabindranth Tagore has come at our suggestion. He said he saw Count Okuma, former Japanese Premier, and Count Terauchi, present premier. Terauchi was favourable. Sir Rabindranth also consulted a number of minor Japanese officials."

The letter bore no signature, but a careful perusal of the other letters raised a strong suspicion that it was sent by an Indian revolutionary whom the German Government appointed the leader of the Indian revolutionary Committee to act as liaison agent to the German ambassador in U.S.A. His name is written as Dr. Chakravarty or Chandra K. Chakravarty.

The production of this letter in the court created a great sensation in U.S.A. Even the New York Times came out with big head-

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lines such as "A British Knight conspires against Britain," etc. The British Government also was prejudiced against the great poet. In 1917 Rabindranath expressed a desire to dedicate his new book, Nationalism, to President Wilson, who was advised by a high British official in U.S.A. not to grant the permission as Tagore had got "tangled up in some way with the Indian revolutionaries in U.S.A." As this advice was given before the production of the letter in Court it is obvious that the incriminating letter was already known to the British.

I first came to know of this episode in detail when I was in U.S.A. in 1958 and collecting materials for the history of the Indian revolutionary movement in U.S.A. It was difficult for me to believe that Rabindranath was capable of any such thing. So on my return to India early in 1959 I made an independent inquiry into the matter. I met Dr. Chandra K. Chakravarty in Calcutta and asked him about it. He said that the statement was quite true. This seemed to indicate that he was really the author of the letter. He, however, could not satisfy me by producing or mentioning any corroborative evidence. I also made inquiries through some friends, well-known to Tagore family, but all that I learnt was that there was a sealed cover containing some papers relating to Rabindranath's visit to Japan, but nobody knew anything about its contents.

While dealing with this episode in Vol. II of my **History of the Freedom Movement** I referred to the long Editorial Note in the **Modern Review** (XXIII, 674), which exposed the absurdity of the charge brought against Rabindranath. But I also pointed out that it was somewhat strange that Rabindranath himself never formally contradicted such a serious allegation.

Recently, Mr. Stephen N. Hay, my colleague in the University of Chicago, has contributed a long article entitled "Rabindranath Tagore in America" to the American **Quarterly**, published towards the end of 1962, and it has set at rest all doubts in the matter. He has traced several interesting records in the State Department of U.S.A. which I summarise below as his article may not be easily available in India and I consider it to be the best homage I can pay to the great Poet on this, his 102nd birthday.

While the document referred to above and another letter conveying approval of his speeches on national questions by the revolutionaries were placed before the court by the prosecuting attorney, the Counsel for the defence objected on the ground that "Tagore is not one of the defendants." The attorney replied "No, he is not. We overlooked him in our haste." Newspaper reports of these proceedings reached Rabindranath in Santiniketan several months later. He immediately sent the following telegram to President Wilson: "Newspapers received concerning conspiracy trial San Francisco wherein prosecution counsel implicated me. I claim from you and your country protection against such lying calumny." This was followed by a long letter, denouncing the allegation in the fiercest terms. It ended with the following words: "I owe it to myself . . . . . to assure your countrymen that their hospitality was not bestowed upon one who was ready to accept it while wallowing in the sub-soil sewerage of treason."

Rabindranath's telegram and letter may be regarded as having dropped the curtain on the whole episode.

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GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE'S CONCEPT OF DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALISATION

By D. B. MATHUR,

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From a dormant thought to a dynamic ideal, from an ideal to a positive reality, from a reality to practical and practicable end, that perhaps is the shortest story of the saga of democratic decentralisation in India. Today, the people are no longer bewildered. They no longer suspect the new set up. Our villages hum with hope, faith, action and optimism. The theory and ideal of decentralisation are better understood as the people vie to make concrete and constructive use of the opportunity to see for themselves. The freedom to make mistakes in this process is more rewarding than fatal inactivity. This is not a flashing burst of uncontrolled enthusiasm. The failures and setbacks notwithstanding, the process of decentralisation has become more democratic with every passing day, shrinking the difficult way to **Gram Raj.** Perhaps it is hackneyed to say that the concept of decentralisation is neither a product of post-independence revelation nor a novel innovation. The moorings belong to the hoary past and the survival of the spirit of self-government is not a mere historical accident. To put a premium on self-governing institutions has been part of our nature.

In this context, the contribution of Gopal Krishna Gokhale deserves special mention. As the 20th Century dawned, Gokhale emerged as the brightest hope of the dispossessed. His dedicated abnegation spiritualized public life in India. His self-effacing endeavours, in India and in England, had a far reaching impact on various measures of India's constitutional advance. Perhaps it is little known that Gokhale submitted a thesis on decentralisation before the **Hobhouse Commission** of 1908. It makes startlingly meaningful reading even at this distance. Gokhale's views have a clear bearing on the concept and its implementation today.

II

The formative influences stirred in Gokhale an infinite repugnance for bureaucratic ways in administration. He resolved to break up the vicious circle. He endeavoured to bring home to the British, India's problems and growing aspirations. His cue was taken up by John Bright and Henry Maine, two good friends of India, whose help and advice enabled Gokhale to go ahead. Gokhale convinced John Morley, the Secretary of State, and a Royal Commission to inquire into the state of administration in India was set up.[1]

The Royal Commission was presided over by Sir Charles Hobhouse, a Member of Parliament. Ramesh Chandra Dutt was one of the members. Gokhale appeared before the Commission on March 7, 1908, and submitted a detailed note as evidence.[2] The note conveyed, in unfailing terms, his deep concern for the growing concentration of power at the higher administrative levels leaving the people powerless automatons in the hands of an arrogant and omnipotent civil service. Gokhale's scheme, as will be seen here, was elaborate. He stands a forerunner of the concept of democratic decentralisation as we know it today.[3]

Gokhale declared:

> I think a stage has now been reached in this country when, in the true interests of the people as well as to arrest the growings unpopularity of the administration, it is necessary to give the representatives of tax-payers some real voice in the conduct of Provincial affairs. And any arrangements made for this purpose should not only be suited

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to present requirements but should also be capable of a steady expansion so as to meet satisfactorily the growing demands of the future. Now, the existing system is hopelessly ill-adopted to serve this end.[4]

Under contemporary political climate, Gokhale envisaged three administrative prerequisites for the successful working of the scheme of democratic decentralisation.

First, in all important provinces, there should be a Governor appointed from England, assisted by an Executive Council of three members or so ;

Second, Provincial Legislative Councils enlarged and made more representative, should be empowered to discuss the budget fully, and also to move relevant amendments;

Third, the Executive Council should be summoned to discuss specific matters of importance, if called upon to do so by a specified proportion of elected members.[5]

III

The thesis of democratic decentralisation submitted by Gokhale may be summed up thus :[6]

To begin with, Gokhale wanted the financial sphere—both, the Imperial and the Provincial heads, to be detailed and specified, so as to include items of revenue and expenditure. He suggested that instead of grants to provincial governments, independent sources of revenue should be provided, for instance—land revenue, excise and forests. Thus, the revenue and expenditure under the heads of opium, salt, customs, assessed taxes, stamps, registration and tributes from native states, posts and telegraphs, mint, railways and major irrigation works, should be treated as exclusive Imperial subjects. Such a system might mean deficit to the Imperial Government, which could easily be made good by a planned fixation of annual contribution by the provinces

However, due care should be taken as to the average liability of each province with respect to famine and grants to local bodies. There should also be provision for revision of such provincial contribu... after a specified time limit. In emergen... the Viceroy should exercise his discre... and aggrieved provinces could go in app... to the Secretary of State. Gokehale, to be... with, did not confer powers of taxation ... provincial governments and advocated ... periodical revision of land revenue, by ... legislature, in order to keep an equita... check on the system. He also wanted ... keep the power of borrowing exclusive... in the hands of the centre, for some ... only, to prevent any misuse of the conce... tion. In emergencies, however, like famin... local governments could exercise the... right to have preferential claim to borro... from the centre. Similarly, he advocate... reasonable restrictions on the centre an... the units with regard to expenditure o... personnel administration.

With regard to administration, Gokha... submitted that the Government of Ind... should control military and naval defenc... foreign affairs, currency, customs, pos... telegraph, railways, general taxation an... general legislation. Whereas, the province... should be left free in the rest of the sphere... As to general and basic issues concerning... matters of policy, the centre should be ex... clusively in control to ensure justice... uniformity and a specified policy.

IV

For district decentralisation, Gokha... favoured larger association and participation... of people's representatives. He discourage... the grant of vast powers to Collectors, wh... had become veritable potentates.[7] He... suggested that the process of decentralisa... tion should filter down to the primary... units of local self-government. These units... to work evenly and well, must be allotte... larger resources. To help the Collecto... District Councils should be constituted to... implement administrative policy and... programme.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale also suggested... the creation of Panchayats where they do... not exist and function already. He took... pains to draw a detailed plan. The... Panchayat should include : village headman...

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Patel, Munsif and the conciliator, all of them connected directly with the area, in addition to a few more members duly elected by the village. He wanted Panchayats to be invested with such powers and opportunities as would be in keeping with the ideal of local autonomy :

> The Panchayats may be expected to administer on the spot a kind of simple justice suited to the villagers and this will be far preferable to the expense, the delays and the demoralization of the law courts.[8]

Gokhale declared that minor offences, village development, forests, relief, water supply, sanitation, education and cattle pounds were other heads that demanded local attention and speedy execution. Panchayat finances were to be augmented by costs of litigation, allotments of Taluka Boards, fines, penalties, realziations from forests and cattle pounds. To help the Panchayats in the initial stages, Gokhale suggested appointment of special officers.

V

Gokhale clearly exposed the lethargy, callousness and apathy at the level of the Taluka Local Boards. He did not favour their erstwhile status, as officials dominated the scene much to the detriment of local autonomy. He pointed out that these units were straining under meagre resources and depleted funds. He advised that the bodies could be revitalised only when the elective principle is introduced. He wanted Mamlatdars to take part in the proceedings of these Taluka Boards. Gokhale was not a fanatic. In his considerate way he said that if these units failed to work smoothly, the Government should have powers to replace them by a nominated body. The provision, however, was not a privilege but an alternative in emergency. Gokhale pleaded that the resources of these bodies ought to be augmented so that they work effectively and efficiently. He submitted adequate statistical information and proved his point that Taluka Boards were normally denied their fair share of resources. He observed :

> But the resources available being most scanty—not sufficient even for the local needs of the talukas as distinct from those of the district—I think the best plan would be to place them wholly at the disposal of Taluka Boards, thereby giving a real chance to local self-government to attain a fair standard of efficiency. The Taluka Boards should be bound to make small assignments to Village Panchayats in their areas.[9]

He favoured that the Taluka Boards should frame their own budgets without any interference. He wanted that Taluka Boards should co-operate with each other in joint endeavours of mutual interest and benefit..

VI

Gokhale advised that Municipalities should also be elected bodies. The Government could, however, keep watch on them and ensure their successful working, with powers to replace erring bodies by nominated ones, in contingencies. He declared :

> Unless an undivided responsibility is thus thrown on these Municipalities, risking even initial failures for its sake, these institutions will neither become efficient instruments of local administration nor will they fulfil the higher purpose of serving as seminaries for the education of the people in the art of self-government.[10]

Though the Municipalities also suffered from scanty finances, Gokhale thought it advisable that they should be made more self-reliant and self-sufficient progressively. If they wanted larger projects, sustantial grants-in-aid towards capital outlay should be made from provincial revenues. To expand educational facilities in the area, the Government of India should advance assistance.

For District Boards, Gokhale favoured non-officials of position to take up regular touring of the district to see things for themselves and seek redress. The Collector was to continue, for some time at least, but not as an obstacle. Gokhale favoured inclusion of Executive Engineer, Civil Surgeon and educational Inspector. He advis-

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ed that at least three-fourths of the members on the Board should be elected, while the rest may be nominated. By carefully analysing the situation, he devised a useful plan whereby, for the district, a special constituency could be created, based on a fairly high franchise. He submitted a comprehensive scheme for an ideal District Board.[11] Another suggestion that he put forward was that a District Board should be given a share in excise-revenue.

VII

Gokhale pointed out three glaring defects of the District Administration: its secrecy, its bureaucracy and departmental delays. He also pointed out that the Collector, all said and done, was not such a success as it was publicised. Gokhale frankly declared:

> What the situatoni requires is not such official checks exercised from a distance, but some control on the spot on behalf of those who are affected by the administration.[12]

To make a success of his scheme, Gokhale devised, in every district, a small Council comprising non-officials, (two-thirds elected by the non-officials in the District Boards and one-third nominated by the Collector). Such a Council was meant to help the Collector also on relevant matters, on the whole, to do away with administrative delays and formalities. Gokhale suggested a comprehensive list of matters that normally came up before the Collector. In a democratic and constitutional way, he wanted the Collector to function effectively, so that members with technical and expert knowledge do not feel the weight of an imposed and lurking danger in the form of the Collector.

The Districk Council was meant to be only an advisory body. The Collector should be in direct contact with the Central Government. Gokhale suggested that a third member will have to be added to the Executive Council to achieve desired results. For general efficiency and supervision, Gokhale wanted that an Inspector-General should be appointed, just as ... advisers would be necessary for ... and scientific spheres. The powers of ... Collector, in any case, were to be ... in keeping with various aspects of ... trative efficiency and democratic ... and guidance.

VIII

Gokhale summed up his case emphat... thus:

> The educated classes are the ... of the country, and what they ... today, the rest of the people will ... tomorrow. The problem of bringing ... Administration into closer relations ... the people is essentially a proble... associating the educated classes ... the actual work of the Administra... With Village Panchayats at the bo... District Councils in the centre and ... formed Legislative Councils at the ... this problem will have been fairly ... so far as the exigencies of the pre... are concerned.[13]

Gokhale's thesis clearly shows how ahead he was of his times. The ideas ... startlingly radical, considering that ... spoke more than fifty years ago. ... remedies for administrative reforms ... he suggested and the concrete propo... that he put forth to revitalise the s... speak amply of his foresight and wisdo... a statesman. In his scheme, there ... clear indication of a federal political ... tern, as we enjoy today. His ideas and ... cepts of democratic decentralisation ... close parallel to what we see being ... mened all over the country with feve... enthusiasm.

It is for researchers to find out ... about this aspect of Gokhale's public li... particular, and the contemporary Indian ... tical scene in general. This is an imper... necessity today in our quest for bui... from below.

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1. *Cf.*, T. K. Shahani: *Gopal Krishna Gokhale: A Historical Biography*, (Bombay, 1929), pp. 340-341.
2. T. V. Parvate: *Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (Ahmedabad, 1959), pp. 284-295.

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3. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
4. *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, Madras, 1916), p. 1210.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 1210-1211.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 1211-1212.
7. In his evidence before the Royal Commission on the Administration of the Expenditure in India, (The Welby Commission), on April 12 and 13, 1897, Gokhale observed : The district being a unit of administration, the Collector's position should be that of the President of an Executive Board, consisting of the Revenue, Police, Forest, Public Works, Medical and Educational Assistants, sitting together each in charge of his own department, but taking counsel in large matters with the heads of the other departments under the general advice of the Collector-President. To this official Board, the Chairman of the District and Municipal Boards may be joined as non-official representatives.—Vide, *ibid.*, p. 1198.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 1214.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 1216.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 1216.
11. Gokhale illustrated the point thus : . . . Taking Poona, I would have on the District Board 36 members—9 nominated, and the remaining 27 elected as follows : 8 by the Taluka Boards, 2 by the Poona Municipality, 11 by other Municipalities, one each, and 6 by the Special constituency outlined above.—Vide, *ibid*, p. 1217.
12. It is interesting to note Gokhale's views in this context later in his momentous public life. On February 27, 1912, he moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council, recommending the creation of Advisory Councils, and spoke thus : ....Steps should now be taken to bring the district administration into closer touch with the people by creating, as far as possible, in every district in the different Provinces a District Council, composed of not more than nine members, partly elected and partly nominated whose functions should be merely advisory to begin with, and whom the Colletor should ordinarily be bound to consult in all important matters.—Vide, *ibid.*, p. 570.

Gakhale explained further :....A body of nine or ten members sitting round a table with the Collector, assisted by other District Officers, meeting once a month, would be able to dispose of a lot of business on the spot, which at present involves endless delays and indirectly to get rid of a lot of poison which now gathers in a district from day to day, and which tends to vitiate the air in a manner truly regrettable.—Vide, *ibid.*, p. 579.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 1220.

THOREAU AND MAHATMA GANDHI

By SATISH D. KALELKAR M.A. (Oxon)
Embassy of India, Washington, D.C.

On May 6, 1962, America observed the 150th centenary of one of her most illustrious sons, Henry David Thoreau, thinker, essayist, poet, naturalist, surveyor, mystic and social critic, who was laid to rest, a hundred years earlier, in the Sleepy Hollow cemetary on those woody knolls in Concord which he loved so passionately. Among numerous functions arranged all over the country to do him honour, the most important was the installation and unveiling of a bronze bust of Thoreau in the celebrated Hall of Fame for Great Americans, in the New York University. It was not without significance that Mr. B. K. Nehru, the Ambassador to U.S.A., from the country of Mahatma Gandhi, was invited to deliver the main address on this occasion. For, in many ways, the philosophy of life of Mahatma Gandhi and his programme of action were similar to those of Henry Thoreau. Both were enthusiastic naturalists who attempted to run self-supporting farms; both believed in the dignity of manual labour; both were vegetarians, teteotallers, and non-smokers; both were fearless social critics; both derived their inspiration from the Bhagavad-Gita; and, above all, both believed it to be the individual's duty to resort to civil disobedience to

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correct unjust and tyrannical laws of government, by adopting the non-violent expedient of taxes, if persuasion failed.

Gandhiji's Debt to Thoreau

A certain degree of misconception about Gandhiji's debt to Thoreau has continued to persist because of the Mahatma's use of the pharase 'civil disobedience' which happens to be the title of Thoreau's celebrated essay on resistance to the power of the State, which he wrote in 1848 and published the following year. A critic and student of Thoreau's works has gone to the extent of making a categorical statement, "It (the essay on 'Civil Disobedience') was Gandhi's source book in his political campaign for civil resistance." It is doubtful if this statement can be substantiated. In his autobiography, 'My Experiments with Truth', Gandhiji not only lists, but analyses the books that influenced him greatly during the formative years of his student days in London, in the last decade of the last century and, later, in South Africa where he was experimenting with and perfecting his weapon of **satyagraha.** Nowhere does he mention Thoreau's works whose thoughts appear to have reached him only after he had arrived at his own philosophy of civil disobedience. An open letter that Gandhiji wrote to the people of America, on the eve of the launching of his 'Quit India' movement, does indeed show in what great esteem he held Thoreau, but it also shows that Thoreau's 'Civil Disobedience' could not have been "Gandhi's source book in his political campaign for civil resistance." The open letter to the American people said, "You have given me a teacher in Thoreau who furnished me, through his essay on 'The Duty of Civil Disobedience,' scientific **confirmation** of what I was doing....." (Emphasis mine.) Gandhiji, who was extremely punctilious about his choice of words, appears to have used the word 'confirmation' advisedly; and only humility has prevented him from saying, 'already doing'. It is, indeed, remarkable that these two great thinkers arrived at their almost identical philosophies completely independently. And yet, in his characteristic humility Gandhiji calls Thoreau his 'teacher'.

Fresh Assessment

During his life time, Thoreau [illegible] host of critics in the society which castigated in a forthright manner. after his death, a great body of admi almost created a Thoreau cult, consis themselves the custodians of Thoreau putation. It was, perhaps, impossible either group to properly assess Thore contribution to thought or his place history; they were too near Thoreau space and time, to have achieved a p perspective and produced a balanced We are, perhaps, better placed, although necessarily better suited, to attempt balanced appreciation of the great th one hundred years after his death.

Search for Truth

Thoreau's was an age of violent [illegible] trasts; it was an age of conflicts betwe idealism and materialism, between relig and the gospel of material success. Thore with all his non-conformism, was one the typical Americans of his age. Inde he is one of the best historians of American mind in conflict. Greatly aff ted by the contrasts and conflicts of his and in his ceaseless search for truth sought abiding solutions from the writ of great masters and ancient classics masters were, Emerson, the deeply reli 17th century writers of prose and poe in England, the Greeks, and the sacr ancient classics of Hinduism—the Ve the Upanishads, the Manusmriti, and al all, the Bhagavad-Gita. As one critic observed, "It is not too much to say Thoreau was made by two books: Nat and the 'Bhagavad-Gita'."

Back to Nature & Non-Possession

Son of a lead pencil manufacturer had the advantage of a Harvard educa Thoreau was no country child, but early dedicated to the woods, lakes a

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companionship of nature which impelled him in 1845, at the age of 28, to withdraw to his Walden Pond hut where he lived for two years in close communion with the birds, beasts and flowers, demonstrating the individualism he breathed and lived. His desire for physical retreat was far from escapism. He was not running away from society's puzzles ; he was proving them ; he was trying to live his philosophy." At the back of his physical retreat lay the conviction that to be a philosopher, one must do more than have subtle thoughts, write erudite essays, or give learned lecturers. He desired, like Gandhiji in our times, to be a true Karma Yogi.

Although the two classics which have immortalised Thoreau were published after he left Walden Pond, both were conceived there and are remarkably Gandhian in general theory. These were "Civil Disobedience" (1849) and "Walden : of Life in the Woods" (1854).

While Thoreau's "Walden" was mostly dismissed by the society he lived in as the outpourings of an eccentric dreamer, it was recognised in England as a masterpiece, and the fore-runners of the founders of the Labour Party used it as the Bible of their faith. Leo Tolstoy was impressed by it and so was W. B. Yeats whose island paradise of Innisfree, where one could live alone and search for wisdom was patterned on "Walden."

Thoreau sincerely believed—as did Mahatma Gandhi, 40 years later—that life should be reduced to bare essentials in order that one might devote oneself to the study of nature and of one's self. Thoreau's idea of simplicity was to sacrifice the inessential for the essential. "Superfluous wealth can buy supefluities only," he said, "Money is not required to buy one necessary for the Soul."

It is interesting to recall Mahatma Gandhi's experiment in community living at a farm at Phoenix in South Africa. By chance he had come across Ruskin's 'Unto This Last' which, he says in his autobiography, "brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation in my life." So greatly was he impressed by this book that he immediately translated it into Gujarati, under the title "Sarvodaya" (Welfare of All), a term which Vinoba Bhave has borrowed to apply to his integrated all-purposive movement.

Records Gandhiji :

"The teachings of 'Unto This Last' I understood to be :

(i) That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.

(ii) That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's, in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.

(iii) That a life of labour i.e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living."

It was this revelation that prompted Gandhiji to start his Phoenix Settlement in 1904, on a farm, "on which everyone should labour, drawing the same living wage..... irrespective of colour or nationality." Originally Gandhiji planned to "go and live at the Settlement, earn my livelihood by manual work there and find the joy of service in the fulfilment of Phoenix." As a result of all these experiments and especially after a deep study of the Bhagavad-Gita and continued introspection, Gandhiji, like Thoreau before him, arrived at the faith that **aparigraha** (non-possession) was a virtue to be assiduously cultivated. Says he in his autobiography :

"How was one to divest oneself of all possessions ?....Was I to give up all I had and follow Him ? Straight came the answer: I could not follow Him unless I gave up all I had."

Acceptance of this principle led Gandhiji logically to his much-discussed theory of trusteeship.

"I understood the **Gita** teaching of non-possession to mean that those who desired salvation should act like the trustee who, though having control over great possessions, regards not an iota of them as his own."

"The rich have superfluous store of things which they do not need . . . . while

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millions are starved to death for want of sustenance. If each retained possession only of what he needed no one would be in want and all would live in contentment."

"Labour is a prominent feature of the Ashram, because it is our duty to engage ourselves in physical work."

Duty of Civil Disobedience

Humanity owes a debt of gratitude to the Sheriff of Concord who seized Thoreau and put him in jail for refusing to pay the poll-tax to a State that tolerated slavery. True, unlike Gandhiji who had to spend many extensive periods in jail, Thoreau was incarcerated only for a night (until someone anonymously paid his tax), but this forced him to write extensively about his principle of civil disobedience. The good-natured and well-intentioned friend who paid the tax had deprived Thoreau of the chance to put the tax to a test and dramatise the issue, educating the public in the whole process. He wished, by setting an example, to demonstrate that "what you condone, you support; what you neglect, you confirm." The primary allegiance of Thoreau's man of principle is not to the State, but to the universal laws. "Only the absolutely right", he claimed, "is expedient for all." Man is not bound to a State that legislates injustice; conscience is superior to the expedients of majority rule. As Gandhiji said, "Submission to the State law is the price a citizen pays for his personal liberty. Submission, therefore, to a State wholly or largely unjust is an immoral barter for liberty. . . . Civil resistance is a most powerful expression of a soul's anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of an evil stage."

Thoreau opens his "Civil Disobedience with the following:

"I heartily accept the motto, 'That government is best which governs least . . . . that government is best which governs not at all . . . . and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. Government is at best an exppedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient. . . . For, government is an expedient by which men would succeed in letting one another alone; as has been said, when it is most expe... the governed are most let alone by it. I think that we should be men first subjects atferwards. It is not desirable cultivate a respect for the law, so much for the right. The only obligation wh... have a right to assume is to do at any what I think right. . . . All men recog... the right of revolution; that is, the right refuse allegiance to, and to resist, government, when its tyranny or its ineciency are great and unendurable."

It would be a great mistake—and critics have indeed made it—to assume Thoreau was a philosophical anarch... Neither Thoreau nor Gandhiji repudia... all government. They would serve it w... its ends were moral, when it was an inst... ment of good, a positive moral agency. B... urged disobedience to tyrannical gove... ment, not to all authority; and this ma... them rebels, not philosophical anarchi... Gandhiji was never tired of emphasiz... repeatedly that the right to rebel accru... only to those who obeyed laws conscienti... ously. "Civil disobedience is not a state o... lawlessness and licence", he has said, "it... presupposes a law-abiding spirit combin... with self-restraint." And again, "I ha... found that it is our first duty to rend... voluntary obedience to law, but whilst d... ing that duty, I have also seen that wh... law fosters untruth it becomes a duty... disobey it."

According to both Thoreau and Gandhiji the most liberal government becomes a tyranny when it denies the right of the individual to be responsible for his intellectual and moral integrity. It can over-rule him, yes, but he must somehow resist.

What is the Test?

Political philosophers would be quick to point out the inherent weakness of this argument. If the individual is to determine his own rights, what authority is left to distinguish between enlightened resistance to the rule of a State and anarchy which will inevitably dissolve the State itself? Thoreau has not attempted to resolve

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this problem or give a direct answer. The essay as a whole does, however, suggest that he would have answered that you must have faith in man, you must believe that man intuition to what is necessary for survival is a reality in human nature. And that is the only possible answer.

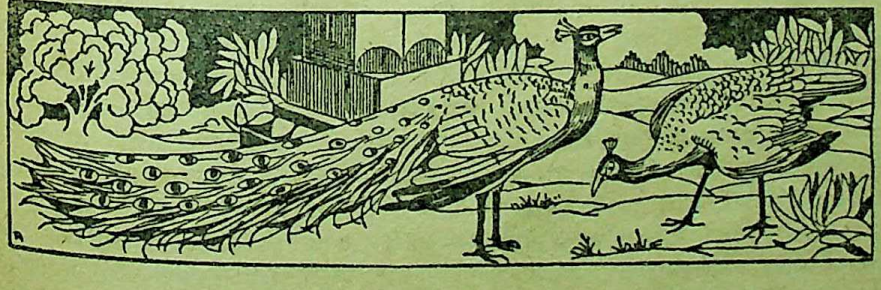
Gandhiji was not free from this philosophical doubt either, but he did not leave it unresolved, although he too has to fall back on the faith in the innate goodness of man's heart and on intuition. Correct moral conduct and scrupulous obedience to law would automatically give man the power of judgement, accoring to Gandhiji. "It is only when a person has thus obeyed the laws of society scrupulously that he is in a position to judge as to which particular rules are good and just, and which unjust and iniquitous." And, in the last analysis, Gandhiji also leans heavily on instuition, the inner voice' as he used to call it. "No rules can tell us how this disobedience may be done and by whom, when and where, or can they tell us which laws foster untruth."

Sanctity of the Individual

Thoreau's realization of man's conflict with the State and his discourse on civil disobedience confirmed his belief in the sanctity of the individual. "Tme progress from an absolute to a limited monarchy, from a limited monarchy to a democracy, is a progress towards a true respect for the individual. . . . There will never be a really free and enlightened State, until the State comes to recognise the individual as a higher and indepedent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly." Gandhiji took a similar stand, and with equal emphasis. Said he: "If the individual ceases to count, what is left of society? Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of society. No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom."

Both Thoreau and Gandhiji realised, early in life, that the individual's conflict with the State was real especially when he was faced with the sacrifice either of his just rights or his security. Both believed that in resistance to a regime of tremendous force, the individual's power is his own integrity. While neither Thoreau nor Gandhiji denied the necessity of obedience to the just laws of the State, both believed in personal independence and were, thus, essentially individualists. There is abundant evidence to show that both arrived at their basic philosophies of life from their deep study of the Bhagavad-Gita.

In a century of growing collectivism, where the balance between the rights of the individual and the needs of the State are swinging precariously in favour of the latter, Thoreau's and Gandhiji's are the most manly, most moral and most commonsense voices. If the individual is not to lose his identity, not to become a helpless automaton, he must never allow the sanctity of the individual to be violated. That was the message of Thoreau and Gandhiji. If we could hold aloft and carry forward the torch of individual liberty and freedom that these great thinkers handed down to us, we would have taken a step nearer to that ideal State about which the human race has been dreaming ever since its infancy.



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LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By Mrs. D. P. ROYCHOWDHURY

XI

June 1954 was the time for Sri Deviposad's retirement from Government Service. He decided to return to his homeland after his term of office was over and as was his wont, began preparing for the event much ahead of the time. Since we had to stay away from Bengal for a considerable period of time after my husband accepted the post of the Principal of the Madras School of Arts, we thought it wise to let out both our houses in Calcutta to tenants. These tenants got so used to enjoy a fairly big place by paying a nominal rent that they were most reluctant to leave such an advantageous position, in our hour of need, unless enforced to do so by the verdict of a court of law. This my husband knew was a long-term business.

A portion of the ground floor of our house at Bhawanipore was at our disposal. At the time we had no other alternative than to occupy that part. But this was not even sufficient to accomodate our belongings of daily use, leave alone the question of the art treasures. I was therefore not a little surprised when I found my husband had ordered some new furniture to be made which he thought would be suitable for the little place we could call our own. For the moment I forgot I was dealing with an artist and tried to intervene and stop him from incurring an unnecessary expense. He was then in the mood of a child waiting eagerly to see how his new toy works, and naturally I received a most curt answer which was as much to say, 'do not meddle about things which you do not understand.' After that I though it prudent to keep my mouth shut and watch the result. Most of these furnitures were made to new designs and to serve a double purpose. When these were finished the artist very proudly showed some of them to me expecting perhaps to see me overwhelmed with joy and astonishment. The beds which were made of heavy rosewood, he touched with his fingers. They yielded to his touch, sprang sideways and revealed some concealed drawers underneath. His eyes gleamed and he looked at me for approbation. I secured his mood in time to swallow the words that were almost at the tip of my tongue, forced a smile and said, "it is very clever indeed but don't you think it would be difficult for me to handle them as easily as you did ?" Prompt came the reply "oh no you will see how easy it is. Even a child will be able to manage without any trouble." After this I followed the only course left to me and that was to find an excuse and leave the place. Not only the beds, even the chairs and tables meant for the drawing room had their secret receptacles. When these were ready, they were shipped to our residence in Calcutta and at the first opportunity the artist went there himself and arranged them in their respective places.

In the meanwhile Deviprosad was informed officially that his term of office had been extended for another three years. This meant that the furnitures which were made with such gusto should be left at the mercy of the rats and insects. Our artist was not prepared to do that and his brain began to work again. Since no Pied Pipers are to be found in these days he had recourse to other methods. All sorts of insecticides were given trial and those which pleased the fancy of the artist were used lavishly for driving away the pests. And what happened to the furniture which were already in existence ? Left outside of course to be "seasoned" by sun and rain. Not being gifted with artistic talent I could not quite appreciate this arrangement and was grieved to know those precious articles were left to rot in this manner.

My surprise knew no bounds when, on a visit to Calcutta, I found that a trans-

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formation had taken place to the beds with the spring action so ingeniously invented. Instead of swinging at touch, they became absolutely immovable. They were fixed on two cement platforms which looked more like tombstones than anything else. On this occasion I could not suppress my feelings and expressed what I felt. Luckily my husband accepted the criticism with good humour and agreed to break the cement construction. What became of the drawers attached to the beds is still a mystry to me. I left it at that for fear of bringing back some unpleasant memory.

Time flew. Three years passed by without our being aware of it. Once more it became necessary for us to be ready to leave Madras. But unfortunately a rumour spread from somewhere that the officers at the helm of the Government were not inclined to dispense with the services of Sri Deviprosad for at least another two years. Since this reached our ears from a most responsible source, we had to believe it, specially when we remembered our previous experience. Thus being put into a wrong track, we made no preparation for our departure till an official notice came from the Government. But when June 1957 was fast approaching and yet no order came for his continuation in the post, the artist got perturbed. He had some influential friends in the official circles but the information that he got from them was vague and indefinite. This made Deviprosad decide about his own plans. Time was short and there was not a moment to loose. He was determined to leave his quarters the day his term of office was over and therefore started packing in full swing. We had to make haste to dispense with our belongings. The rubbish that had accumulated during our 28 years' stay in the same building, were not negligible. It was, therefore, not an easy task to manage. Things which had many an old association and which we had learnt to value, were all packed in wooden boxes and stored in the spacious varandah downstairs. The others were got rid of as best as we could. I do admit that my heart sank within me when I perceived the huge luggage waiting to be transported.

My husband could not leave Madras till the last day of his office. The packing cases had to be sent two weeks in advance and I had to follow their trail. My problem was how to arrange everything without the invaluable assistance of the artist. When I expressed my fears to him, he seemed to be quite elated. Perhaps the man in my husband was flattered to find his wife depending so much on his guidance and to encourage her he said most emphatically, "Oh, but you don't have to worry. I shall draw plans for each room and it would not be difficult at all." But experience has taught me not to rely too much on the words of idealistic persons of my husband's type. I, therefore, still had my secret trepidation though outwordly I wore a brave face.

The day approached when I had to say goodbye to Madras. Since I was travelling alone, all precautions were taken for my safety. A berth had been booked for me in the ladies' compartment of an air-conditioned coach. But when the train was in, it was found that the berth reserved was in the general compartment. My husband naturally was thoroughly upset at this unexpected turn of events and started arguing with the railway authorities who were responsible for this mistake. After much hot discussion he was able to change the reservation in his favour and was pacified. As a result of this delay, the train was three hours behind time when she entered the Howrah Station.

After I reached my destination and found the numerous packing cases awaiting my arrival, once more my courage failed me. In a few days' time, however, some assistance came to my elbow on the instruction of the artist. With its help the boxes were unpcaked and things scattered all about the place. Our next move was to arrange them according to the plans given by the artist. But we soon discovered, things which appear all right on a piece of paper, may not look the same on the floor of a room. We struggled with all our might and yet failed to make both ends meet. Umpteen times we scrutinized the plan and tried our utmost to adjust but with no

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better result. At last we decided to leave it at that.

A month later when Sri Deviprosad appeared on the scene and found everything was not as he desired, he looked displeased and said without the least hesitation "I see, you all have done nothing about the arrangement of the rooms" and, straight away jumped into the field of action. Alas, if he only knew the struggle that we went through!

After a week's relentless effort he was able to do something to his satisfaction but I can assure you it was not all in agreement with the plan that were given to us for our guidance.

When Deviprosad felt that his wife would be fairly comfortable in her new environment, he left for Madras to finish the statue which was still in the make and which had to be completed within a specific time. This was none other than the double life size portrait of Mahatma Gandhi commissioned by the West Bengal Government.

His first problem after reaching Madras was where to stay. It was necessary for him to go daily to Chromepet, a suburb 14 miles away from Madras where he had the foundry for bronze casting. It is here that he now decided to make his studio for modelling also. He, therefore, selected a hotel opposite the Egmore Station. Friends who visited him there told me he looked an absolute misfit in the environment. Besides the rooms were so much wanting in space that it could hardly accommodate the artist as well as his belongings unless he made a firm resolution to reduce his physical structure to fit in with the place.

Another great hurdle that stood on his way if he continued to stay in the hotel was the crossing of the overbridge at the railway station every morning and evening in order to go and come from Chroemepet. This, to Deviprosad, was a much more difficult feat than climbing the sumit of the Mount Everest. To escape from all this trouble he soon discovered a small bungalow in the vicinity of his studio at Chro... pet, where he transplanted himself with ... luggage. Though he had to face ... inconveniences in such an out of the ... place, he felt ever so much happier th... than he was at the hotel. Lonely he w... but this loneliness was more bearable ... him than the hubbub of the inn. Besi... most of his time was occupied by his w... and he could hardly feel the want ... company.

When Deviprosad departed for Ma... he gave me to understand that it would ... take him more than two or three mo... to complete the statue and return home. ... have my doubts whether he said this ... good faith or just to console me. For th... long months passed and yet there was ... prospect of his return. He, of course, was ... regular about his letters in which he ge... broke the news that since more orders w... forthcoming, it may be obligatory for h... to prolong his stay in Madras. His reas... was, he had no studio in Calcutta a... neither any suitable place to make o... This being an undeniable fact, I had ... meekly accept the inevitable and that w... an indefinite separation from my husba...

Sri Deviprosad is seldom heard to co... gratulate a newly married youth as ... customarily done. Instead he extends ... condolences to the unfortunate young m... for his loss of freedom. Since this is oft... done in the presence of his own wife peo... were expected to look upon it as a joke. B... I have my suspicion that the views thus ... pressed are perhaps something beyond ... mere jest. Occasionally it reveals the sec... conscious mind of the speaker which ... dares not admit even to himself. In spite ... all his inconveniences, Deviprosad is u... doubtedly a free man now. None to distra... his mind with a chit or a word while he ... in the midst of his work. Has the distan... that separated him from his consta... companion for many a years given him ... long coveted respite and enabled him ... breathe more freely? I wonder.

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face mirrored the mood of the moment.

Sobbing soundlessly, Mani Kumari Tawang as pleading with her husband and son—interes at the Central Internment Camp, Deoli—not go back to China and an uncertain future.

Shifting uneasily in his chair in the office ie Camp's Welfare Officer, fifty-year-old Kwan o Lam, her husband, sounded non-committal, ighing *pros and cons*, to go, or not to go. ords tumbled out of his mouth haltingly. ighteen-year-old Min Singh Kwan, their son, sat tween them, head bent, gazing at his toes.

nese children in playful mood—Deoli Camp

Mani Kumari had come all the way to Deoli mp from Siliguri, tormented by acute anxiety out the plight of her husband and son. Vague sps of rumour had darkly hinted that some 0 internees had perished in a cholera epidemic the camp. She had feared the worst about the te of her husband and son, but here they were, ve and healthy, in a setting that resembled a ily reunion. As for cholera, it had been a h.

Many Decide Not to Leave

Living conditions for Kwan Sho Lam, as an ternee at the Deoli camp, are all in accordance with the Geneva Convention (1949) regulations overing the treatment of civilian internees.

With the massive invasion of India's northern borders by China last October, some 2,000 out of 15,000 Chinese living in India had become security risks overnight. These were interned at the Deoli camp, and 878 of them have been, at their option, allowed to go back to China. A further batch is now due for repatriation, but many, running into a few hundreds, have expressed their voluntary decision not to leave India.

The first batch of repatriates left Kota, the nearest railhead, for Madras, the port of embarkation, in a special train. Even then, a few had dropped out, on second thoughts, and returned to Deoli camp, reversing their earlier decision to leave for China.

A nursing mother—Deoli Camp

It was a V.I.P. show, the trip to the port of embarkation. Doctors, nurses and other attendants accompanied the repatriates up to Madras. The special train had kitchen cars, canteen and sick bay. Comfort was the operative word. The repatriates carried all their personal luggage with them, and were provided with foreign exchange up to Rs. 666 for expenditure *en route*.

Liberal Food Rations

For those at the Deoli camp, life goes on an even keel.

The internees stay in well-ventilated, high-roofed barracks, with open space around. The

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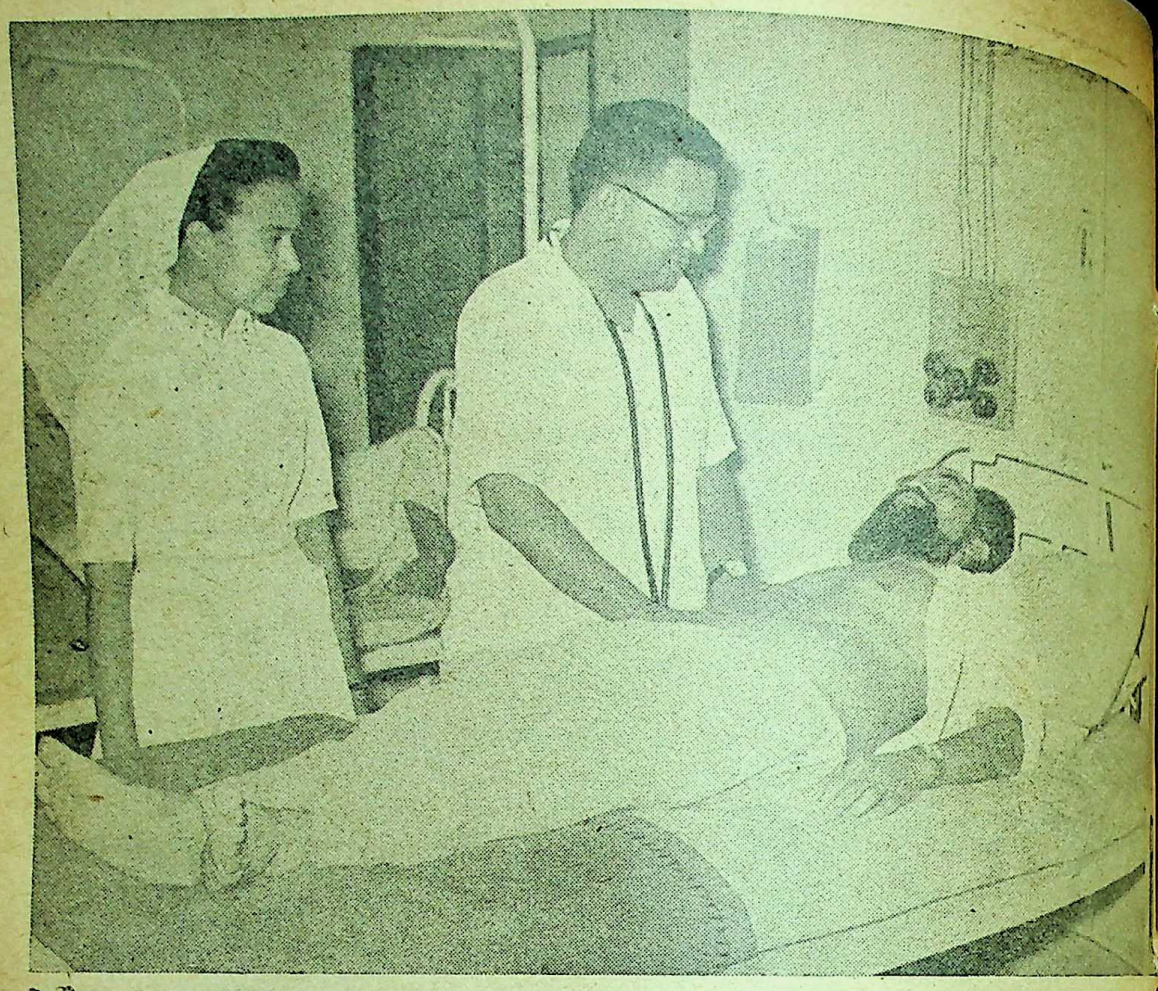

The Doctor on his morning round—Deoli Camp

camp has its own 50-bed modern hospital, complete with X-Ray plant and with two doctors in attendance, one of them a lady. If specialised treatment is required, the patient is sent to hospitals at Ajmer, Jaipur or Kota.

For administrative convenience, the camp is divided into five wings, each having its own elected leaders—secret ballot, democratic fashion—who looks after the needs and problems of his wing, while keeping liaison with the camp authorities.

Food rations are liberal, both in quantity and quality, adequate for healthy living ; and, indeed, in calories intake, fabulously high when compared with present-day scarcity ridden China with its great leap backwards.

Every internee, above 12 gets, daily, 15 ounces of rice and four of wheat; six ounces of meat and another six of fresh vegetables; two ounces of dal; half ounce of sugar; an ounce of milk (for children under five, half a litre of milk) ; and three-fourth ounce of oil. Mutton is available thrice a week ; fish twice; and pork and eggs once. The quantum of adult daily ration works out at 2,599 calories.

Smiling Faces of Children

Each internee receives an allowance Rs. 5 a month for pocket expenses, and from own funds kept in the custody of the camp au rities he could draw up to Rs. 150 a mon purchases from the canteen, or up to Rs. 35 remittance to dependents in India, if any. canteen, with its displayed price list, has o shelves anything from straw hats to tinned f and ready-made garments, and is open from A.M. to 12 noon and from 2 P.M. to 6-30 P

All in-coming mail for the internees is d buted in the morning, while at the same time outgoing letters and parcels are collected f them for dispatch, postage for outward mail b met by the camp authorities.

The internees are free to spend their time they like; no work is ever given to them. Fac ties exist for both indoor and outdoor sp These include tennis, volley ball, badminton, playing cards, carroms and bagatelle. For musically-inclined, violin, harmonium and s have been provided.

To the visitor, the Deoli camp, with its h children, friskily playful, looks like a h camp—and an all-paid vacation for the

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ST. TERESA OF AVILA

By SUSNIGDHA DEY

Spain's golden age touched a new height in the epoch of Phillip II, the redoubtable adversary of Queen Elizabeth. During the reign of Emperor Charles, Spain was very much inspired by the Renaissance and imported Italian influence for its poetry, Platonic doctrines for its philosophy and the ideas of Erasmus for its religious thought. The doors that were kept ajar were closed in the time of Phillip II. The country gathered its forces under the banner of the Counter-Reformation to defend the tradition. A tone of severe, almost uncompromising, nobility stood out in bold relief. The classic rigidity of El Escorial, a surprisingly great number of ascetics and mystics and the king himself, dressed always in impeccable black, reflected the great sobriety of the time. There was an atmosphere of "high seriousness" all around. If the courtier-poet Garcilaso, who spent an important part of his life abroad, was the greatest figure in the Emperor's time, the Augustinian friar, Fray Luis of Leon, an upright and fearless scholar, became the symbol of the latter part of the sixteenth century. Friar Luis was so much a part of the Salamancan University, that on being released by the Inquisition after five years' detention in prison, he is said to have started his address to his students with "as we said yesterday."

The Eagle and the Dove

Principal among the leaders of the monastic counter-reformation and notable for her steady resolve was Teresa of Jesus. Despite considerable opposition, both from within the church and without, she succeeded in achieving her mundane and spiritual goal. Twelve years older than Friar Luis of Leon, Teresa was born in 1515 in Avila, a rugged and rocky Castilian town, fortified with Roman walls on all sides. It has been said that this stern landscape has lent its colour in the make up of the saint in the same way as Toledo left deep marks in the personality and painting of El Greco. It is curious to note that when her duties took her to the tropical and gay Andalusia, the saint suffered and complained of the frivolity and lack of purpose in the dark southern eyes. May be, that austerity and her strong will fitted each other. At the same time there was a certain delicate tenderness about her. The world of her faith is child-like and ingenuous.

Her Childhood

As a little girl she loved to make miniature chapels and convents. "I loved very much to play with other girls and build convents as if we were nuns." At another place she says, "In our garden, we attempted as well as we could to build chapels, piling up pebbles, which would fall down later." At another time during her childhood, she desired martyrdom and left the town secretly with her brother Rodrigo, believing that they would reach the land of the moors and that they would be beheaded sooner or later. She was very fond of reading books of romantic adventure and knight-errantry and even went to the length of attempting to write one together with her brother. The second chapter of her autobiography deals with these childrish diversions and entertainments. She grew up to be a charming young girl amidst plenty in the house of her father. Young men soon began to lift their eyes as they happened to pass before the iron grating of the gateway and two of them crossed swords. Her father sent her immediately to live with the nuns. In the beginning she found it difficult to adjust herself to her new surroundings. Ultimately she became enamoured of the divine life and took the Carmelite order, in spite of protests from her family, at the age of nineteen.

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The Carmelites

The Carmelites headed a reaction against the Reformation. This religious movement initiated a new feeling for prayer and shared the belief in three stages of the mystics. Prayer and self-denial of "purgatio" rising to the second stage of "illuminatio," finally merged into an intimate union with the divinity, that is "nio." The Carmelite mysticism, unlike the Franciscans, had no tradition. But Saint Teresa was influenced by St. Peter of Alcantara, Osuna and Laredo, who were Franciscans. The other famous Carmelite, St. John of the Cross imbibes the spirit, metre and style of his "Cantico" from Fray Luis of Leon, who in turn was an Augustinian. The Carmelite School was a bridge between the Franciscans and the Augustinians, rubbing off the sharp edges off both the doctrines. But there is also a combative zeal in Teresa and this is clearly manifest in her works.

The Middle-Way

"Martha and Mary should walk together." In this famous sentence she united the active and the contemplative sides of human life. She reminds her daughters in "the Way of Perfections," "it does not follow that, because all of us in this house practise prayer, we are all perforce to be lost in serious contemplation." Different types of persons can have a vital role in a religious community. Martha "was holy, but we are not told that she was given up to religious contemplation.' "Remember that there must be someone to cook the meals, and count yourselves happy in being able to serve like Martha." What she insisted on was simplicity, sincerity, humbleness and a complete devotion. Teresa believed that, "Even amongst the pots in the kitchen walks the Lord." One is reminded of the group of angels in a kitchen painted with a remarkable sweetness by the Spanish painter, Murillo and preserved in the Louvre Museum. Although she laid more stress on "love" than on "contemplation," yet she saw the fruits of learning and the necessity of cultivating one's intellectual faculty. Human intelligence is fertile if the garden is neglected, only thorns weeds will grow.

As A Writer

Teresa has left behind a vast body divine literature, mainly in prose. Luis of Leon, whose writings bea chiselled elegance, praised the works Teresa for their "delicacy and clarity," the "pure and spontaneous style," for "grace and happy choice of words" for "an unpolished elegance that delig to the extreme." She appeals both to ordinary person and the scholar. E. Al Peers says, "The surprising fact is that woman who was no scholar, and who wr much as she spoke, to be read only by few, should have won such a reputation a writer, and become one of the clas both of the literature of Spain and of .....literature of Christian devotion..... As a writer, she has the rare gift of appe ing both to the most learned readers, as natural stylist of rare merit, and to the le learned—to the man in the street, and s more to the woman in the kitchen— intensely human, as one just like the selves." The very defects of her style, s as faulty syntax, impurity in diction, bre ing off in the middle of a sentence being carried away to a theme fai suggested by the original and her freq use of diminutives, add to her charm. did not have any literary pretension she had no thought whatsoever of publ tion of her works. She wrote when was asked to do so by her superiors well wishers and she wrote for the ben ance of her daughters, the Carmelite nu She combines the loftiest mysticism the highest practical sense and hen Crashaw's tribute.

"O 'tis not Spanish but 'tis heaven she speaks."

She has brought the spiritual holiness in the reach of the common people. It been said that by explaining her religio concepts and experiences by the aid simple images, St. Teresa has "democra ed mysticism."

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Similitude of the Waters

She loved water. "I cannot find anything more apt for the explanation of certain spiritual things than this element of water; for, as I am very ignorant and my wit gives me no help and I am so fond of this element, I have looked at it more attentively than at other things." The spiritual possibilities of a person is like a garden and there are four ways by which a garden can be watered. First, the laborious method of drawing water from the well. To this corresponds the first step of prayer, which is "to pay no heed to what they see or hear, "especially during prayer ; to spend much time alone and to practise the difficult exercise of meditation. Here the beginners draw water by hand. Secondly, "by a water-wheel and buckets, when the water is drawn by a windlass." She adds, "I have sometimes drawn in this way, it is less laborious than the other and gives more water." This represents the state of recollection called the prayer of quiet. Here God is at work and the will is helped by the "little spark" from His great fire. The third degree is "by a stream or a brook, which waters the ground much better, for it saturates it more thoroughly and there is less need to water it often." Here God "may almost be said to be the gardener Himself, for it is He who does everything." The faculties—understanding, memory and will—are almost completely united with God and the soul finds its greatest delight in this true wisdom. Finally, "by heavy rain, when the Lord waters it with no labour of ours," in which stage the soul is in rapture and in harmony.

Foundress of Convents

The year 1562 stands out in bold relief in the life of St. Teresa of Jesus. She founded the Convent of St. Joseph at Avila for the Discalced nuns. Teresa regretted the privileges and comforts heaped on the religious order as these were contrary to the principle of holy poverty. She desired to carry out important reforms in the Carmelite Order by founding many convents which would teach the monks and the nuns to live in complete poverty and spiritual bliss. She says in "The Way of Perfection," an ascetic treatise meant for the use of the nuns, "As for a large ornate convent, with a lot of buildings. God preserve us from that! Always remember that these things will all fall down on the Day of Judgment, and who knows how soon that will be ?"

But the very idea of an ordinary nun founding a convent was too much in those days and Teresa's confessor, when consulted, was not unsympathetic, but he saw that, "humanly speaking, there was no way of putting it into practice." She had to face the jealousy of the nuns who asked, "Why of all persons Teresa ?", the refusal of her superiors, the searching questions of the Inquisition, the unwillingness in granting licence by a bureaucratic administration and a loud clamour all round. However, after four years of struggle and disappointment, the first convent was established with four nuns, in their new garb of coarsest frieze, looking hopeful and happy.

From now on, Teresa's life entered upon a period of vigorous activity and endless travel. She founded as many as thirty-two convents and even during the times of most frequent and mystical experience with its accompanying ecstasy, she gave attention to minute details and problems of individual nuns. The charming and possessive Princess of Eboli persuaded St. Teressa to accept her endowment for a convent at Pastrana, where she went to live as a widow four years later. She insisted on special rooms and received visits from her admirers in the precincts of the convent, which enraged Teresa when she came to know from the nuns. Teresa, suffering from physical pain and exhaustion after a long travel, did not hesitate for a moment and she left the convent with her daughters without knowing of a possible near-by shelter. She was, indeed, "muy varon."

Interier Castle

The allegoric treatment of her spiritual experiences in the "Interior Castle," was conceived in 1577, that is, five years before she passed away from this world. In this

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her most important work, she compares the soul to "a castle of diamonds," containing "many mansions, some above," others below, others at each side; and in the centre, or middle of all these mansions, lies the principal, where the most secret things pass between God and the soul." The first three mansions correspond to the purgatorial stage, the following three to the illuminative and the seventh marks the perfect union. In the first stage there are still "toads and serpents" of the passions and "the light that emanates from the Palace of the King" hardly penetrates into this mansion. If the first mansion is that of Humility, the second is of the Practice of Prayer, where the subject has to toil harder with a larger consolation of hope. The third mansion symbolises Meditation and Exemplary Life. Here we leave behind our worldly preoccupations and prepare ourselves for climbing up to the remaining mansions. "Enter, enter my daughters, within," without hesitation and with an increased faith. As he enters the fourth mansion, the pilgrim begins to enjoy the Prayer of Quiet and the soul becomes conscious of gaining something otherwise than by its own efforts; there are "such delicate things to see and to feel." The passions of the soul are almost eliminated. The fifth mansion is commonly known as the Prayer of Union, where God participates actively and takes complete possession of the soul. This experience is brief and hence it is called a "Betrothal." In a marriage two people belong to each other but before the ceremony they often meet for a short time to learn to appreciate each other better. By this way "the soul sees in a secret way Who this Spouse is that she is to take."

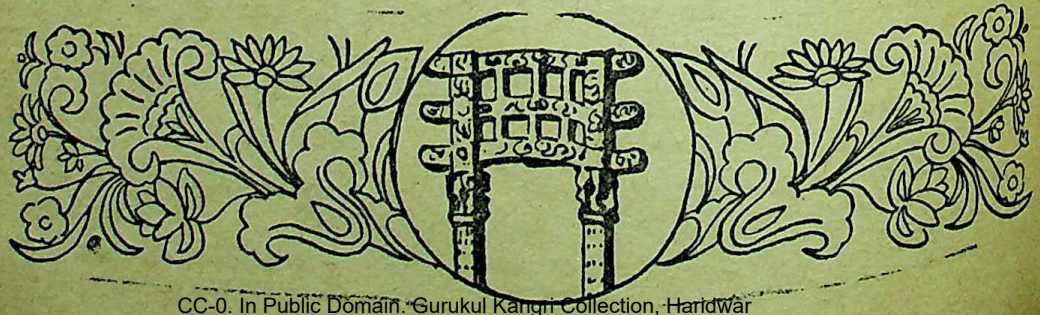
This point has been further clarified by St. Teresa in the similitude of the silkworm. "The silkworms feed on the mulberry-leaves, until they are full grown, when people put down twigs, upon which with their tiny mouths, they start spinning silk, making themselves very tight little cocoons, in which they bury themselves. Then, finally, the worm, which was large and ugly, comes right out of the cocoon as a beautiful white butterfly." The silkworm is the contemplative soul and when it dies "then we shall see God and shall ourselves be as completely hidden in His greatness as is this little worm in its cocoon."

The "little butterfly" experiences a "delightful pain" as it enters the sixth mansion and undergoes final trials and the Lord reveals many secrets to it. Although the little butterfly is handicapped in its spiritual flight as it is tied with so many chains, there is no going back and the trials bring reward of "peace and contentment."

In the seventh mansion "His Majesty alone lives" and this is the final stage of "Spiritual Marriage." This is a permanent experience that takes place in the centre of the soul. The parties to the marriage can not be seperated any more. It may be called a "Second Heaven" because the "two candles of wax merge into one another so perfectly that there is one flame." "The water from the sky falls into the water of the river" and it is not possible to divide or distinguish the two waters any more.

Her poetical output lagged behind her prose-works both i quality and quantity. However, we can mark her epitaph borrowing from her verse:

"O Beauty, that doth far transcend
All other beauty! Thou dost deign
Without a wind, our hearts to pain,
Without a pang our wills to bend,
To hold all love for creatures vain."



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THE DATE OF THE SUKRANITI

By LALLANJI GOPAL

II

A strong argument for placing the Sukraniti in the nineteenth century is to be found in the rules (IV, 5, 216-31) relating to pleaders (niyogins). It is clear from these rules that the practice of engaging the services of a niyogin was a well-established one duly recognized in the judicial system as the most common way of fighting a case. The text says that niyogins should be appointed by plaintiffs and defendants who do not know the legal procedure, who are busy with other affairs, or who are otherwise incapacitated (IV, 5, 216-18). Friends, family members, and relatives are said to represent the case only as second alternatives (IV, 5, 219-21). The niyogin is to be appointed by the party and not by the king at his will (IV, 5, 230). Only a man who knows the law and the procedure of lawsuits is to be appointed as niyogin; if a man who does not know these yet receives fees (bhrti) as a niyogin he should be punished by the King. (IV, 5, 228-9). The niyogin is to receive as his fees 1|16, 1|20, 1|40, 1|80 or 1|160 of the value of the property or amount in dispute, becoming less and less as the claim in dispute becomes higher or if the same person serves as niyogin for many litigants (IV, 5, 224-7). Such a regular practice of pleading with the fees of the pleaders also regulated by law is not known for any period of Indian history before the establishment of British rule. The only reference in the entire range of the legal literature of ancient times which suggests some rudimentary form of pleading is a story appearing in the commentary of Ashaya.[26] It was the Bengal Regulation VII of 1793 which for the first time promulgated laws about the privileges, fees and responsibilities of lawyers. Significantly enough, the fees for pleaders suggested in the Sukraniti are similar to those laid down in the Bombay Regulation XIV of 1802. The rates specified in Section IX of this Regulation follow the principle that the percentage of the amount to be paid as fees to the pleader decreases as the amount increases, but the rates are 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 3|4, and 1|2 per cent.[27]

According to the Sukraniti the King is to maintain an adopted son in the interests of his territory as well as his subjects (II, 65-6). In the entire range of Indian legal literature the question of a King having an adopted son has never assumed any importance. History also does not show any such practice. An adopted son was needed for offering funeral oblations, but he could hardly have any great significance in a kingdom which was not always governed by rules of succession. It was only after the coming of the East India Company and the promulgation of the Doctrine of Lapse that the question assumed a vital importance for the state. We wonder if the reference in the Sukraniti reflects a mind agitated over this much discussed question of the time and finding solace in justifying the practice of contemporary Indian rulers.

The Sukraniti says that a King should take away both the kingdom and all the property of other rulers who do not act according to niti, establish courts in the territories of conquered rulers, and give them pensions according to their character.[28] The text adds that a king should maintain dispossessed rulers in order to display his own majesty by the bestowal of honours on them if they are well-behaved, but he should punish them if they are wicked (IV, 7,808-9). The ground for attacking a ruler contemplated here hardly finds a reference in the ancient legal texts. It looks like the justification offered by the East India Company when it deposed petty Indian kings on the ground that their administration was not functioning well. Though ancient texts also speak of a conqueror as reorganizing the administration of the conquered kingdom, the reference in the Sukraniti only to the establishment of courts in the conquered territories may remind us of the policy of the East India Company in such cases, which was to establish regular courts of justice in place of the existing arbitrary laws. Thus, Bombay Regulation XI of 1814 provides for the administration of justice within the territories of the Harbour

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of Malwan ceded to the East India Company by the Raja of Kolhapur by the agreement concluded on 1 October 1812.* The legal works of India never think in terms of granting pensions to conquered rulers. They advocate the policy of reducing other kings to the status of a tributary or of rooting out the defeated dynasty and assimilating the kingdom to the empire of the conqueror or else making a member of the defeated family his subordinate ruler in the conquered territory. The treatment advocated in the Sukraniti may reflect the East India Company's policy of deposing petty rulers and sanctioning them a maintenance allowance. The policy of maintaining dispossessed rulers to show one's own power and of bestowing honours on them would look like the British policy of patronizing such rulers, and of displaying the might of the British empire through the majestic Indian Rajas who often received grand titles and honours from the Crown.

The Sukraniti says that after conquering the enemy, the king should realize revenue from a portion of the territory or from the whole, and then gratify the subjects (IV, 7,751-2). There is no parallel to this advice in the theory or practice of ancient India, but the Marathas often forced defeated rulers to yield them the right to collect the revenue from certain parts of the conquered state. The East India Company also often compelled defeated Indian rulers to transfer to them by way of compensation or penalty the revenues of certain districts.

The Sukraniti advises a king never to allow a territory very near his own to be made over to another (IV, 7,746). In ancient political thought we find the theory of mandala, based on the possible combination of friendly and antagonistic neighbours, but nowhere do we find any advice or right like that in the Sukraniti. The known history of ancient times does not show any occasion when such a claim was asserted. On the contrary the East India Company is known to have definitely claimed a right over the neighbouring smaller states, treated as portectorates, and it backed up its claim whenever there arose any dispute about the occupation of these states by another power.

The Sukraniti says that a king should not destroy a gang or community of criminals all at once if there be a whole group of offenders, but should extirpate them one by one (IV, 1,223-4). This is no doubt realistic and co... sense advice and could have been suggest... any thinker in any age. It is, however, in... ing to note that the East India Company fol... this very practice in destroying the po... criminal communities of Pindaris and Thu...

In this connexion we may note a... statement in the Sukraniti, that the unity ... of thieves can lead to the destruction of ... State (V, 116). In ancient works we ... references to thieves and robbers attacking ... people and sometimes even armies on ... journeys, especially through the forests, and ... ing cities and villages. But we find no sugge... that such anti-social elements threatened ... existence of the state or gathered political p... and influence. We may, therefore, suggest ... the author of the Sukraniti was thinking of ... Pindaris and Thugs, especially the former, ... had assumed political importance and ha... come a force to be reckoned with, threat... the existence of smaller states and even cha... ing the power of the mighty East India Com...

The Sukraniti says that if thieves steal so... thing from another kingdom by the king's co... they should first give one-sixth to the king ... then divide the rest among themselves (IV, ... 610-11). The employment of trained robbers ... harass an enemy was no doubt a time-hono... custom among the Hindus.[30] It is not unlik... however,, that the author of the Sukraniti in... corporating this advice in his text was think... of the predatory hoardes of Pindaris who d... the Peshwa period shared their spoils with ... State which employed and protected them.[31]

Eleswhere the text offers the advice th... king should never trust another king, whose ... fidence has been won, and should never meet ... in his house or in some lonely place when ac... panied by only a few troops (V, 27-8). We ... not find this particular piece of advice to king... any early source. We feel that it owes its o... to the incident in which Afzal Khan committed ... identical mistake and suffered death at the ha... of Shivaji

Another piece of advice given by the Suk... niti in this connetion is that the king sho... always keep beside him men who are very m... like himself in dress and form; he should ha... a secret sign to distinguish himsef, and at ... should look like another person (V, 29... This advice also is not to be found in any s...

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rom ancient India. European history knows some ases of this and similar practices. In India, Rana ratapa was once saved by one of his chiefs who imself put on the royal emblems when the forer's life was threatened in a battle. Shivaji also caped from many attempts on his life through hers being mistaken for him.

Though the use of false diplomacy, unscrulous strategy, and deceit is referred to in some the earlier texts, such a policy is not wholly pproved of and is recommended only in excepional cases. In normal circumstances the ideal f righteous and chivalric war is to be followed, ccording to these texts. As against this the ukraniti is full of advice to resort to cunning, eceitful, and underhand means (IV, 7, 370-6, 74-5, 480, 482-3, 489-92, 494-5, 572-3, 581-3, 94-700, 725-33, 742-4, 747-8). These are mened in our text without any suggestion of stigma ttached to them and as regular and widely prelent political measures. Shivaji in his many ars put into practice most of these tactics. The istory of the Deccan after the coming of the uropeans reveals a period when wars were not ught according to the principles of righteousss, and when treachery and vile tactics were reted to in the manner advocated by our text. e cannot help feeling that the Sukraniti reflects e practice of this period and, taking a lesson om this, the text for the first time in Indian hisry advocates these as the ideal means of gaining ictory.

The Sukraniti enumerates ten prakrtis dvisers) as functioning under a king (II, 141-). It then adds that according to some the numer of prakrtis associated with a king is eight, hose names are Sumantra, Pandita, Mantri, Prahana, Saciva, Amatya, Pradvivaka, and Pratinidhi II, 145-7). In earlier legal texts there are many aditions about the number of ministers forming e council of a King.[32] But the author of the ukraniti singles out for special reference the view hat the council of ministers should consist of ight. It is interesting to compare this list with e Astapradhanas (council of eight ministers) hich assisted Shivaji.[33] In the latter case also e find Amatya, Saciva, Mantri, and Sumantra. here should be no difficulty in equating Pradhana nd Pandita of the Sukraniti respectively with ukhya Pradhana and Pandita Rao of Shivaji's me. Likewise the Pradvivaka of the Sukraniti ay be the same as the Nyayadhisa of Shivaji. The only difference in the two lists is that whereas the Sukraniti has the Pratinidhi we find the Senapati under Shivaji. There can be only two possibilities to explain the close similarity of the two lists. Either Shivaji based the composition of his council on the advice of the Sukraniti or the author of the Sukraniti knew the administrative machinery of Shivaji. We feel that the second suggestion is more likely because the Sukraniti seems to recognize the historicity of the system by making a special reference to it alone and not to other systems. And if Shivaji had formed his council according to the advice of the Sukraniti, he would have included ten advisers, which is the number originally advocated in the text.

In the matter of military organization the Sukraniti reveals many modern features : the fighting profession is thrown open to all and is not the monopoly or preserve of a particular group or caste (II, 276-80, 865-8); military officers are ranked according as they are heads of 5 or 6, 30, 100, 1,000 and 10,000 foot-soldiers (II, 281-5); appropriate uniforms are prescribed for the different ranks of officers (II, 296); military parades (vyuhabhyasa) should be held twice every day, in the morning and the evening (II, 286-7); the king annually withdraws money from the soldiers for their accoutrements (IV, 7, 59);[34] military men should be kept away from civilians by stationing the troops outside the village, by not allowing them to enter the village without a royal permit, and by preventing any credit transactions between troops and villagers (IV, 7, 763-4, 772; V, 180-2);[35] separate supply establishments should be maintained for the army and the goods intended for the army should be reserved for the soldiers (IV, 7, 765);[36] soldiers should be restricted only to military functions and not be appointed to any other tasks besides warfare (V, 185); military regulations should be communicated to the soldiers every eighth day (IV, 7, 768); soldiers should not point to the defects of their commanders (IV, 7, 773-4);[37] soldiers are required to keep their arms, weapons, and uniforms bright (IV, 7,775); provision is made for the king to receive acknowledgments of the receipts of wages from the soldiers, and to give them forms specifying the amount of their wages (IV, 7, 783-5); and soldiers are to receive half-pay when under training (IV, 7,786-7). The text lays down that before beginning an expendition a king should make his soldiers drink invigorating wines (IV, 7, 709). Though wine-

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drinking was popular among warriors in ancient times, we do not find in early sources any advice like that found in the Sukraniti. On the other hand, this practice seems to have been quite common in the European armies. Thus, ch. IX in the Bombay Regulation XXII of 1827 contains rules relating to the sale of spirituous liquors at military stations and during a march.[38] But more important than these are the passages which mention the relative proportion of the constituents of an army (IV, 7, 41-6) and the numerical strength of the different elements of the military establishment of a ruler whose income is a lac of karsas (IV, 7, 47-52). The proportion of infantry to cavalry is given as 4 : 1. We do not find this ratio in any evidence from ancient India, but it is interesting to note that this very proportion was advocated and established by Napoleon.[39] It is not unlikely that some military ideas from Revolutionary and Napoleonic France were imbibed by the Marathas of Gwalior through Commendant De Boigne or by the ruling circles of Hyderabad through General Raymond, or were learnt by Tipu, an ally and friend of Nepoleon.[40] Again, it is clear that the Sukraniti definitely advocates a policy of restricting the number of elephants in the army. The relative proportion of the constituents of the army is 4 foot-soldiers. I horse, 1|5 bullock, 1|8 camel, 1|32 elephant, and 1|64 chariot. This reads very strangely, because though Indians in ancient times lost many battles owing to their elephants, all ancient texts are unanimous in eluogizing elephants in warfare and recommend their being employed in the largest possible numbers. It was the English army which decried dependence on elephants and the Indians learnt the lessons of their earlier mistakes only from history books written after the coming of the English. Elephants do not appear to have formed a prominent feature of the Maratha army under Shivaji, Sambhaji, or Rajaram.[42] Likewise though chriots seem to have gone out of use in Indian wars long before,[43] they continued to find reference in works of the medieval period.[44]

The Sukraniti enjoins a ruler with the income of a lac of karsas to have a reserve force of 100 men, well-accoutred and decently equipped with weapons and missiles, and a main force of 300 foot-soldiers (IV, 7, 47-52). The idea of keeping a reserve force does not seem to have been very fashionable in ancient India. On the contrary Indian armies are known to have lost a few ing line the Sukraniti expresses a very

battles because their enemies surprised them overwhelmed them together with their forces.

The Sukraniti does not mention the (guild) army in its classifications of according to the sources from which they drawn (IV, 7, 17-30). The troops supplied srenis continue to be mentioned in the Indian texts down to the Rajanitiratnakara of Candesvara, of the fourteenth century. a man of the nineteenth century the remark guild system of ancient India was not a reality, nor was it present in the historical as Indological research was still in its Hence the very idea of the troops of the would have seemed irrational to the author Sukraniti, who therefore avoided making ference to them.

A significant feature of the administ contemplated in the Sukraniti, which may an index for its date, is the regular use of documents for many purposes. Thus, it that the king should inform the subjects about laws after beating the state drum to call the together, and also by posting written notices the cross-roads (1, 625). Th provision in Sukraniti about giving wide publicity to state clamations by posters in public places thoroughly modern. Again, the Sukraniti a king to receive in written form the opinion each of his ministers separately with all arguments, to compare them with his own opi and then to do what is accepted by the ma (1,732-3). In earlier legal works, though the is said to consult his ministers, we nowhere any reference to his asking for their w opinions. Generally the earlier references s ly advise that the king should seek the minis advice separately and in secret,[45] thereby mi ing that he was to consult them orally. Later the Sukraniti (II, 582-7) dismisses oral altogether from the administrative machinery postulates that every administrative measure be based on a written order. It says that the servant is not to do anything without the written order, nor should the king command thing great or small without a written order it is human to forget, a written document best guide. Both the king who commands out writing and the officer who does without written orders are thieves. In the

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conception, based on the use of written documents which has a very modern approach. It says that the written document with the king's seal is the real king; the king is not the king. The system envisaged in the text is characteristically modern when the Sukranit.i (II, 591-6) requires an amatya, prince, or others to submit a written report of the work to which they have been appointed once a day, month, or year, or after many years. It advises the officer to keep a memorandum or precis of the written orders passed by the King, for with time men forget or confuse things. The text further suggests an administrative procedure like that of the modern secretariat, by which a document was passed by a succession of officers before it received the approval of the King (II, 729-44). In the land grants of Bengal we do find expressions to indicate that they were seen or examined by officers before they received the royal assent.[46] But these grants do not imply a regular hierarchy of officers scrutinizing and submitting their notes on a draft before it received the approval of the King.

It is clear from the text that the principle of budgeting was very widespread in its times. The annual expenditure is distributed among different heads to which are assigned fixed shares in the total income. Thus, it mentions the respective proportion of the income of a village to be appropriated for different heads with the annual deposit of the surplus amounting to half of the total income (I, 631-5). Later on the text mentions the monthly expenditure of a ruler with an annual income of a lac of karsas on seven items and assumes regular saving (IV, 7, 53-8). This practice of allocating shares of income to be spent on different items would seem to be a modern one. The earlier texts do not envisage a system of budgeting according to a deliberate scheme based on the respective importance of different items. The text gives practical details about the technique of keeping accounts (II, 745-73). This is also without any parallel in any other source.

The labour laws in the Sukraniti are remarkably modern in approach. The text anticipates modern ideas of popular welfare by voicing the need for an equitable rate of wages for labourers. Moderate remuneration is said to be that which supplies the indispensable food and clothing (avasyaposyabharana). Good wages are those by which food and clothing are adequately supplied (samannachadanarthika). Low wages are those by which only one person can be maintained (II, 799-802). Wages are to be so fixed that the worker may maintain those who are his compulsory charges (avasyaposyavarga) (II, 805-6). The Sukraniti even evinces ideas suggesting the fear of the masses, characteristic of much of the political thought of England and Europe generally around the time of the Battle of Waterloo. It describes workers getting low wages as enemies by nature, auxiliaries to others, always looking for opportunities for trouble and plunderers of treasure and people (II, 807-8). It is to be noted that the remuneration given to the Civil Servants of the East India Company from the very beginning until towards the end of the eighteenth century was far from satisfactory. This produced much discontent. The Civil Servants had to resort to corrupt and nefarious practices which often were detrimental to the interests of the Company. This was a source of great worry to the Company and many efforts were made to raise the moral standard of services. With a view to obtaining from the Civil Servants a high standard of public ethics and unflinching devotion to public business alone Cornwallis insisted on giving them decent salaries.[47] The Sukraniti mentions many provisions giving benefits to servants. Leave of absence for recreation and on the occasion of festivities is provided for (II, 815-18). The servant is given sickness benefit also. No part of the wages is to be deducted if the illness lasts for half a fortnight. A servant who has given one year's service is not to be dismissed during sickness, but should be relieved by a substitute. A highly qualified servant is to receive half his regular wages during sickness (II, 822-4). After five years' service a servant is entitled to three months earned leave on full pay. The maximum leave with full pay which can be claimed on medical grounds is six months (II, 819-21). A servant is to receive a respite of fifteen days in a year (II, 825), which significantly compares with the modern rules about casual leave in the administrative services. There are also rules about old age pensions. A man who has served for 40 years should have a pension for life at the rate of half his wages. In the case of his death the pension is to be enjoyed by his minor and incapable son or by his wife and his well-behaved daughters (II, 826-9). Like the modern bonus system a servant is to receive one-eighth of his salary by

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way of reward every year (II, 830-1). If the servant dies on account of his work his son while still a minor is to enjoy the same salary or a remuneration according to his own qualifications (II, 832-3). There is provision for a scheme resembling the modern provident fund. The master is to withhold one-sixth or one-fourth of his servant's wages and to pay half of that amount or the whole in two or three years (II, 834-5). These regulations suggest nothing more than those of the East India Company or the Civil Service of the British period.[48]

The society reflected in the Sukraniti is very near to the modern capitalistic society in the sense that surplus capital wherever it may be is seeking good investment ; the loans spoken of in the text are mainly thought of as contracted for productive investment in business. The Sukraniti advises a creditor to satisfy himself that the debtor is capable of transacting business, even on loans with interest (III, 384-5). It further advises that a lender should advance money to a merchant who intends to start a business and without demanding interest should enter the business as a partner, sharing the profits equally (IV, 5,630). In the case of a conquered territory the text suggests that after giving a maintenance grant to the conquered king, the conqueror may invest the rest of the income from the conquered territory, or half of it, at interest (IV, 7,806-7). Elsewhere it observes that the king should always pay interest on property in his custody belonging to the senseless, the blind, and infants (V, 140). Neither the legal texts nor the existing records indicate that in ancient times there was at any period such an acute demand for capital as to justify these novel rules in the Sukraniti. Moreover, against the unanimous opinion of the legal works that the maximum interest admissible is equal to the principal itself,[49] which rule the Sukraniti itself gives (IV, 5,631-2) in another context (V, 192-3), it is suggested that a creditor could obtain from the debtor four times the principal. This is not to be found in any other legal work.[50]

On the basis of the inclusion of zinc (ranga) in the list of seven metals appearing in the Sukraniti (IV, 2,173-5), B. K. Sarkar,[51] following the date for the introduction of zinc put forward by P. C. Ray, suggested the fourteenth century as one of the limits for the chronology of the text. Later on the text mentions jasada, another metal distinct from tin, lead, and zinc (IV, 5,646-8, 658-9). This is evidently jasada, zinc alloy or pewter, a modern Indian derivative of the Persian word jast. The term has a Sanskrit derivation and indicates a late date for the text.

The Sukraniti defines itihasa as that science (vidya) which narrates past events in the form of the actions of kings (IV, 3,102-3). The term itihasa etymologically signifies an event of the past or a puravritta, being formed from iti-ha-asa (or so it really was). In later Sanskrit literature it simply means myth, legend, story, and is frequently used in conjunction with, and as a synonym of, such common equivalents of 'story' as akhyana, akhyayika, and katha.[52] The Arthasastra (I, 5 : p. 10) explains itihasa as a collective term including under it purana, itivritta, akhyayika, udaharana, dharmasastra and arthasastra. In the Mahabharata, itihasa is defined as an event of olden time, conjoined with a fable and provided with a demonstration of duty, profit, love, and final emancipation,[53] which thus emphasizes its didactic purpose under its narrative guise. A verse quoted by Sridharasvamin in his commentary on the Visnupurana (III, 4, 10) defines itihasa as containing detailed accounts as told by sages and others, lives of gods and seers, and wonderful pious stories of the future. The conception of itihasa in the Sukraniti is not in line with the descriptions and definitions of it found in early texts. It is very near to the conception of history prevailing in the West in the early years of the nineteenth century and placing an over-emphasis on political details as against social and cultural history which has come to be considered important only recently.

There are indications to suggest that the Sukraniti does not believe in the old ideal of the laws in the sacred texts having lasting validity ; on the contrary it speaks of the law undergoing frequent changes and of new enactments overriding the sastric injunctions. Thus, it describes the duty of the officer called Pandita as being to study the laws obtaining in society in ancient and modern times, those that have been ordained in sacred texts, those now opposed, and those which militate against the customs of the people (IV, 200-2). Later on it says that owing to the difference of opinion of new and old authorities [illegible]

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is undergoing changes every moment (III, 648-9). The Sukraniti seems to represent the view-point of the early British legislators and administrators who recognized the authority of the Smriti laws without treating them as eternally valid, and transformed them or replaced them by new laws if they went against their own ideals and concepts and the long standing customs and practices of different social groups.[54]

In its treatment of the caste system the Sukraniti reveals a characteristically modern and realistic approach. It refers to the division of the society into four varnas (II, 868 : IV, 3, 21 ; IV, 4, 66-8), and to there being an infinite number of castes owing to their intermixtures, both anuloma and pratiloma (IV, 3, 22-3 ; II, 868), but it is not at all concerned with the theory of castes and its corollary explaining the other social, functional, and ethnic groups as resulting from the union of particular males and females. The latter claims much space in earlier legal texts, but the Sukraniti, with its realistic approach, brushes aside the theoretical explanation of the caste system without giving any detailed consideration to it. Probably the author of the Sukraniti indulges in sarcasm in adding that only those who regard caste differences as due to birth know the differences in their names and occupations (IV, 3, 24-5). Elsewhere he openly discards the generally accepted view that birth is the test of caste and describes the castes in the terms of their virtues and occupations and enumerates the various qualities of each (1, 75-88). The Sukraniti reflects a general weakening of the rigours of the caste system. It says that by qualities and occupations high and low orders are created in course of time (IV, 3, 29) and that castes are named after their respective learning and occupation)IV, 3, 30). According to the Sukraniti family and caste are to be considered only in marriage and dining (II, 113). Work, character and merit are to be respected and superiority is not established by caste or family (II, 111-12). Hence in appointing councillors the king should not merely consider their caste or family (II, 110). After enumerating the qualities to be sought in councillors the text says that men having these qualities should be appointed irrespective of their caste (II, 333-6). Elsewhere also it advises the king to appoint men from all castes who have qualities required for their respective posts (IV, 5, 33-4). It does not subscribe to the view that certain occupations are the monopoly of special castes. Thus, though preferring a Ksatriya or Brahmana as commander of the forces, it says that the commander is to be selected from any caste and adds that fighting is the duty of the four main castes as well as of the mixed castes. In an earlier context it has already advised that commanders and soldiers should be selected from any caste (II, 276-80). The caste groups display much elasticity in the matter of occupations in the sense that over and above their traditional duties (IV, 3, 31-5) the text speaks of many other callings as legitimate for the different castes (IV, 3, 37 ; II, 862-4).

Oppert[55] compiled a long list of passages found in Sanskrit works identical with, and parallel to, verses contained in the Sukraniti. It would appear that the author of the Sukraniti took many verses, often verbatim, from a number of sources including the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the smritis of Manu, Narada, Yajnavalkya, Visnu, and Parasara, the Mitaksara, the Hitopadesa, and the Panchatantra. In several places the Sukraniti uses many long passages from the Kamandakiya. Of these in any case the passages found in the Kamandakiya also were obviously borrowed and cannot be explained in any other fashion. The author of the Kamandakiya (I, 2-8) explicitly confesses that his work is of the nature of a scholar's compilation based primarily on the Arthasastra of Kautilya and that he collects the views of Kautilya under convenient titles ; hence it does not seem likely that he would have taken so many passages from the Sukraniti without any acknowledgment.

Another point which also suggests the late date of the Sukraniti is that, apart from the indirect points of resemblance through the Kamandakiya which borrows from the Arthasastra, the Sukraniti is not aware of the contents of the work of Kautilya. We cannot trace any significant parallels between the two works, although the ground covered by them is almost identical. To illustrate our point we may say that the Sukraniti, though it is monarchistic, does not think in terms of state-conducted enterprise, industry, and commerce whereas the Arthasastra conceives of the State as actively participating in economic production. This omission is to be explained by the fact that the text of the Arthasastra was lost, and it was only after the chance discovery by R. Shamasastry in 1904 that the world came to know of it.

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It is, therefore, natural that the Sukraniti should be free from the influence of the Arthasashra, if the former is a nineteenth-century composition.

In order to estabish the authenticity of the Sukraniti Oppert[56] compared certain references to the views of Usanas in the Mahabharata, Harivamsa, Panchatantra, and Kamandakiya with those in the present text of the Sukraniti. But in none of the references given by Oppert do we find the name of the text as Sukraniti ; on the contrary Usanas was the more usual form of the name of the sage than Sukra. It is significant that there is no single reference to or quotation from the Sukraniti in any of the commentaries and digests of the early medieval period.[57] The earliest work to cite the niti or rajaniti of Sukra is the Rajanitiratnakara of Candesvara (pp. 42, 70, 72, 76 f.), but his quotations cannot be traced in the available text of the Sukraniti. This fact may also be utilized to determine the date of the available text of the Sukraniti. The Rajanitiratnakara was composed in the fourteenth century, but came to light in 1918. The text does not appear to have been much known outside Bihar from whence come its manuscripts.[58] Obviously we cannot expect the author of the Sukraniti to have known the Rajanitiratnakara if he lived in the nineteenth century.

To prove that the Sukraniti existed in the eleventh century B. P. Mazumdar[59] has pointed out that ten verses from the work of Bhargava as quoted in the Nitikalpataru[60] ascribed to Ksemendra can be traced to the printed edition of the Sukraniti.[61] V. P. Mahajan,[62] who has edited the Nitikalpataru, regards the Nitikalpataru, like the Lokaprakasa, as a work of a later date attributed to Ksemendra to gain sanction and authority for it. Even if some original verses and a part of the commentary are ascribed to Ksemendra, the text in its present from contains so many additions of a late date that it is difficult to determine the portions which are definitely his. Of the ten verses quoted in the Nitikalpataru v. 52 seems to be ascribed to Varahacarya, verses 53 to 57 and the first line of verse 58 to Usanas, and the second line of verse 58 and verses 59 to 61 to Bhargava. The fact that, even though the verses are continuous in sense, the author of the Nitikalpataru had to bring in the name of Bhargava as distinct from Usanas from whom he was quoting, clearly indicates that he treated these as two different authors. Hence it would follow that the Nitikalpataru did not borrow these verses from one single [illegible] the Sukraniti. We may suggest that the Sukraniti and the Nitikalpataru were alike drawing from the same common source.

We thus find that the present Sukraniti is the work of a man of the nineteenth century who had a thorough knowledge of the [illegible] administrative measures, and policies of the East India Company, especially those of the Bombay coast, and who was well-informed on Maratha history. He knew the ancient Sanskrit texts on the subject well and drew upon them to [illegible] his account and impart to it an ancient character. It is not unlikely that he had in his possession a copy of an old Sukraniti in some form, though such a work appears to have early receded from public study and attention. But, if this is the case he completely transformed the nature of the text.

The striking parallelism between our text and that it was composed towards the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century would suggest that it was composed towards the end of the latter half of the century. A study of the extant manuscripts of the text yields an upper limit for its date. All the dated manuscripts belong to the third quarter of the century, two of the earliest from the Oriental Institute, Baroda, and the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, being respectively dated in 1851 and 1852.

It is difficult to speak of the motives which actuated the modern writer of the Sukraniti. He may have aimed at pleasing a liberal Sahib who was interested in unearthing lost Sanskrit texts. By presenting a polity in conformity with the practices of the East India Company he may have wanted to earn the good will of his officers, or else in a patriotic spirit wished to trace some of the details of the administrative machinery of the East India Company back to ancient India.

Speaking about the Sukraniti as a specimen text Professor Raghavan has pointed out that its "suspect character" "is stengthened by a recent group of such texts which were palmed off on the credulous Gustav Oppert."[64] But as regards the Sukraniti the stricture on Oppert is misplaced. Long before Oppert first took any notice of the text it had been made public by others. It was not Oppert but his predecessor Mr. Sesagiri Sastri who bought a manuscript copy of it for the Government Manucript Library, Madras, as far back as 1871.[65] In the year 1882, which saw the publi-

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tion of the Sukraniti by Oppert, another independent edition was brought out by J. Vidyasagar from Calcutta. Even before that, in 1876, an edition was published from Alibagh under the orders of the Holkar King Jukojirao Manuscripts of this text are not confined to Madras, but are reported from differtnt parts of India.

These manuscripts further suggest that in the second half of the nineteenth century the present text of the Sukraniti was not regarded as a forgery in the modern sense of the term. The legal traditions in India reveal flexibility in the sense that the commentaries and digests which became fashionable in the post-Harsa period aimed at from time to time adapting the laws to changed conditions by new interpretations, rearrangement, or cataloguing with a particular emphasis in view. A work of this kind was often produced under a certain ruler, who in some cases is specifically said to have ordered its composition, and it was meant to guide him on legal issues. The Sukraniti is presented as an original work, and not in the form of a commentary or a digest, and does not refer to its composition as being ordered by any particular king. In this respect it seems to be in the tradition of the Smritis known under the name of Manu, Yajnavalkya, and other sages. It is well known that these smritis in the form in which they are now available cannot be the work of the sages whose names are associated with them. These works were evidently not forgeries in the modern sense and, as with the pseudoepigraphical literature of other ancient cultures, the names of the sages were prefixed to give the texts an air of authority. Likewise the author of the present Sukraniti cannot be charged with forgery. He produced a niti text which was brought up-to-date by incorporating even the most recent information, and used the name of Sukra because of his reputation as one of the foremost authorities on niti,[66] according to an ancient convention which even in his own day had not wholly disappeared.

This type of Sanskrit composition was very common during the early period of British rule. The British patronized Sanskrit scholars and encouraged them to prepare legal treaties for the use of the British Government. Whereas some of these works were certainly or almost certainly produced at the request of the British, others were written in response to the new situation created by the methods of British administration.[67] It is interesting to note that certain of these Sanskrit Jurists, for instance Jagannatha, assimilated some of the constitutional charges of the times, and adjusted the Indian legal tradition to some of the developments initiated by the British administration. It would appear that the present Sukraniti was also composed with a desire to assimilate certain features of the administration of the East India Company with the system described in the traditional Indian works on the subject.

We can suggest another possible motive for the production of such a work. It is well known that the East India Company often took charge of the administration of its subordinate rulers on the pretext that they were not efficient and just. It might be that some such Indian ruler, by combining something of the East India Company's administration with ancient Indian practices, wished to convey the impression that his Government was based on sound and just principles.

At Tanjore in the first half of the nineteenth century we find many conditions and factors which could create the necessary mood and also the ability to undertake the production of the present Sukraniti. Several generations of the Maharajas of Tanjore had earned a reputation for their attempt to fashion their administration after the strict orthodox tradition.[68] The greatest of these rulers was Maharaja Serfoji (A.D. 1800-32), followed by Shivaji (A.D. 1832-55). Serfoji founded the Sarasvati Mahal Library which still treasures valuable ancient works. He patronized many scholars and started sabhas, manned by pandits who passed authoritative opinion on disputed points of law and religion. The Tanjore court employed the services of many pandits to undertake legal research and compile and codify legal treatises. On controversial legal issues the East India Company often solicited the opinion of these pandits. It is well-known that the East India Company made severa attempts to annex the state of Tanjore on different pretexts, ultimately succeeding in its designs. It may be conjectured that the Tanjore Maharajas, whose adminstration was based on the orthodox system, wished to suggest that this was not arbitrary but was based on principles similar to those of the East India Company. The Tanjore Maharajas were Maratha rulers, which explains the intimate knowledge of Maratha history and polity reflected in the Sukraniti. But unfortunately the Sarasvati Mahal Library does not seem to have any manus-

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cript copy of the text to establish this suggested origin.

As the facts stand it appears more probable that the text originated in the Maratha state of Baroda. It is significant that the earliest dated manuscript of he Sukraniti (A.D. 1851) comes from Baroda. This would also suit the fact that the Sukrañiti revels coser affinities to the Bombay Regulations of the East India Company than to those from Bengal or Madras.

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26. On Narada, Rnadana 4.

27. Section XXV of the Madras Regulation XVI of 1816 as well as the Bengal Regulation XXVII of 1814 give the rates as 5, 2, 1, and 1|2 per cent.

28. 1,758-60. See also IV, 7,801-4 : After a territory has been acquired a king should grant to the conquered king maintenance beginning from the day of capture, giving also a pension equal to half of the king's allowance to his son and one of a quarter to his wife ; or he should pay a quarter to the princes if well qualified, or a thirty-second part.

* Bombay Regulation II of 1805 is of a similar nature.

29. F.I.S. Tuker, The Yellow Scarf (the story of the life of Thuggee, Sleeman), London, 1961.

30. Brihaspati, *SBE*, XXXIII, p. 241 ; *Artha*, VII. 14, VIII. 4.

31. S. N. Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 73 f.

32. Kane, *History of Dharmashastra*, III, 106 f.

33. J. G. Duff, *History of the Marathas*, I, p. 439 ; Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 125 f ; Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 411-13, has Danadhyaksha in place of Pandita Rao.

34. The modern practice is that the soldiers receive some amount for their uniforms ; but they do not get it. The soldiers cannot purchase uniforms in the open market. The State grants these to the soldiers in exchange for the allowance or part of pay fixed for them.

35. Section V of the Bombay Regulation VII of 1814 provides for compensation to landholders and other persons who sustain any injury from the march or encampment of troops. Sec. IX, Clause 5 of this Regulation forbids all persons to whom escorts may be allowed, to send sepoys or lascars into the village. Cf., Articles 1 and 2 under Section VII of Bomay Reg. II of 1829. Similar provisions are found in Sec. V, Clauses 1 and 2, and Sec. IX, Clause 7, of the Bengal Reg. XI of 1806 and Madras Reg. III of and Section VII, Articles 1-3 of the Reg. V of 1827. Bombay Reg. XXIII of prohibits money transactions between civil officers and certain natives, and these officers to employ their native cred official capacities without authority.

36. Ch. IV of the Bombay Reg. XXII 1827 provides for the appointment, fu and authority of the Superintendent of Sec. XIX of this Reg. lays down penalti receiving military equipment or stores. Sec. VI of Bombay Reg. II of 1829. Se Madras Regs. VI of 1809 and VII of 18 VI of Madras Reg. V of 1827, prohibits from selling, misapplying, or wilfully da military stores.

37. See Madras Reg. V of 1827, Art. 2 for the penalty for disrespectful be to the Commander-in-Chief and Art. 5 for ing or drawing any weapon against a su officer or disobeying orders.

38. See Madras Regulations VI of 18 of 1827, and VII of 1832 for preventing undue use of liquors by soldiers.

39. E. A. Altham, *Principles of W* p. 43.

40. B. K. Sarkar, *Positive Backgrou Hindu Sociology*, II, p. 66.

41. IV, 7, 41-4, 47-52. See *ibid*, 456 : king should have in the army of predom of foot-soldiers, a medium quantity of hors small number of elephants, and equal nu of mullocks and camels, but never elephan excess.

42. S. N. Sen, *Military System o Marathas*, p. 76.

43. Chakravarti, *Art of War in A India*, p. 26 ; Dikshitar, *War in Ancient I* p. 166.

44. *Rajanitiratnakara*, p. 40 ; *Krityak taru, Rajadharma*, p. 95 ; *Yutikalpataru*, v. 45.

45. *Artha*, I, 15. See also *Manu*, VII, 50 ! *Yaj*, I, 344 ; *Kamandakiya* XI, 53 ; *Agnipurana*, CCXXV, 19.

46. See IB, III, 132-9, for the endorse on the Madanpada grant of Visvarupasena.

47. A. K. Ghoshal, *Civil Service in I under the East India Company*, Calcutta, 38 ff., 228 ff.

48. The amount of privilege leave admis at one time is limited to three calendar mo —*A Manual of Rules and Regulations Ap to Members of the Covenanted Civil Service India*, compiled by C. H. Sampson, Calc 1885, p. 177, r. 71. An officer on pri

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...e is entitled to a leave allowance equal to the ...ry which he would receive if he were on duty ...the appointment on which he has a lien—*ibid*, ...180, r. 76. Four per cent shall be deducted ...the time of payment from every officer's pay. ...rules about annuity see *ibid*, p. 218 ff.

...9. *Gautama*, XII, 28 ; *Visnu*, VI, 11 ; ...*a*, III, 11 ! *Manu*, VIII, 151 ! *Yaj*, II, 39 ; ...*ada*, IV, 107 ! *Katyayana*, 509.

...50. On loans of articles of use where the ...erest is to be paid in kind the total recoverable ...s eight, five, four or three times. Kane, ...*tory of Dharmashastra*, III, 422 f.

...51. *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, ...114 f.

...52. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ...*V. Itihasa* ; *JBORS*, X, p. 327.

53. *Dharmarthakamamoksanam upadesa-samanvitam.*
Purvavrittam kathayuktamitihasam pracaksate.
Quoted in V. M. Apte's *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, revised by P. K. Gode and C. G. Karve, *S. V. Itihasa.*

54. Cf., *Katyayana*, vv. 35-51. See *Manu*, ...21, with *Medhatithi*.

...55. *Sukraniti*, pp. 246-81.

...56. *On the Weapons, Army Organisation, ...d Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, ...37-41. Also *Sukraniti* preface, p. vi.

57. *Yuklikalpataru*, p. 2, makes only a ...neral reference to *Ausanasi-niti*.

58. *Rajanitiratnakara*, Introduction, pp. 9-10.

59. *Socio-economic History of Northern India*, Preface, p. xi. See *Nitikalpataru*, p. 278 f.

60. P. 193 f. (Section 98, vv. 52-61).

61. IV, 7, 248-70, leaving out 11.255, 258. We have found that two further verses quoted in the *Nitikalpataru* (p. 185, vv. 16-17) as being from the work of Bhargava also appear in the *Sukraniti* (IV, 7, 77-8, 83-4).

62. Introduction, p. xi. Professor Raghavan (*op. cit.*, p. 6, n. 9) points out that the *Niti-kalpataru* underwent amplification up to the time of Maharajah Ranbir Singh of Kashmir.

63. Cf., K.A.N. Sastri in *JIH*, XXXIX, p. 197.

64. *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

65. G. Oppert, *On the Weapons, Army Organisation, and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, p. 43, n, 82.

66. Sukra is regarded as the guru of the demons. We wonder if the modern writer of the *Sukraniti* deliberately used the name of Sukra with the implication that the present age with so many Yavanas, including Muslims and Europeans, is a very advanced stage of the Kali age when the preceptor of the demons had the greatest claim for being recognized as the chief authority.

67. J.D.M. Derrett, "Sanskrit legal treatises compiled at the instance of the British," *Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, LXIII, 1961, pp. 72-117.

68. J.D.M. Derrett, *op. cit.*, p. 102,

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MODERN REVIEW FIFTY-ONE YEARS AGO

Influence of Calcutta and Bengal

Let us bring together passages from Lord Hardinge's Despatch in which the influence of Calcutta and Bengal is referred to :

"On the other hand the peculiar political situation which has arisen in Bengal since the Partition makes it eminently desirable, that to withdraw the Government of India from its present provincial environment.....

"In the first place the development of the Legislative Council has made the withdrawal of the Supreme Council and the Government of India from the influence of local opinion a matter of ever-increasing urgency. Secondly, events in Bengal are apt to react on the Viceroy and the Government of India to whom the responsibility for them is often wrongly attributed. The connection is bad for the Government of India, bad for the Government of Bengal and unfair to the other provinces, whose representatives view with great and increasing jealousy the predominance of Bengal. Further, public opinion in Calcutta is not the same as that which obtains elsewhere in India, and it is undesirable that the Government of India should be subject exclusively to its influence.

"The Bengalis might not, of course, be favourably disposed to the proposal if it stood alone, for it will entail the loss of some of the influence which they now exercise owing to the fact that Calcutta is the headquarters of the Government of India. But, as we hope presently to show, they should be reconciled to the change by other features of our scheme which are specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengali sentiment. In these circumstances, we do not think that they would be so manifestly unreasonable as to oppose it and, if they did, might confidently expect that their opposition would raise no echo in the rest of India."

It will be observed that the influence of Calcutta and Bengal is spoken of as something from which it is necessary to escape. Why, we are not told explicitly.

Let us consider the opinion given in the first extract given above. Why is it necessary for the Government of India to withdraw from its present provincial environment? Have the Bengalis become so turbulent, or vociferous, or politically active that the Viceroy cannot think calmly and dispassionately in thier midst? If such vocal and strong public opinion must be everywhere a nuisance, and the capital of every country should be situated in a sanitarium far away from the noisy haunts of men. Or is it that the ruler of Bengal is required to be given a free hand to deal with the situation so that the Bengalis may be made to know their place? Or does the influence of Bengal go to weaken bureaucratic and autocratic methods and traditions? Or are the Bengalis so strong that life for four months in the year normally in their midst is harmful and unbearable? Of course, if the influence of Calcutta and Bengal be deleterious, it should be avoided. But if it be not worse than that of any other province, it is a condemnation to say that it is different from that of other regions.

Really we have not been able to understand why Bengal must be avoided. Calcutta and Bengal opinion is local opinion, provincial opinion; but every opinion, every influence, must be local, must be provincial. Suppose Bombay were the Capital. Would its opinion have been universal opinion, or would its opinion be simply opinion without a local habitation and a name? Would it not have been different in some respects from the opinion of other places? But, of course, if there be a place which has no opinion, that would perhaps be the ideal capital. Is Delhi that place? Then indeed has Lord Hardinge made a very happy selection.

But is it good either for the rulers or the ruled if the Government do not feel the pressure of any strong opinion? The reply will, perhaps, be that it is not good, followed by a rejoinder that at Delhi the Viceroy will really feel the opinions of the provinces conveyed to him by newspapers, memorials etc. Well, if that be so, why could he not do so during his four months stay in Calcutta and his eight months

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stay in Simla? The answer may be that Calcutta opinion is too insistent and vocal to allow other provincial opinions to have hearing. But have not recent enactments reduced all opinion to the level of emasculated journalism, the human **voice** of remonstrance or protest being seldom heard either in Calcutta or elsewhere? And suppose in the near future Delhi and its neighbourhood were to have a strong public opinion? Will there be in that case again a trek to some other somnolent city? Or is it possible to prevent the growth of public opinion in any area?

It is said that the representatives of other provinces view with great and increasing jealousy the predominance of Bengal. In the first place is Bengal really predominant? If so, is it the Government of India that has made her predominant? That cannot be, for the Bengali has long ceased to be in the good books of the Anglo-Indians. Has the Viceroy's four months' stay in Calcutta made Bengal predominant? Why then has not His Excellency's stay for twice the period in Simla made the province in which Simla is situated twice as predominant? In the second place is the Viceroy's connection with Calcutta really unfair to the other provinces? Can the capital be situated everywhere or can it be situated nowhere? Delhi itself and its neighbourhood will be an imperial province.

Why Bengal and Calcutta Are What They Are

Throughout the despatches of Lords Hardinge and Crewe there sems to be an underlying assumption that Bengal and Calcutta are what they are mainly owing to Calcutta being the capital of India for four months in the year. We would simply state what in our opinion are the factors that have contributed to the making of Bengal and Calcutta. They are, natural situation and physical features with their advantages and drawbacks; geological formation and the character of the soil; character of the people with their good features and bad; progressive efforts of the people; pre-British history of the province; British rule; Western education; British commercial enterprise; and, the Viceroy's stay in Calcutta as the Capital of India for four months in the year. This rough enumeration (in which the different factors may not be mutually exclusive according to the rulers of logical division) will show that after the transference of the Capital to Delhi all the factors at work will remain except the last. Our feeling is that if any adventitious circumstances made Bengal influential, it is good for Bengal to have an opportunity to know both her own native weakness and strength. Nothing gives so much strength as knowledge of reality and self-help.

Subject Exclusively To Its Influence

Lord Hardinge says in his despatch that "it is undesirable that the Government of India should be subject exclusively to" "Calcutta's influence."....We think Lord Hardinge has unconsciously and unintentionally exaggerated the importance and persistence of Calcutta opinion and influence.

Some are of the opinion that owing to the removal of the Capital to Delhi, Calcutta's trade will suffer; whilst others hold that it will undergo no serious diminution.....We find that the effort to divert some part of Calcutta's traffic to Chittagong has not been successful. So it seems to us now that the establishment of the Capital at Delhi will not seriously tell on the business of Calcutta.

Provincial Autonomy

It is said that the removal of the Capital to Delhi was the precursor of provincial autonomy. We should like to know what is precisely meant by this provincial autonomy. If it means that the **people** of every province through an elected majority of their representatives are to have an effective and controlling voice in legislation and administration, then it is welcome. But if it means that there are to be only the present nominal non-official majorities, and the provincial rulers and the bureaucracy are to have a freer hand than before in the Government of the provinces, then we do not see any cause for rejoicing.

The Modern Review, January, 1912

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A GLANCE THROUGH THE AMERICAN IMAGE OF INDIA'S POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT

By R. P. KAUSHIK

The dynamism of international politics reflects the workings of a variety of underlying forces in the lives of the nations. The foreign policy of a nation is the result of these pressures affecting her from within. A number of such forces, besides other factors, go to make up U.S. foreign policy. One should of course bear in mind the numerous kinds of influences and impacts she receives, either in formulating her national outlook in the inter-national field, or in developing an attitude towards the foreign policies of other countries, as towards India's policy of non-alignment.

There are a number of groups and organisations in the U.S. which show keen interest in the foreign affairs of various countries. The labour organisations, agricultural organisations, religious bodies, the press, the legislature, the official circles of the government and the academicians, all exert their influence on both domestic and foreign issues.[1] These forces remain alert and attentive enough to act and react on the situations in international politics. Sometimes, some of these forces may themselves be influenced by some other pervasive factors. Yet, in general, they exert their own pressures independently of any other factor. In an open society like the U.S., foreign affairs arouse a great deal of interest among the people and they utilise many channels to express their ideas on such issues. A major part of such an influence is exercised by the American scholars who, among others, are a potent factor towards such a pupose.

This leads us to a further analysis of the minds of the American people, and to find out the factors that condition their approach in regard to India's policy of non-alignment. One or two such factors would seem to provide serious limitations while evaluating India's policy of non-alignment; but others would be regarded as genuine limitations which anyone would have when it concerns his national interest.

The first and foremost important factor of this nature is the post Second World War development in international affairs concerning the United States. The U.S. as a nation has been burdened with heavy responsibilities and large commitments to preserve and maintain her system of western democracy. The neccssity was all the more accentuated by the over-ambitious nature and great optimism of the Communist world, as felt by the U.S. intelligentsia which seemed to be ready to devour the entire world with its ideology. To meet this challenge became the national preoccupation of the United States. Such a challenge, in the face of the rapid expansion of Communism, made the U.S. people over-conscious of their national interest. This over-consciousness tended to make them more and more sensitive to events which were dissimilar to the U.S. approach in the international sphere. They became more and more anxious to retain the young emerging African Asian nations within a kind of western bloc against Communism. India, occupying a key position in Asia, as they thought, could serve as a prototype of America. But the restless economic, political and social life of these young nations, emerging out of colonial rule, posed a serious problem to the Americans. They also realised the danger of Communism spreading in African Asian countries where it strove to serve as a radical remedy for their ills. Thus this over-consciousness of national interest which made the Americans sensitive, led further, to make them over-zealous in their efforts to check this danger. They tried to adopt a too protecting attitude to save these nations, among whom India figured as an important one, from the Communist world. They felt the necessity of saving the democratic world and they went to the

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extent of arrogating to themselves the sole responsibility of doing so. This kind of an imperative urge conditioned their approach towards India's policy. They did not want to grant any individuality to her as a nation; they presumed their national interest was also the national interest of India. This led to a single-track-thinking on their part, that one is either with them or against them. This attitude remained very much with the Americans for a long time. Only of late, it appears, that they have begun to revise their way of thinking.

The second limitation, which is different in nature from the first, had been with few exceptions, the ignorance of American scholars about India. Their lack of a proper knowledge of the Indian people, their temperament, their culture, and their realistic needs and the problems facing them, proved a serious drawback in understanding the Indian foreign policy. Most of the criticism of the U.S. people towards India was based on their paucity of knowledge and lack of understanding of India. This led to further misunderstandings between the two countries. It may, however, be said that while the American has been too well-versed about his country's foreign policy and approach towards the outside world, he has, by and large, failed to acquire the same about India. He could not India and her fundamental approach to have a real grasp of the problems facing wards the bi-polar division of the world. He was not able to ralise the practical view points, the problematic and circumscribed approach that India had to take towards the Big Powers as a result of her own limitations in the field, soon after her independence.

The third factor which speaks more of the Americans' mind and their outlook towards a small country, is related more to what they expect from us and others rather than any indication of a limitation on them. "The Americans in their intercourse with strangers" says De Tocquiville, "appear impatient of the smallest censure and insatiable of praise. The most slender eulogium is acceptable to them; the most exalted seldom contents them, they unceasingly harass you to extort praise, and if you resist their entreaties they fall to praising themselves. It would seem as if, doubting their own merit, they wished to have it constantly exhibited before their eyes."[2] This kind of appraisal of the American people by Tocquiville is, no doubt, an exaggeration and an over-generalisation, which one cannot accept, especially so in the modern times. Nevertheless, it can be said, on the basis of vehement criticism which the Americans usually indulge in against another country, that the U.S. people lack an accommodating attitude towards any different way of thinking of other nations. They fight too hard for their own cause but do not let others do the same. They tend to be ungentle and write strongly when it concerns their own principles but expect others to be humble and receptive to their ideas. There is some kind of bluntness in their approach but they are displeased by similar bluntness in others. This may be, probably, true of many other nations also, mut at present India does have an aptitude to accomodate others' thinking as she believes that there may be many ways to reach a given destination; may be she is enthused by her national interest in maintaining this idealism.

With these factors in mind one may try to visualise the American image of our non-alignment policy. This image has not been consistent and uniform from the beginning upto now. It has also failed to give a crystal clear picture of its own at times. Nor can the American attitude be divided into water-tight compartments in showing it as 'pro' or 'anti'. Their approach towards India has varied from time to time and from issue to issue.

The period between 1947 and 1960 can be roughly divided into four major epochs. The first period is from 1947 to 1949 when the U.S. was favourably disposed towards India, but soon came the period of strained relations which began from 1949 and went up to 1952 and continued even to 1954. Then there appeared some relaxation and things proceeded well till a happy partnership was formed on the Suez issue in 1956. But the Hungarian issue forced a break which

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continued upto 1957-1958. Thence starts the period of better understanding which has continued till to-day. It is within this division of periods that the U.S. image is to be traced.

Until the entry of the U.S. into World War II there was little contact between India and the United States. During the national movement of India against the British rule, the U.S. took a sympathetic attitude towards her, but she was not prepared to offend Great Britain for her own reasons of sentiment and practical national interests. The achievement of India's independence found the rift in the international field wrapped up in cold war diplomacy pursued by the Two Giants. It was a time when the United States had deserted her isolationist policy and came forward with dynamic vigour to participate actively in the game of international power politics. This was a crucial period for India, as she was standing at a cross-roads and had yet to develop her independent national outlook. India had more problems at home and wanted to remain independent in her stand in the international sphere. At such a time the U.S. looked upto India for a decisive stand on the various issues. She watched keenly India's movement in regard to the East-West struggle and whenever she was not found to conform with U.S. desires she had a jerk of dissatisfaction. It may, however, be said that in the beginning the U.S. did have an appreciation of India's policy of non-alignment. There were some Press sections in the United States which endeavoured to bring out a sense of good feeling and understanding towards India. They invested their hopes in the policy of India. In an article writen by Lawrence K. Rosinger, in the **Far Eastern Survey**, he expressed the view that :

> In the shadow of two giants (the United States and Soviet Russia) India declares her independence from both power blocs, but leans towards the West on some important issues.....The forthcoming visit of the Prime Minister, Jawahalal Nehru, to the United States, has already aroused a considerable discussion, yet India still is about ... from the centre of American con... ness as an important country cou... This is the case despite the fact ... India is in every sense one of the ... cipal sectors of the continent of Asia ... the political direction in which ... moves will clearly be of significance ... the entire world.[3]

"On a variety of international issu... he wrote, "New Delhi has taken a ... independent stand than most of the we... powers. But this independence has di... nished with the passage of time. ... tensions mounting between the Co... Powers and between opposing elem... inside India, the Indian government ... gradually moved in the direction of ... United States and Britain."[4]

Life Magazine wrote in August ... "Nehru is Asia's greatest statesman a... diplomat, a man with vast qualities ... courage and leadership. He heads a nat... of 320 million people, most of whom reg... him with a devotion that almost amou... to reverence. If we can find the rig... formula for joining our strength with h... the future of Asian world will becom... much brighter."[5] Such ideas were not co... confined to the Press but were equa... shared by legislators like Senator Geo... W. Malone, (Republican—Nevada) w... went to the extent of proposing a 'Ne... Doctrine' to protect South East Asia ... that if it could not materialise the U... should extend its "Monroe Doctrine" ... protect South East Asia from Europ... economic aggression.[6] Besides this, ... feelings of the U.S. Government, as ... forward and advocated by the Secretary ... State Dean Acheson, and Loy H. Hend... son, the U.S. Ambassador to India, were ... the same vein of cordiality. The U... official circles tried to show how keen ... were to preserve and save the liberties ... young nations like India from ... Communist threat. They pointed out ... clean motives of America to help the ... young nations in all possible manner. ... They would abstain, they said, ... offending these nations on a cause ... proved detrimental to the cause of ...

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national interest. Such earnest hopes and expectations were expressed during this period from 1947 to 1949. They wanted to encouruage India, of couurse, to serve their purpose of checking the expansion of Communism in Asia, which was naturally their dominant interest.

Such an attitude did not last very long. The change was brought about by the Korean episode. The Korean tangle which had taken an ugly turn by 1950 and precipitated the East-West rivalry, with Communist China openly supporting the North Koreans and fighting against the South Koreans, encouraged the U.S. to expect India's support in the throes of this crisis, especially when she had supported the earlier U.N. resolutions of 25th and 27th June, 1950, to halt aggression. But she soon made the U.S. realise her non-binding and non-committal attitude when she did not support the U.N. resolution of the Security Council, 7 July 1950, and refused to send her armed forces to fight on behalf of the U.N. India wished to localise the conflict rather than to aggravate it. But this gave an opportunity to the United States to critize India vehemently and condemn her attitude. The U.S. felt that India was dishonest and her motives were doubted. **The New York Times** which had welcomed, earlier, India's decision to remain in the Commonwealth and regarded it as a "historic step" to strengthen the Western system of alliances, lost all confidence in India and editorially observed on August 28, 1951 :

> Jawaharlal Nehru is fast becoming one of the great disappointments of the post war era.....To the West he seemed (a few years ago) a logical champion of a free democratic, anti-Communist Asia and the India he directed was the obvious candidate for the leadership of Asia. ....Instead of seizing the leadership of Asia for its good, Nehru turned aside from his responsibilities, proclaimed India's disinterestedness and tried to set up an independent third-force India, suspended in mid-air between the two decisive movements of our day—the Communism that Russia heads, and the democracy of which the United States is the Champion.[7]

Nehru's policy was termed as a policy of obstruction, and appeasement by the critics in the United States. "Worst of all" wrote **New York Times,** "One fails to find a valid moral judgment in his attitude One can feel certain that history will condemn the Nehru policy as well intentioned but timid, short sighted and irresponsible....."[8] Such an antagonistic tone was also adopted by **Chicago Tribune**. Feelings all around became quite hostile. There took place heated arguments among the legislators when it came to giving the wheat loan to India. It gave rise to a great deal of controversy, some disapproved of it strongly while others took an accommodating attitude. Edward Eugene Cox, a Democratic Representative from Georgia disapproved and condemned the India Emergency Assistance Act of 1961, in the House. He attacked Nehru for being Communist. There were exchanged heated words between Mr. Cox and Mr. Ribicoff, a member who supported aid programme to India and had tried to defend our Prime Minister. To quote :

> "Mr. Cox : Is the gentleman prepared to defend the accusation that Nehru is pro-Communist ?
>
> Mr. Ribicoff : No I do not think Nehru is pro-Communist.
>
> Mr. Cox : If the gentleman is not prepared to admit the pro-Communism of Nehru, then is he prepared to admit that Nehru's son-in-law is a violent Communist ?"[9]

This kind of arguments show how bitter the feelings were of some of the politicians who were all out to brand India as a Communist ally. Mr. Schwabe from Oklahoma also shared the same views. **The U.S. News and World Report** of 4 January 1954, reported that the U.S. Vice-President Nixon "tended to favour military aid to Pakistan as a counter force to the confirmed neutralism of Jawaharlal Nehru's India."[10] Senator Knowland, Republican Majority leader during the period 1952-54, adhered to a policy of no assistance and no aid to India. He condemned the neutral policy of India, asked the U.S. Congress not to give any

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economic or military aid to her.[11] When the issue of including India in the political conference on Korea was raised, the Secretary of State Mr. Dulles insisted on the exclusion of India from such a conference as it was the price India would have to pay for her policy of neutrality.[12] While such a strong and adverse attitude on the part of some in the United States prevailed, a milder yet critical approach was taken by others. Louis Fischer found India's neutral policy more in the line of the Communist bloc especially in matters of exchange of prisoners of war and some other issues which figured in the U.N.[13] But Walter Lippmann seemed more receptive to the Indian approach. While writing in his syndicated column on August 29, 1956: "Nehru is not appeaser by instinct or by principle. His coupling of China with Korea is a recognition of deeper and lasting reality of the matter, which is that Chinese interest in Korea is greater than that of any other foreign power. . . ."[14] This was the harsh and tough attitude that the U.S. had towards India from 1950 to 1954. During this period Chester Bowles, the U.S. Ambassador to India, endeavoured to bring about cordiality in the relations between India and the U.S. but could not wholly succeed. He presented India's viewpoints and tried to evoke a sympathetic feeling towards her in the U.S. but no improvement was evinced. He wrote in his book **Ambassador's Report** in 1954: "Americans should understand India's new foreign policy better than any other people because with its oratorical wrappings removed it is practically indistinguishable from the foreign policy of the United States from 1787 to 1937."[15]

There were also men like Harold Stassen, who after his visit to India, as early as 1950, was impressed by Nehru and found India "neither an echo of America nor a voice of Moscow."[16] Dean Karl B. Spaeth of Standard Law School gave an address before the Los Angeles Bar Association on 30 November 1951, in which he appealed to his nation to have a considered approach towards India as she pursued the same policy which the U.S. had followed for a long period.[17] Thus, this period of the all important

Korean episode and its aftermath had
the image of two categories of opinion
one belonged the opinions of the
critics and even admirers of India
Chester Bowles, Dean Spaeth, Adlai
son, Walter Lippmann, Louis
Lawrence K. Rosinger and Max
who while criticising India's foreign
at times, did argue for a moderate
towards her. They tried to judge it
right perspective. But to the other
gory belonged those who condemned
policy outright, like Secretary of
Dulles, Vice-President Nixon,
Knowland and Representative Cox
some of the press sections like the
York Times, **Chicago Tribune** and
magazine. But it may be pointed out
even among the ardent critics of
policy, during this period, some of them
express some hopeful words to improve
relations between the two countries
John Foster Dulles indicated at such a
tical time like 1953, at a Press confer
that he was "thoroughly convinced
India is acting according to its best judg
ment to promote democracy in the
and prevent the spread of totalitarianism
Nor can it be said about the people,
were sympathetic towards India, that
maintained a uniformity in their appro
They also proved critical of India's
of non-alignment whenever they found
slightly unfavourable to their nation
interest.

This was the kind of twin images
the U.S. towards India during the
1950-54. It remained the same with
fluctuations now and then till their
coincided on the Suez Canal issue in
But besides Korea, another vital
which proved like the icing on the cake
the happy relationship between India
the United States, was military aid
Pakistan. India held U.S. responsible
spreading the hysteria of cold war
Europe to Asia by forming military
ces and providing arms aid to a next
neighbour with whom India's
were deteriorating, day by day. However
the United States took a view of the
the importance of the area from the

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viewpoint in the East-West tussle. Chester Bowles advocated a realistic U.S. approach, necessitated by her national interest while India should try to understand the difficulties and circumstances of the U.S. leading to the application of such a policy. He felt that it was the only answer that U.S. could afford against the tight-rope policy of the Communist world. Non-alignment proved a definite hindrance, so thought many Americans, in the growth of and progress of democracy. The Indian policy of opposing the formation of military blocs, was very unsatisfactory to the United States, as it was in the pursuit of their great need of the day. Michael Brecher, summing up the feelings of many U.S. people, in a conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Lahore in 1958 said:

> The great issue of our time is freedom or slavery. Hence there is no room for a "middle way." Non-alignment is deemed immoral or, at the very least, amoral, for how can a State be neutral in a contest of this kind. Non-alignment weakens the "free world" and serves objectively to strengthen the Communist bloc. Not only is it reprehensible, in the American view, it is also sheer folly for the State concerned because international communism will respect neutrality only as long as it serves Soviet interests. The vital task is, therefore, to forge an alliance of democratic and anti-Communist States. ....for this alone can prevent Communist domination of the entire world and achieve a **modus vivendi** on the basis of which non-Communist States can survive and prosper.[19]

The relations showed a tendency to improvement on the Suez issue in 1956 between the two countries, especially so in India. The tough attitude softened to some extent in both the countries towards each other. But it did not go very far and the Hungarian Revolt put the clock back in the U.S. in respect of their feelings towards India. They began raising their eyebrows in the same way as they did two years back. The suppression of the Hungarian Revolt by the armed forces of the Soviet Union provided the ground for the U.S. to build a favourable world opinion towards herself and turn it against the Soviet Union which she had already gained by her stand on the Suez issue. The Americans felt that India was too slow in giving a helping hand as a known leader of the un-committed world. India's feelings of disapproval against the Soviet world were too belated to satisfy them. They found India practising double standards of justice and morality, one which applied in the case of the West, and the other in the case of the Soviet world. They realised that the Indian approach in the Hungarian issue did not have the same spontaneity and vigour in condemning the U.S.S.R. which she had against England and France in the case of Suez.

However, the passions aroused by the above incident in many quarters of the U.S. cooled down with the lapse of time. The period after 1956 witnessed the development of a curious phenomena in the international field. The force that worked all along were supplemented by additional ones so as to affect the position that the U.S. took on world issues. The advent of the missiles era and the achievements therein of the Soviet Union shattered the confidence of the U.S. She hastened to pick up allies more eagerly to set right the balance of power in the face of losing her superiority in the technology of warfare. "In Moscow and Washington," points out W. W. Rostow, "problems of strategy and policy tended to polarize around the two extremes: weapons of mass destruction on the one hand, and techniques of propaganda, economic aid, and other forms of direct but non-military influence on the other. These new circumstances, calling for radical innovation in military and foreign affairs, were evidently about to test once again the viability of the national style as an instrument for protecting the national interest."[20] Henceforth the U.S. Scholars developed a compromising attitude towards India's policy of non-alignment. Her policy was recognised and the Americans tried to understand it more closely with an open mind. Senators like John F. Kennedy and Sherman Cooper propagated for more aid pro-

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gramme to India. The tone of the Press also showed a change.

Another factor, which has been responsible for making the people on the other side more receptive towards India's policy of non-alignment in recent years is their realisation of India's political and economic stability to serve as a bulwark against the expansion of Communism. While some of the U.S. allies have switched over to a military dictatorship, India stands as a symbol of democracy. They understood the advantages that a democratic India provided, in the maintenance of the same in the Afro-Asian continents, as against the mounting prestige of China as a Communist nation and that she may turn out to be a centre of attraction for the smaller nations of Asia. India can sustain their national interest in Asia, it can turn into a show-piece for economic and political achievements in Asia. As a result of this importance of India, as is being realised in the United States, the visits of the Americans became more frequent. The visit of President Eisenhower in 1959 served as a land mark in the improvement of Indo-U.S. relations. President Eisenhower was impressed by the Indian way of life in political as well as economic spheres. While advocating more aid programme to India he referred to India in the Congress as a part of "those areas where the determination and the will to progress are greatest and capacity to use such resources effectively is greatest."[21] The U.S. economists and statesmen evinced a more positive inclination to discuss India's view-points and her policy matters, so that an accurate understanding may develop towards her. The American intelligentsia became more inquisitive, and eager to develop better relations and a common partnership between India and the U.S. Mutual discussions were the imperative step in this direction. In pursuit of such activities, a conference in the United States was held at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, 4 and 5 May 1959.[22] This conference attracted eminent men from America, to give their appraisal of Indo-U.S. relations and prospective developments thereof. There were some eminent men like Chester Bowles, Averell Harriman, and Clar... lenhoff who took a sympathetic attit... wards India. They held ignorance as the... obstacle against a proper understa... between the two countries. They pl... for a closer study of India to know her... appreciate her viewpoints. Prof. Q... Wright and Ross Berkes, joint author... **The Diplomacy of India** emphasised... peaceful motives of Indian foreign p... Prof. Normal Palmer of the Universi... Pennsylvania brought out the na... interest as the basis of India's peac... policy. They argued that the present peac... policy of India coincided well with... traditional moral approach. The need... an accurate understanding of the... interest was also emphasised by Harold... Isaacs and Lawrence E. Spiyak. They... India partly responsible for creating... understandings between the two coun... and for not understanding the U... States and her problems properly. Ph... Talbot, author of the definitive study I... **and America** commented that India... faces more cross-lines of interests and... feels increasingly the necessity to comp... mise national self-interest and princip... which faces all major powers.

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1. Philip Talbot and S. L. Poplai, *... and America* (New York, 1958) especi... Chapter 2.

2. As quoted by Vincent Sheean, "The C... for India," Foreign Affairs (Washington)... (October 1951) 77.

3. Lawrence K. Rosinger, "India in W... Politics," *Far Eastern Survey* (New York)... (5 October 1949) 229.

4. *Ibid.*, 230.

5. "Saving Asia from Communism—... for All Out Aid to India," *Life*, as reported... The Hindu (Madras), 21 August 1949, 1.

6. As reported by *The Hindu*, 6 Jan... 1949, 5.

7. *The New York Times*, 28 August 19... 22.

8. *The New York Times*, 12 October 19... 30.

9. U.S. *Congressional Record*, 97 (195... 5684.

10. As quoted by K. P. Karunakara... *India in World Affairs 1950-53* (Calcutta, 19... 239.

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11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. Louis Fischer, *This is our world* (New York, 1956) 458.
14. The Hindu, 31 August, 1950, 6.
15. Chester Bowles, *Ambassador's Report* (New York, 1954) 235.
16. Quoted by Chester Bowles, *Ibid.*, 258.
17. Dean Carl B. Spaeth, "India and the United States," U.S. *Congressional Record*, 97 (1951) A623.
18. As quoted by Bowles, n. 15, 258.
19. Michael Brecher, *India's Foreign Policy, an Interpretation* (New York, 1957) 22.
20. W. W. Rostow, *The United States in the World Arena* (New York, 1960) 264.
21. As quoted in Selig S. Harrison, ed., *India and the United States* (New York, 1961) 1.
22. For a collection of the speeches delivered on this occasion. *Harrison's India and the United States* (note 21).

JOURNALISM AND ADVERTISING

By ASHIM BHADRA, M.A., Dip. in Journalism (Cal.)

The term Journalism has no universally acceptable definition. Nor can it be defined very precisely. But to start with it may be said that Journalism means the technical knowledge and activities that help presentation of all matters concerning news.

The object of the present article is to use the term in respect of newspapers and to attempt to establish a relation between the Art of Advertisement and Journalism, more precisely, newspaper journalism.

The newspapers' main function is to cater news with comments but added to this the newspaper is performing another function, *viz.*, the publication of advertisements.

It is a most interesting fact that the publication of advertisements necessitated the production of the first newspaper in America. Mr. Frank Presbrey observes in his book *The History and Development of Advertising* that the *New York Daily Advertiser* first published on September 1, 1785 by Francis Child "not on account of a demand for fresh news but as a result of pressure of advertising." It was an advertising sheet rather than a newspaper.

In England and the United States Journalists like Steel, Addison, Defoe, Benjamin Franklin, etc., are so famed more because of their contribution to the art of advertising. Addison had some rather facetious advice for the early advertisers which he published in *Tatler* of September 14, 1710.

"The great Art in writing Advertisement is the finding out of a proper method to catch the reader's eye ; without which a good thing may pass over unobserved or be not among commissions of bankrupt. Asteriks and Hands were formerly of great use for the purpose. Of late years, the 'N.B.' has been much in fashion ; as also little Cuts and Figures, the invention of which we must ascribe to the author of *Spring Frusses*. I must not here omit blind Italian character which being scarce legible always fixes and detains the eye, and gives the curious reader something like the satisfaction of prying into the secret."

Benjamin Franklin, in his weekly newspaper *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1728, to make an advertisement conspicuous "put white space between advertisements and began to use 14 points heading for each ad."

It is quite obvious from the above facts that journalists helped the development of advertising as an art.

The newspaper business is a large-scale industrial enterprise, but it differs from other industries in a most important respect. Its main bulk or revenue comes not from the sale of its main product—news, but from the sale of a by-product—advertisements. The newspaper is sold at a price less than the cost of production. It is possible only because the sale of space for advertisements makes it a profitable enterprize. Revenue from circulation pays only a fraction of total expenses and to be financially sound the entire production has to depend on advertisements. Thus advertisements would appear to have been knit into the very fabric of journalism from its very inception.

It is a fact that the entire business aspect

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of journalism depends on advertisement, but it has also a keen relation to its editorial and literary aspects. Journalism, precisely speaking, consists in preparing news, feature articles, editorial comments, etc., which are largely accomplishments and certain technical equipments of the journalist. Likewise advertising does not mean, now-a-days, a mere announcement for the sale of a product. It covers the preparation of lay-out, copy writing, putting headlines, calling for a great deal of artistic and literary qualities of the Ad man. Thus there is a striking similarity between the two. There was a time when both newspaper production and advertising required no special qualification. A newspaper was quite satisfied with only publishing news without taking into consideration their value, mode of presentation, proper make-up, suitable headlines and a thousand other factors. Similarly, advertising meant only a prosaic announcement. But with progress and change of the human mental make-up, tastes, etc., changes have also taken place in journalistic production and the art of advertisement alike.

It has been said earlier that news is the central object of a newspaper. Now, before the actual publication of any news it requires proper editing, including selection of space, putting attractive headlines, etc., that make the news presentable to the reading public.

In case of advertising any goods or service, prior to its final publication it also needs proper visualisation, which includes copy writing, designing, lay-out, putting headline, not only to make it presentable but also to arouse interest in consumers for the commodity advertised. The main object of a newspaperman is to compel the reader to read the whole news by the mode of its presentation. In like manner the Ad man's look-out is to make the consumer interested in the commodities advertised by the manner of its presentation. It is really selling in print.

Decent make-up brings success to a newspaper, so also to an advertisement. By make-up of a newspaper we mean page arrangements, angle of news, presentation, sense of news value, type setting, giving headlines, tone of editorial comments.

We shall see that every detail of newspaper make-up and that of advertising have a striking similarity in respect of their nature and quality. A slogan or headline of advertisement is comparable to the headline of a news. It acts as pointer to the whole news. Headline is known the realm of journalism as the condensed and so it must be short, precise, direct and To present the news with a suitable headline journalist must possess adequate command language, sharp intellect and the ability to into the readers' mind. On the technical side should have the knoweedge of typography, purposeful visualisation headline is probably most important and most used mechanical of attracting attention. The attention depends on the contrast in the size of the used.

In advertising also headline is the conspicuous part of the whole visualization, naturally catches the readers' eyes at a The power of the advertisement often upon how successful the advertiser is in a headline that appeals to the imagination. purpose of advertising to sell goods and is not accompiished unless the reader is beyond the point of mere attention. Interest be aroused and sustained until the desire for thing is developed. The headline should the reader eager to read the advertisement to find out more about the product advertised. The matter of the headline is the factor that determines whether the reader will give the advertisement more than a passing notice. To make momentary attention prolonged and strengthened into interest, the idea expressed and the words chosen must be such as to stimulate in the readers' mind favourable thoughts and the desire to read further. "The headline must be a condensed statement, it must be specific, all generalities having been omitted; all that is commonplace having been eliminated, it must be original, perhaps breaking into the very heart of the story; it must be full of human interest in a way to compel attention".

The news-story of a newspaper and 'Copy' in advertising are similar in nature and call for identical qualties in preparing both. A 'copy' is the statement of facts about the commodities or services to be advertised. Varieties of commodities and services have necessitated various types of copy writing, *viz.*, 'reason why copy', 'human interest copy,' 'sense-appeal copy,' 'story form copy,' etc., etc. These are the names of the different methods of presenting facts. An ad-man must keep in mind that whatever may be his mode of writ-

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ing he must not distort facts. Truth must be his watch-word. Practically 'Copy' serves the purpose of news. The consumers or purchasers are informed in detail of the goods and services advertised. Hence, we can conclude that an ad-man and a reporter or sub-editor should have similar qualitiles. Both are trying to reach the public mind on a similar subject.

Today, journalists are inclined to present news supplemented by photographs or cartoons. The photograph, beside its supplementary value, has a peculiar appeal to the reader. "It is the picture that makes the story" is a well-known saying in the journalistic world. The appeal to the eyes is the strongest of all appeals and when the public are often sceptical of what they read in the news column, the belief that the "camera cannot iie" is still widely held.

In advertisement, the illustration has still greater importance. The purpose of illustration is manifold. It is an attracting agent, it beautifies the advertisement, it direcs attention to the product; above all it suggests a story.

It will thus be inadequate merely to say that journalism and advertising have only a mutual relationship. In fact, advertising is an integral part of journalism and its scope almost as wide as that of news-journalism itself.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
***Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati*:**
Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia: Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

EARLY SCULPTURE OF BENGAL: *By S. K. Saraswati, 128 pages Text, 62 Illustrations, Second Edition, 1962, Published by Sambodhi Publications, 22, Strand Road, Calcutta, Price Rs. 30/-.*

The Author of this neatly printed and well documented study of Early Sculpture in Bengal has made an important and distinguished contribution to a significant phase of the subject, full of many problems and full of many fascinations. The questions that were left un-answered by Director-General, N. K. Dikshit and Stella Kramrisch (*Pala* and *Sena Sculpture*, Rupam No. 40) have been courageously tackled by the author—and almost brought to a final solution—which is perhaps impossible in our present State of knowledge,—awaiting new data by excavations in promising sites in Pundra-Vardhan and other culture-areas. The Plastic Art of the Pala period (750 A.D.) (Dharmapala) was at one time believed to be the only products of Bengal—and the earlier period (Mayuryya, Sunga, Kushana and Gupta periods) were almost blank—in the archaeological map of Bengal. By citing the records of Chinese pilgrims (p. 5), the author has proved the existence of storeyed towers and pavilions—in the Po-shi-po monastery (Pundravardhan) and the Loto-mo-chih monastery (Karna Suvarna), executed apparently before the 7th century. An attempt has been made quite successfully to survey the relics of Plastic Art in Bengal—from second century B.C. beginning with the fragmentary stone sculpture at Silua (Noakhali), with Bramhi—inscription, not, unfortunately, cited.

Several sculptures with Kushana stylistic affinity—are significant—*e.g.*, Head of Buddha from Chandra Ketugarh (24-Parganas), Kartikeya from Skanda Dhap (Mahasthangarh), and Surya from Kumarapura. In Chapter Three, (p. 17-23) the author studies in detail specimens of Gupta sculptures found in Bengal: The red stone Buddha from Biharail and Surya from Kasipur, must have been imported specimens, and not actually executed in Bengal. For it is still an open question if Gupta artists from Mathura and Sarnath were invited to come and work in

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Bengal. The most original contribution (Chapter Four) of the author—is his analysis of the Paharpur sculptures, and the deduction of its stylistic idiom—by an assimilation of Gupta Style with native Bengali trends. He classifies the Paharpur sculptures into three instructive groups and compares and contrasts their stylistic differences leading to the conclusion that they were executed at different periods. Dikshit had at first assumed that all the sculptures were executed at the same time, on an integrated plan for decorating the facades of the structure, when originally put up. The moot point of discussion is that the three groups reveal wide discrepancy in style and idiom. But an alternative theory—that the two second groups may have been executed by inferior sculptors—has not been considered. This would obviate the necessity to assign them to different dates.

The author has not studied—the motifs and decorations of the frame-work of the images in the niches (12, 14, 21, 22, 23; 25; 29; 34). Many of these motifs have prototypes—in Gupta specimens in the Sarnath Museum. In a later edition—the history of these motifs deserve a minute study. But the most valuable part of this study is the Chapter on Terracottas. He was the first to locate the find-spot of the Oxford Institute Yakshini—at Tamluk (38). In spite of the meticulous and elaborate description of the Figure given by Prof. Johnston (quoted on page 99)—the significance of the Five "emblems" stuck on right portion of the elaborate coiffeur—has not been realized. These five weapons are obviously the five *sayakas* of Madana (Cupid). Further researches should help us to identify this type of Yakasinis. Sri Sarasvati has very appropriately discussed (somewhat summarily)—the series of terrcotta plaques which run round the basement of the Paharpur Brick-temple (p. 108-109) with a rich variety of types, common folks as well as types of semi-divine beings. But the most significant types are a group of hunting types (59, 60 and 62) which this reviewer has identified with *Parna-Sabaris* (leaf-clad Sabaris), also met with in Orissan art and literature. We have no hesitation in saying that Sri Sarasvati has revealed in his excellent volume the most fascinating chapter of the early sculpture of Bengal.

We recommend a wide-circulation and study of the data put forth in this richly documented monograph to our educated friends in Bengal —somewhat demoralized and debilitated by the mass of light literature—and sexy short-stories, —the authors of which pretend to be leaders of our intelligentsia, and who dominate our cultural meetings where the claims of visual arts have been deliberately banished and suppressed. A word of warm praise is due to the publishers for their courage in undertaking this publication and which they have presented with a lot of care and sympathy. The book is a must for every library in Bengal.

O. C. GANGOLY

DAYANAND : A Study in Hinduism : by *Bahadur Mal Vishveshvaranand, V. R. Institute, Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur, Punjab, India. 1963. S. U. Series—40. 238 pages. Price Rs. 3.25 nP.*

With the passage of time even great events of national life go out of mind. The people of Northern India, who were once magnetised by the commanding voice of Swami Dayanand, now remember him as a historical figure. Shri Bahadur Mal, a champion of Indian culture, has opened before us the pages of our history wherein the life and teachings of Swami Dayanand are depicted. Verily it is a duty incumbent upon scholars to throw light on the dark chapters of our literature. In the opening chapter of the book, the author has sought to give a bird's-eye-view of the 'religious and social conceptions and practices that prevailed among the Hindus at the beginning of the modern period.' (p. (1). In order to have a concrete view of the said period, he has surveyed over history right from the hoary past of India upto the modern time. It is not a mean task to compress the numberless facts of such a vast period of history. As our past history lacks chronology, attempt like this is prone to be complicated. Only in the latter part of the nineteenth century, an extensive research, on the basis of internal evidence, was conducted by a few European Orientalists to bind the facts in date sequences. It has of last been supposed that the vast period of 1500 years, which is hardly greater than that between the Homeric and the Attic-age of Greece, is devoted to development of thought and language. So it is well-nigh impossible, at this moment, to disentangle elements of different races which have been assimilated by the composite Hindu culture. The march of events which contributes to the making of the nation, is reflected in the vast lore of our Puranas. The author is of the opinion that 'the main emphasis in the Puranas is on mythological and fantastic accounts of the activities of gods and sages, exaggerated descriptions of heavens and hells, and many-sided ceremonialism which do not appear to have anything to do with religion or spirituality in the real sense, or even to have any plausible or rational basis whatsoever.' (p. 47). These views highlight the evil side of man and as such can hardly satisfy the minds of all grades.

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The national current of life does not flow straight. Rather, it changes its course under the influence of varying circumstances. Apparently they seem to be antithetic to each other. But history teaches us that the opposing forces have their intrinsic value in the harmonious development of the human society. Good and evil are inextricably associated with the origin of man. It seems that the natural phenomenon is basically dissected. The positive and negative aspects serve the cosmic purpose. Human nature, being the same at the bottom throughout the world, manifests similar abuses and perversions as well as high moral sense and religious understanding. Beside the question of the Puranas, even Samkara, who is already placed in the valhalla of philosophers, does not escape the biting criticism of the author. The present scope is too limited to spread out the net of Samkara's philosophy.

In order to make clear the philosophy of Swami Dayanand, Shri Bahadur Mal has thrown side-lights from different directions. In doing so he has to import different metaphysical concepts from the great workshop of intellect of the ancient and modern philosophers. Naturally the emerging discussions are held around, (1) Conception of God, (2) Attributes of God, (3) Incarnation of God, (4) Transmigration of Soul, (5) Nature of Salvation, (6) Freedom of will and so on. 'Satyartha Prakasha' which contains the cardinal principles of the philosophy of Swami Dayanand, is interpreted by the author point by point. The ten principles laid down by Swami Dayanand for the members of the Arya Samaj, are also critically dealt with. These principles are very liberal in outlook and acceptable to every one irrespective of caste, creed and clime. Although 'these principles mark out the Arya Samaj as a progessive and dynamic organisation, sometimes people describe the Arya Samaj as a conservtive society which, instead of moving forward harks back to the past and wants us to stick to old cultural values.' (p. 224) Undoubtedly Swami Dayanand is a great path-maker of Hindu Society through bewildering tangles of creeds and ceremonials. His movement has infused new blood into the languid body of Hindu society. By reading this book, the members of the present-day Arya Samaj will come to know what is wanting in them. In so far as the life and teachings of Swami Dayanand are concerned, the treatment of the book leaves no doubt that it can replace many a book on the subject.

NARAYAN KUNDU

RED RUMBA: *A journey through the Caribbean and Central America; Nicholas Wollaston. Hodder and Stoughton. 25 sh.*

Nicholas Wollaston is young and he likes to visit out-of-the way places. And as to the means of transport, his preference is for the unusual. "Red Rumba" is his third book of travel and contains his impressions of Red Cuba and nine other Central American countries that he visited in 1961. He was drawn to Cuba to see how Castro's revolution was progressing, and curiosity about the effect of the Cuban revolution on her neighbours took him to the other Caribbean and Central American countries.

Revolutions are neither unusual nor infrequent in that quarter of the globe. But Castro's revolution does not conform to the pattern prevalent there—its affinities are with the revolutions that took place in some east European and some Asian countries after the Second World War. Wollaston remarks that Castro is the first Dictator of this region who is not salting away a fortune in Swiss Banks. He found that Castro eats with common people in public restaurants, takes advice from fisherman, and goes out to cut cane on Sundays. To Wollaston, the revolution appeared to be an attempt of the young who aspire to dignity and to a national identity, to do something. There was much in Cuba that was a matter of shame—only not many people were conscious of it. The most prosperous industry in Cuba was acting as pimps for rich tourists. Common place steps—say, planting of fruits and vegetables that can thrive in Cuba but were never cultivated there, housing projects in slum-ridden towns, development of light industries—had to wait till Castro seized power. Wollaston believes that because they came so late, they have been accompanied by some horrid, and sometimes even grotesquely comic, features—the uniform, the indoctrination, the stampings and rantings, the bulging prisons, the mass hysteria. By some curious logic, to Castro and his followers, progress is synonymous with hatred of America. The author quotes a calypse in Spanish which apparently is popular in Cuba, and from which one typical stanza is given here in English translation:

"This is said in Manila and in Korea,
In Turkey, in Japan, and in Panama,
The clamour is the same everywher,
"Yankee, go home !"

The author discerned below the surface of the revolution a problem that has been common in east European and Asian countries in varying degrees of magnitude—the Cubans have neither the education nor the experience nor the technical know-how, to be able to steer a steady course, in their attempt to transport their country from the middle ages to the modern in a decade or so. Lacking experienced administrators and

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technicians, what chance do they have of holding their ground before the very much cleverer man from Moscow and Peking? The "Institute for Friendship with the Peoples" have been set up to ensure a steady flow of fraternal delegates and experts from other "people's democracies." Wollaston felt that behind the lusty repetition of revolutionary slogans, there was a feeling of uneasiness among the soliers of the revolution,—the militia men and women, the students, the intellectuals.

The book is highly enjoyable and at the same time thought provoking. A. K. DATTA

PEACE AND WAR: A Soldier's Life: *An Autobiography of Lieut. General Sir Frederick Morgan K. C. B. Published by Hodder and Stoughton. 1961. Pp. 320. Price 25s. net.*

Peace and War is a soldier's life told by a wise, human and shrewd regular officer, who went to Woolwich from Clifton. He was commissioned into the artillery just before the First World War and volunteered for India that he knew nothing about. He served in India for 20 years and in his autobiography the reader will learn about building an army from scratch, about handling men and armour, of frontier wars and civil disturbances 1930—1932.

At least the General writes truthfully about India. He has written like a soldier the obvious facts of the Indian problem. He could write about them and could 'thank God that he had no responsibility for its solution,' "if, indeed, there is ever a solution to be found." As the book has been published in 1961, it is worthwhile to find the following observation after the conclusion of his autobiography.

"The British, having created the problem—the problem in its existing dimension,—have now left it to the unstably divided India and Pakistan to find the answer to their Malthusian dilemma." p. 115.

He ends his autobiography with the characteristic soldier like epigram given to him by his French legal adviser that, "there is nothing so urgent that it will not become more urgent to-morrow. Let us dine."

In this absorbing book, we find glimpses behind the scenes of some of the dramas of our times. It is not an extraordinary book although deeply interesting. RAJANI MUKHERJI

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Indian Periodicals

The Corruption of Moral Ideals

Writing under the above caption, M. A. Venkata Rao, in the *Indian Liberatarian*, presents the proposition that when a minister imagines that he has cleared himself of the charge of having taken lakhs of rupees from a commercial firm, simply by saying unabashedly that he had done so far the Party Fund and when the Prime Minister, instead of subjecting such ministers to legal process, coolly and lightheartedly asserts that embezzlement really consists in the "disgruntled" critics calling this misdeed a 'scandal,' they are corrupting the moral ideal itself and blunting social conscience. Socialism has thus become a means for the perpetuation of party-power through corruption. The writer therefore pleads for revising our traditional morality in terms of rational thought and conduct.

If the salt loseth its savour, wherewith will it be salted? More dangerous than particular lapses from moral standards, (especially in those in political authority), is the attempted defence of their misconduct through sophistry. There is abundant meterial for the moralist, satirist and phychologist as well as for the rational social reformer in current disclosures of the misdeeds of those in positions of prestige and influence.

Such attempts to make light of serious moral offences, to whitewash them, hush them up and hide them from public view, has been one of the most disturbing defects of the leaders who have come to power with the advent of independence.

This trait of theirs has of course much wider roots in social history but today in the process of running a fully sovereign, self-governing democracy with equal status and power in the comity of nations, the weakness is having grave and far-reaching ramifications that threaten the success of the democratic experiment as well as making the career of national independence itself one of hazards beyond our capacity to digest.

When a minister accused of taking lakhs of rupees from a commercial firm coolly says that it was for the sake of the party fund and thereby imagines that he has cleared himself of the moral taint imputed to him by the alleged misdeed, he is going beyond committing evil. He is *corrupting the moral ideal itself*, its image in his own and other people's mind and imagination.

When the prime minister of a demoratic country refuses to subject serious charges of financial malpractice to the tune of crores against his favourite ministers (old cronies of pre-independence days) to legal progress and has the light-heartedness to pun on the word 'scandal' and to assert brazenly that the alleged embezzlement was not the true scandal but that it consisted in *calling it a scandal* by disgruntled critics, he is blunting the edge of the moral and social in the nation and the electorate.

In the first days of independence in 1947, people were shocked and startled when they heard that the ruling party had started demanding contributions from sugar and textile mills pro rata per unit of machinery. But as days wore on, such practice became the accepted custom of raising party funds.

The vast patronage extending to the disbursal of hundreds of crores of rupees every year in town and country under various trends, routine and extra routine, administrative and welfare departments, most of which went to party supporters at all levels now scarcely raises a murmur of protest nor any gesture of justification. Socialism has become just a means for the perpetuation of party power!

Discount with the ruling party, its leadership and their stewardship of the nation's affairs, including its security and defence, is well-nigh universal. But every by-election tells a uniform and depressing tale of thumping Congress success! Witness this month's five elections in Calcutta, a hotbed of disaffection against Congress from Gandhi's days though it has been!

Even according to permissible expenses, a total of some Rs. 15 crores for all the seats would have to be spent by a party contesting all seats. But it is estimated that over Rs. 60 crores have been spent during the last elections by the ruling party. No other party can even approach it in its capacity for raising funds because of its vantage position in the seats of administration. For instance, it was openly charged by many in press, platform and the legislature in Madras on the eve of the last general elections that bus owners had been asked to contribute Rs. 1,000

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per bus to the ruling party's coffers ! It was not denied.

Though commercial and industrial magnates as well as small independent traders and business men stand to lose *all* under the present policy of expanding socialism (or state monopoly of economic power), they are intimidated directly or indirectly into paying through the nose, for fear of losing heavily in the *immediate present.*

What is corrupting in these practices is the unabashed and unashamed manner in which they continue, in utter indifference to and contempt of public criticism and the outrage of social conscience.

In this exalted endeavour of rebuilding morale, rational *reflection* and creative thinking on the foundation of morality and conscience, social and individual, are absolutely necessary. There is little sign of such a renaissance of thinking in the post-independent generation, leaders or private persons.

In this critical context, it is illuminating to turn to great thinkers like Plato for guidance.

Plato astonished his contemporaries and succeeding generations of scholars and readers by his wholesale rejection of Homer as the medium of instruction, text of morality and mirror of moral exemplars to the Greeks. Homer was famed already in the fifth century B.C. as the teacher of Hellas, *par excellence.* He presented ideal types of heroes and gods to the imagination of Greeks which moulded education and conduct for young and old for centuries.

But Plato raised the question of the morality of many of the episodes in Homer's epic and challenged their purity and suitability to portray ideals for the exaltation of human nature.

He admitted the entrancing poetic quality of Homer's stanzas and the value of many wise sayings that crystallised the best conscience and experience of the Greek race. But in many other respects, he dared to point out that Homer gave too many instances that are sure to have a *corrupting influence!*

He referred to the incident of Zeus himself being seized with ungovernable lust for Here, his wife whom He throws incontinently to the ground before others for intercourse ! He gives instances of the jealousy and rivalry of the Olympian gods and goddesses who take sides in human wars and rivalries, *not on merits* but as instruments of their own revenge or favouritism ! Homer has no clear image of the steadfast wisdom and justice of the gods. Plato suggests therefore that educators in his ideal re... should represent divine as *One* and *unchan...* in its nature and always absolutely *just* impartial.

The prestige of Homer as a great ... Plato thinks, is being misused to lend pr... to the evil suggestions conveyed by the ... doings of gods and heroes. And since ... has a charming effect on the emotional ... gination, it will influence the heart in a ba... by investing evil with radiant beauty ... attractiveness. This blinds the moral cons... instead of purifying it.

He therefore suggests boldly that H... should be *banned* from the schools in his ... Republic !

His point is that moral ideals themse... should not be corrupted by irrelevant a... tion for other attractions.

We have a similar problem with us t... Europe faced this crisis in values several ... —in the Renaissance and in the Reformation ... in the French Enlightenment or Rationalism ... the mid-nineteenth century evolutionary ... rialism. Psycho-analysis and Psychiatry ... added their own quota to the unsettling e... of the new thought on the role of emotions ... instincts on culture, national character and ... stream of ideas and ideals current in the s... mind.

We have stirrings similar to these a... us today. But they are not taking system... independent forms. They are presenting th... selves in negative forms of revolt and sweep... destruction. But reflection on *fundamentals* ... urgent and necessary for the needed renovati... of life and character to start and make headw...

We have to review the entire past c... of the country from the standpoint of m... conscience and rationality.

We have a plethora of material to use. ...

For instance, in the Sanskrit play ... *Naganada* written by the emperor Sri Hars... (who reigned at Kanauj in the first part of t... seventh century A.D.), we have the h... Jeemutavahana, the king of the Vidyadhar... and emperor to be by grace of the goddes... Gauri, coolly ignoring the threat of Martand... a neighbouring king to invade the country!

He is more concerned with the Buddhist ... ideal of extinction of egoism, of nirvana. He ... inspired by the bodhisattva ideal of offering ... his body as food for other creatures. But his ... duty as king to *live* for his people, to look ... after their welfare including security, does not ... appeal to him. He surrenders royal powers to ... ministers in order to look after his aged parents ...

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self who have retired to the forest. This is doubt a value but it should not eclipse his to his people which is his royal or political rma, the duty of his station in life. The na has a number of stanzas exalting surren- of life and offer of one's body for vultures,

He is hailed as a moral hero, dharma veera. this is surely a corruption of moral ideals. hen the enemy is at the door, the first duty of e ruler is to arrange night and day defence.

There are other instances in actual history buddhist moralists preaching absolute non- olence and *welcoming the Huna invaders* ther than preaching resistance !

No wonder that centuries of such corrupt aching that confuses flight from life's obli- ations out of world weariness and feebleness f heart (*hridaya dourbalya* as Krishna calls it the Gita) with virtue, produced the state of ciety in which Muslim looters like Ghazni and ori could have their fill of plunder and later all companies of horsemen, (one hundred) uld conquer whole kingdoms and *hold* them r centuries !

For the roots of strength had been under- ined by a philosophy of decadence encourag- g shirking and softness and withdrawal into shell of individual egoism. Sanyas and ksha became exclusive social ideals. Other- rldliness ruled supreme in the intellectual and oral realms which left this world to the tender ercies of the aggressor, the beast of prey who as closer to nature.

Moral philosophy should construct an ideal f life that should help us how to make the best f life, harmonising *all values* and not deny them altogether (neti, neti, negation) and shrinking from hardness.

We should, like Plato, have the courage and honesty to revise our traditional ideals in terms of reason.

We need not for instance defend the conduct of Sri Rama in sending Sita in pregnant condition to the forest just to please unthinking ignoramuses like a washerman critic. Moreover, even if he wanted to abandon her, why should the poor innocent lady be sent to the forest and left there alone ? She could have been left in a house in the capital city ?

Also it is not necessary to defend Sri Rama in his treacherous action in killing Vali by shooting at him from behind a tree all unknown to him. This is unwarrior-like and indefensible. A vedantist defends this action as being motivated by the fear that if he challenged him in open fight, Vali *might* surrender and it would then become his duty as a kshatriya to save one who surrenders ! And he had promised Vibhishana to kill Vali beforehand; This is to defend one wrong by another !

The right procedure is to admit the wrong done to Vali by Rama as part of his diplomacy. It was the price he had to pay for the friendship and help of Vibhishana and his hosts in invading Lanka. The end justifies the means, *if the end is good and necessary.*

These are only instances.

It is high time that a thorough spring cleaning of traditional morality is undertaken and new ratonal ideals of conduct and types of character, national and individual, are constructed as part of nation-building in the era of independence.

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Foreign Periodicals

Nationalism Without Nasser

Writing under the above caption in the *New Leader*, S. Peters, who is regarded as something of an expert on Middle Eastern Affairs, says :

Crediting Gamal Abdel Nasser for every flare-up in the Middle East has become as commonplace as attributing every outburst of violence in Latin America to Communist or Castroist subversion. Recent events in Iraq and Syria indicate that the myth of the Egyptian Colonel's omnipotence not only oversimplifies the facts but also ignores some fundamental developments in the Arab world. Obviously, the present regime in Cairo continues to have considerable impact on the course of events, and its agents in Beirut expend great effort and even greater sums of money promoting subversion. But to be properly understood today, Nasserism has to be seen more as a hospitable atmosphere than as the actual trigger for the three revolutions that have recently taken place in Yemen, Iraq and Syria.

True, the Yemeni revolutionary regime owes its existence to the presence of 20,000 Egyptian soldiers and vast amounts of Soviet-built military equipment. Yet the revolt itself was started by domestic forces and, in a sense, it is the very presence of a large Egyptian contingent in Yemen that prevents a "domestic" solution of the struggle between the revolutionaries and the Royalists.

Indeed, trying to assess political developments in the Middle East in terms of "liberals" or "moderates" versus "leftists" or "extremists" is an extremely dubious exercise. While past allegiances of the military men and politicians who enter and leave the revolutionary spotlight are often well-known, such identifications generally have only temporary significance. Among Arab leaders, allegiances frequently shift as rapidly as the desert sands in a *khamsin*. Drawing neat charts which show how many "pro-Nasserists," "neutralists" or "rightist nationalists" are in each new revolutionary government or military junta, is at best misleading.

This is particularly true now when, despite press reports of "pro-Nasser" coups in Damascus and Baghdad, a long-suppressed second center of Arab nationalism actually has achieved power in both capitals. Perhaps most accurately described as "Aflakism," it represents the thinking of a previously little-known 53-year-old, Sorbonne educated Arab Christian who is the creator, co-president and ideological mentor of the Ba'ath (Resurrection constructionist) party—Michel Aflak. It also reflects the historic rivalry between Mesopotamia and the Land of the Nile, which extends back to the time of the Pharaohs and is rooted in the economic and geographic realities of the region, as well as the traditionally greater sophistication and intellectual depth of northern Arab movements.

Precisely how aflakism differs from Nasserism can be seen from an analysis of what the Ba'ath trinity of "Unity, Socialism, Freedom" means to the party, and what it means in Egypt where it has been appropriated as a slogan:

Unity. For Ba'athists the term signifies genuine unity of the Arab nation, which is to emerge naturally from the will of equal partners. Thus, the idea of Arab unity is not merely an ideological concept, but a practical approach to day-to-day politics, to be employed by the Ba'ath considerable following in several of the Arab countries. Nasserism, in contrast, has interpreted the term as the rule of one all-powerful leader dependent on one national army, in one country.

Socialism. For Ba'athists this implies moderate socialism, more akin to the idea of the welfare state than to the precepts of classical Marxism. Both Iraq and Syria have significant middle —and lower-middle classes, with capitalist systems that function fairly effectively although they consist largely of small businesses and not large impersonal corporations. Since the Ba'ath itself is a middle-class party, nationalization under its rule is likely to be a slow, progressive process. Nasser's "Arab Socialism," on the other hand, is not much more than old-fashioned etatism, garnished with pan-Arabic slogans. While there was comparatively little to nationalize in Egypt apart from large land-holdings and some foreign companies, this has been accomplished swiftly and completely.

Freedom. For Ba'athists this refers to freedom of speech, press, assembly and political parties. All are vital to its continued existence as a political organization representing the middle classes, and to maintaining its position as an

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effective balance to the military. Nasserism has only one effective source of power—the military. The Ba'ath party, in fact, is currently outlawed in Egypt.

Given these basic and wide divergences of fundamental philosophy, why all the meetings in Cairo aimed at once more linking Egypt, Syria and Iraq? The answer to this question can be heard in the streets of Baghdad and Damascus, where the rhythmic cries of the masses expressing love for Nasser are a sobering background to the deliberations of newly formed cabinets. Ba'ath leaders recognize that acceding to Nasser's demands could result in their being completely swallowed up in the Egyptian ruler's design; but they also know that, in the Middle East, the mob must be reckoned with.

Some acute observers of the area even have gone so far as to assert that all the unity talks now going on are simply an attempt to put the onus of disunity on Cairo. Ba'ath officials, these observers claim, are trying to seize the initiative by presenting Nasser with prerequisites to unification that he cannot possibly accept. When the talks fail, the argument continues, they can claim that he, not they, rejected all attempts at another merger. This would not only quiet the mob, it would put the essentially political Aflakism out of reach of the military jaws of Nasserism.

Evidence to support this view is not difficult to find: Shortly after the new Government took over in Damascus, a group of Syrian leaders who had opposed the United Arab Republic break-up and sought refuge in Egypt, flew home expecting to receive a cordial reception. Instead, they were bluntly told that the regime did not desire their presence, were not permitted to leave the airport, and were almost immediately forced to return to exile.

In addition Nasser has already been placed in the position of having to reject several proposals for federation made by the new Syrian and Iraqi leaders. These have included a multi-party system, a popular plebiscite to ratify any mutually acceptable merger plan, and a three-man or rotating executive. The Egyptian ruler's position was stated in no uncertain terms by his close friend Hassanain Heikal, editor of the Government-owned newspaper *Al-Ahram*, on March, 22: "It will not meet the case to put unity up to a full-scale, free popular plebiscite. For the safety of the national action calls for the participation by all of the popular forces in one single front, even before the issue is put to the masses."

Significantly, too, Nasser appears to be having his greatest difficulty with the new Syrian Premier, Salah el-Bitar, who is closely allied with Aflak. Syria, it should be remembered, is where the Ba'ath was founded during World War II. Moreover, it was there that the party succeeded in joining ranks with conservative elements to dissolve the United Arab Republic three-and-a-half years after its formation.

Despite all this, it would be wrong to assume that a clash between Nasserism and Aflakism is inevitable. On the contrary, it is far more likely that some sort of *modus vivendi* will be worked out between the two camps, and that the pluralism of Arab nationalism will become an increasingly important factor in determining future political developments in the Middle East.

Of Violence and Nonviolence

The following excerpts from a **Saturday Review** comments on a film that is being currently made in the U.S.A. on the last days of Mahatma Gandhi should be of especial interest to our readers.

When Mahatma Gandhi was shot to death on the afternoon of January 30, 1948, the world was stunned. Not only had a great man died, but he had died in a manner that seemed to negate all of his teachings, everything he had stood for. If a young assassin, armed with a pistol, could snuff out the life of such a man, was the world indeed ready for the gospel of nonviolence that Gandhi preached? Might we not all be better advised to walk warily, and carry arms just in case? But if the advocates of violence as a solution to world problems could draw sustenance from the manner of Gandhi's death, they will find little to nourish them in Mark Robson's **Nine Hours to Rama**, a fictionalized vesion of his last day. Based on the novel by Stanley Wolpert, it firmly suggests that violence leads only to violence and that Gandhi's martyrdom was in effect proof of the rightness of his position. What caused his death, the film tells us, was India's centuries-old tradition of violence—India against the British, Hindu against Muslim. Mourn for Gandhi, and one can only revolt against the philosophies that led to his vengeful murder.

To find all of this said, and well, in an American movie is both a surprise and a delight, particularly since Robson and Nelson Gidding, who wrote the screenplay, have not merely stated their theme, but

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dramatized it. The main lines of the film have the rush and inevitability of true tragedy as the fanatical Godse and the imperturbable Gandhi, though thoroughly alerted to his danger, prepare for their fatal rendezvous. Providing the motive power are the efforts of the (fictional) superintendent of police of Delhi to avert the inevitable, blocked at every turn by the charac ter and ideology of the man he is trying so desperately to protect. And providing the human interest is the (largely fictional) exploration of the motives and mentality of the killer, developed in long flash-backs that are effectively interpolated into the running account of Gandhi's last hours.

What gives the film its sweep and turbulence, however, is India itself. As far as possible, Robson took his Cinema Scope cameras to the actual spots dictated by his tale. Repeatedly, the screen is clogged with India's colorful masses, teeming the streets, thronging the station platforms, prostrating themselves in their temples, thrusting forward to touch their leader, or humbly adding their mite of fuel to his bier. This awareness of the people of India, who constantly swirl around the film's protagonists, adds immeasurably to the stature of Robson's work, and ultimately proves far more persuasive than the knowledge that we are seeing the real depot hotel where Godse lay in wait, or the very garden in which Gandhi was murdered.

If one is to cavil, it would be at the rather routine background invented for Godse. Apparently, not a great deal is known about this half-crazed youth beyond the fact that he was a member of a fanatically reactionary group. The flashbacks explain his membership in terms of rejection by the British army, the murder of his father, and the rape of his child-bride in the Hindu-Muslim riots (with the followers of Gandhi standing passively by), and an inconclusive love affair with an Occidentalized Indian girl whose husband did nothing but play tennis. Perhaps inevitably, the latter, which is the least relevant, gets most space. Unfortunately, it gives the impression that if the beautiful Rani only answered her telephone at one or had left home a little earlier to intercept Godse on his fateful mission, or simply run off with him as he suggested, Gandhi might have been alive today. The romantic element in **Nine Hours to Rama** is just a bit watery, and at times comes perilously close to dragging down the entire film to its level. Nor does Jack Buchholz's studied overemphasis of one facet of Nathuram Godse's warped personality prove helpful to the film's overall impression.

Countering these, however, are the beauty and quiet authority of Valerie Gearon as Rani, a superb "cameo" by Diana Baker as the confused and frightened substitute with whom Godse passes a few of the nine hours, Jose Ferrer's magnificently subdued portrait of the harassed superintendent of police, and J. S. Casshyap's eloquent impersonation of Gandhi himself. "Love will conquer hate," says Mr. Casshyap in his thin, quavering voice. "It is truth. It is God." And the conviction behind the utterance fills the theatre with the living spirit of Gandhi, the spirit that an assassin's bullets could not and did not stop.

To a remarkable degree, Mark Robson's film has captured and shared that conviction. To the extent that it has done so, it stands as a notable achievement—something beyond any inadequacies of cast or treatment, beyond the many technical felicities that Robson has brought to his production as well. Through this picture, the meaning and message of nonviolence become immediate and apparent to all. The irony is that India today seems to be forgetting the Mahatma's teachings. Recently, unaccountably, after having approved the script, the Indian government banned **Nine Hours to Rama** from showings in the country.

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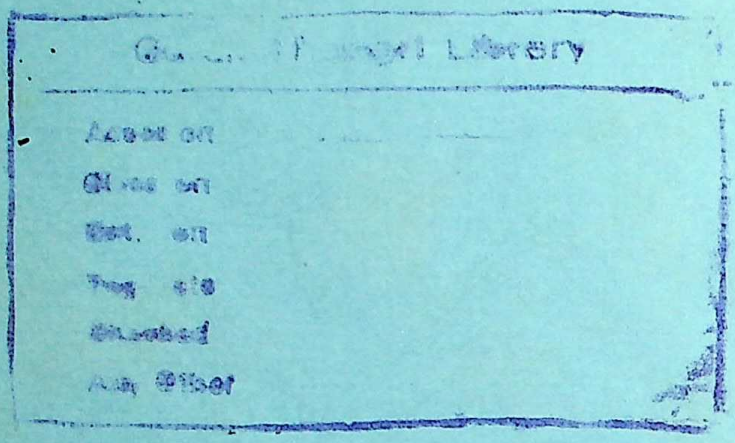

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